Série BYZANTINA SORBONENSIA - 14

AUTOUR DE LA PREMIÈRE CROISADE

Actes du Colloque de la
Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East
(Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)

réunis par Michel BALARD

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DANS LA MÊME COLLECTION

1. Jean-François VANNIER, *Familles byzantines : les Argyroi (IXe-XIe siècles)*, 1975.

2. Michel KAPLAN, *Les propriétés de la Couronne ei de l'Eglise dans l'Empire byzantin (Ve-VIe siècles)*, 1976.

3. *Geographica byzantina* sous la direction d'Hélène AHRWEILER, 1981.

4. *Philadalphie et autres études* sous la direction d'Hélène AHRWEILER, 1984.

5. Jean-Marie CHEYNET, Jean-François VANNIER, *Etudes prosopographiques*, 1986.

6. *Les Italiens à Byzance. Edition et présentation de documents* par Michel BALARD, Angeliki E. LAÏOU, Catherine OTTEN-FROUX, 1987.

7. *Géographie historique du monde méditerranéen* sous la direction d'Hélène AHRWEILER, 1988.

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12. *L'Arménie et Byzance. Histoire et culture*, 1996.

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AVANT-PROPOS

Cardiff (1983), Jérusalem (1987), Syracuse (1991), Clermont (1995), chacune de nos rencontres se justifie soit par la personnalité de son organisateur, profondément engagé dans une recherche originale sur l'Orient des croisades, soit par le prétexte fécond d'une commémoration. Le quatrième colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (SSCLE), qui s'est tenu à Clermont du 22 au 25 juin 1995, appartient bien évidemment à cette seconde catégorie.

Jean Richard et moi-même ne pouvions nous dérober à la demande pressante de notre président, Jonathan Riley-Smith, désireux de commémorer *in situ* l'appel lancé par le pape Urbain II, à l'issue du concile de Clermont de novembre 1095. Cette commémoration, voulue également par le président Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a donné lieu à deux colloques parallèles, où se sont retrouvés tous ceux qui, de près ou de loin, s'intéressent à ce grand mouvement d'expansion vers l'Orient de la chrétienté médiévale, lancé par la papauté au soir du 25 novembre 1095. De cette double volonté sont issus d'un côté un colloque organisé par la Région Auvergne, sous la direction scientifique de Georges Duby, à l'usage d'un large public, de l'autre notre rencontre plus particulièrement ouverte à nos membres, spécialistes éminents des croisades et de l'histoire de l'Orient latin. Je remercie très vivement la Région Auvergne d'avoir facilité aussi notre rencontre et d'avoir offert à tous nos participants la très belle excursion au Puy en Velay, qui a clôturé notre colloque.

Malgré les prodigieuses transformations du paysage urbain, quoi de plus émouvant que d'évoquer ici même à Clermont, à quelques pas de la prairie où le pontife romain fit asseoir ses auditeurs, en contre-bas de la cathédrale, cette homélie qui allait bouleverser le monde ? Dans quelles conditions fut-elle prononcée ? quel était exactement le dessein de la papauté ? l'ébranlement de la chrétienté vers l'Orient a-t-il dépassé les espoirs de son instiga-

teur ? ce sont là des questions que l'historien se pose encore aujourd'hui, faute d'avoir à sa disposition des témoignages indiscutables, ainsi que tous les canons du concile de Clermont. D'où la nécessité de recourir à des sources passées au crible de la critique textuelle et de les interpréter avec les acquis de l'anthropologie, de la psychologie et de l'ethnologie, afin d'en saisir toute la richesse.

Sur des bases textuelles solides, la réflexion des historiens peut s'engager. Au cours de ce colloque, elle s'est intéressée à la Première Croisade elle-même, dont elle détermine le contexte, les participants et le souvenir qu'elle laisse, à la fondation et au rôle des ordres militaires, aux vicissitudes des croisades des XIIe-XVe siècles, enfin aux contacts de civilisation et à l'essor artistique de l'Orient latin. Sur ces derniers points, un grand renouvellement est attendu de l'essor de l'archéologie des sites croisés, au moins sur le territoire actuel d'Israel. On peut espérer que l'évolution des autres pays vers une paix durable permettra des découvertes fécondes. Le colloque de Clermont, dont les actes suivent, a démontré en tout cas la vitalité des recherches sur les croisades et l'Orient latin, même si l'on peut regretter que la part de la France y soit moins éminente qu'au temps des René Grousset et Paul Deschamps, illustres hérauts des hauts faits des « Francs », dans la première moitié de notre siècle.

Qu'il me soit permis, pour conclure, d'exprimer ma reconnaissance à M. le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Clermont, qui a bien voulu mettre ses locaux à notre disposition, à M. le Maire de Clermont qui a accueilli nos membres, et enfin à notre collègue Pierre Charbonnier, professeur à l'Université de Clermont II, qui a veillé sur place à tous les détails de l'organisation, avec le concours d'une petite équipe groupée dans le Centre de recherches sur le Massif Central, qu'il dirige.

Allemands et Israeliens, Américains et Italiens, Anglais et Français, Néerlandais et Belges, Suisses et Japonais, Espagnols et Egyptiens, nous sommes tous devenus, l'espace de quelques jours, des « Crusaders », pour paraphraser Foucher de Chartres, et pour concourir dans un climat d'estime et d'amitié à l'approfondissement de la connaissance historique, à l'occasion du neuvième centenaire de l'appel de Clermont.

Michel BALARD

PREFACE

In the year that marked the nine hundredth anniversary of Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade, Clermont-Ferrand was the natural venue for the fourth general conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades. The conference was an out-standing success, thanks to the hard work, organizational skill and diplomacy of Professor Michel Balard and Professor Jean Richard, the Society's first president. Clermont-Ferrand was a remarkable place to visit in June 1995 because there can never have been so many crusade historians, professional and amateur, in one place before. The Région d'Auvergne was organizing its own conference on the crusade at the same time as the Society's meeting and invited members of the Society to speak at it. Whereas the Society's attendance was international and was naturally composed of scholars, the Region's conference attracted thousands of enthusiasts of crusading history (and vociferous opponents of the crusades) from the region around.

If any of those who read the papers published here are new to crusading history or have not dipped into it for some time, they will astonished by its range. The subject encompasses theology (Christian, Jewish and Islamic), political thought, inter-faith relations, war, politics, society and the economy, including trade, the Church and religious orders, heresy, and settlement in the eastern Mediterranean and Baltic regions and in the Iberian peninsula. No longer can it be regarded as medieval — for there are historians working on the early modern period — or confined to the Levant — for many scholars are working on other theatres of war on the frontiers and in the interior of Christendom or on the resources of the movement and the « home front » in the West. Where once the crusades were considered to be peripheral, somewhat out side the mainstream of European history, they are now generally recognized as being of major concern to European and western Islamic powers and as having a profound influence on the politics and economies of Europe and the Near East.

The profile of crusading history with the general public has never been higher, as was demonstrated by the attendances at the Region's conference, and the effects of the crusades on modern inter-faith relations has never been so hotly debated. At a time when the world of scholarship and the general public are in agreement on the subject's importance, it is perhaps no coincidence that it's scholarship is showing great vitality. No field of history is changing so fast. It seems that barely six months goes by without a new insight or revisionary theory being published and it is hard even for the professionals to keep up with developments. I am sometimes asked why no new multi-volume history of the crusades, along the lines of the great works of Grousset, Runciman and Setton, seems to be even in the planning stage. The answer surely is that long-term projects of that sort are only practicable in a period of historiographical consolidation, such as that which prevailed for much of the first half of this century : they are impossible in an era of rapid change. Few academic societies, if any, can boast of the youth of so many of our members ; few conferences, if any, can have been addressed by so many young speakers. The golden age of crusades studies has always been considered to be the period between 1850 and 1914, but it may be that we are now witnessing a true renaissance.

Jonathan RILEY-SMITH

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LES SOURCES

Peter R. GRILLO

VERS UNE ÉDITION DU TEXTE FRANÇAIS DE L'*HISTORIA JEROSOLIMITANA* DE BAUDRI DE DOL

D'emblée, il est bon de rappeler que l'abbé Baudri de Bourgueil nous aurait bien précédés dans cette belle ville de Clermont-Ferrand lors justement du concile que nous commémorons ces jours-ci. Souvenons-nous qu'il est l'un des quatre chroniqueurs de la Première Croisade à nous faire parvenir une version du célèbre prêche d'Urbain II. Les quatre Livres de l'*Historia jerosolimitana* de Baudri sont achevés vers 1107, sans doute peu après son élection à l'évêché de Dol-de-Bretagne. Certes, cette chronique se révèle comme étant largement une refonte stylistique, enrichie de détails imaginaires, des *Gesta* de l'Anonyme, œuvre que notre ecclésiastique aux talents littéraires incontestables n'hésite pas à caractériser comme *libellum... nimis rusticanum.* Mais, comme nous le rappelle J. Riley-Smith, Baudri, ainsi que Robert le Moine et Guibert de Nogent, forts des succès des premiers croisés, a aussi su placer l'idéologie populaire du nouveau phénomène de la croisade sur des bases théologiques [1]. Les milieux cléricaux et monastiques surtout lisent la chronique de Baudri et à l'occasion s'en inspirent : dans le Livre IX de son *Historia ecclesiastica*, Ordéric Vital reprend, pour des passages relatifs à l'expédition à Antioche et Jérusalem, les paroles mêmes de son aîné Baudri, qu'il évoque amicalement du reste dans une courte biographie au chapitre 18. Enfin, plus tard, Vincent de Beauvais tire de la même source son récit de la première croisade (*Speculum historiale*, XXV, 96).

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1. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Londres, The Athlone Press, 1986, p. 135-52.

Mais aujourd'hui retenons surtout une autre forme de postérité de Baudri. Depuis plus d'un siècle, on fait état d'un récit français fondé principalement sur notre chroniqueur. Le *Siege d'Antioche ovesque le conquest de Jerusalem de Godefred de Boilion* — c'est le titre que nous transmet un manuscrit — a vraisemblablement vu le jour à la fin du XII[e] siècle au plus tôt, ou même durant le premier quart, sinon un peu plus tard, du siècle suivant. Ce texte en laisses de dodécasyllabes rimées demeure inédit, exception faite des passages publiés jusqu'ici, dont l'ensemble ne comporte cependant qu'environ 1 800 vers, soit à peine un dixième du total.

Le mérite revient à Paul Meyer d'avoir donné, voici plus d'un siècle, d'amples extraits du récit français et de les avoir collationnés avec les passages latins pertinents d'après les matériaux du t. 4 du Recueil des Historiens Occidentaux des Croisades, alors en voie de parution [2]. De toute évidence, l'auteur vernaculaire avait quelque rédaction de la chronique sous les yeux. Or, pour tenter de savoir laquelle au juste, on pourrait trouver fort opportun le projet d'une toute nouvelle édition de l'œuvre latine. Sans parler des manuscrits perdus ou autrement non-identifiables — on sait que le chapitre de Dol possédait au moins un exemplaire, tout comme l'abbaye du Bec, par exemple — il est facile d'élargir la liste des sept *codices* qu'identifie Thurot dans l'introduction à son édition [3]. Du coup, la chronique de Baudri semble avoir joui d'un succès bien plus estimable que ne laisse entendre la remarque de son dernier éditeur ! Une étude systématique de tous les témoins manuscrits connus ferait sans doute voir que certains aspects du travail de Meyer doivent être repris et complétés. Ainsi les précieuses recherches de Madame Suzanne Duparc nous permettent déjà de croire que, pour quelques-unes de ses intercalations, le rédacteur du MS BN lat. 5513 de Baudri (soit le MS G de l'édition du *RHC Hist. occ.*) a bien pu connaître la *Chanson d'Antioche* primitive [4].

Notre texte français, que l'on dirait écrit en forme d'une chanson de geste, est conservé intégralement dans deux manuscrits, copiés en Angleterre : Oxford, Hatton 77 (O), fols. 1r-187v (soit les p. 1-371), du milieu du XIII[e]

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2. Notre texte — ou du moins un des deux manuscrits — fut « découvert » par Victor Langlois dans les années 1850 : C. Thurot, *Revue historique*, 1 (1876), p. 385 ; P. Meyer, *Romania*, 5 (1876), p. 4.

3. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* [= *RHC Hist. occ.*], t. 4, Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1879, p. 10-110 [cette édition fut destinée à remplacer celle de J. Bongars de 1611, reprise dans la Patrologie latine, t. 166, cols. 1057-1153]. Aux manuscrits signalés à la p. xiii doivent s'ajouter donc : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a. latines 1791 ; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1101 et 1161 ; Londres, British Library, Add. 30898 et Berne, Burgerbibliothek, 155.

4. *Chanson d'Antioche*, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1978 (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XI), t. 2, p. 220-225.

siècle, et Londres, British Library, Additional 34114 (S), fols. 1v-80r, écrit vers 1400. Les descriptions qu'en donna Meyer seraient à revoir sur quelques points [5]. D'autre part, il existe pour O une transcription diplomatique moderne, presque complète, faite par des anglophones peu après les premiers travaux de Meyer, qui semble d'ailleurs s'en être servi ultérieurement ; celle-ci se trouve dans le MS 3653, fols. 1-467, du fonds Riant de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris.

Par ailleurs, nous sont parvenus deux fragments de manuscrits datant du XIIIe siècle. L'un (o^1) consiste de deux feuillets, avec 120 vers, actuellement reliés dans le MS O ; il est nettement de provenance française, ce qui a amené Meyer à conclure qu'en fin de compte l'auteur du poème est « un Français du continent » [6], plutôt qu'un Normand habitant l'Angleterre [7]. Le second (o^2), également conservé à la Bodléienne sous la cote MS Brasenose College D. 56, se compose de huit feuillets, reproduisant 1168 vers, copiés par un scribe anglais [8].

Cet adaptateur de Baudri ne nous a pas laissé son nom. Vers le début de la chanson, quelques vers donneraient à penser que Baudri de Dol lui-même a mis *en roman* son propre livre ; et toujours suivant le même passage, ce livre serait fondé sur l'*estoire* qu'un clerc provençal — référence alors peu crédible à l'Anonyme ! — avait d'abord composée (*latiné*). Meyer a pensé que le passage en question était corrompu, bien que Madame Duparc soit d'avis aussi que le clerc invoqué pourrait être l'auteur de la *Canso d'Antioca* provençale. En tout cas, cette hypothèse a le mérite de situer déjà notre chanson dans la mouvance de la matière épique des croisades que connaissait indubitablement notre auteur.

Reprenons le contenu des manuscrits complets et notamment la situation dans le MS S de la British Library (écrit pour Henri Despenser, évêque de

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5. P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 2-4. Signalons au passage la courte notice sur le manuscrit d'Oxford parue dans *Romanische Studien,* 1 (1871-75), p. 390-392. Pour O, voir G. Myers, dans *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, University of Alabama Press, 1977 (Old French Crusade Cycle[= OFCC], 1), p. lii-liv ; *Id.* (éd.), *Les Chétifs*, University of Alabama Press, 1982 (OFCC, 5), p. xvi. L. Constans revint sur S (conservé autrefois à Spalding, Lincolnshire) dans son édition du *Roman de Thebes*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1890 (Société des anciens textes français, 2), p. xviii-xxiv ; *cf. Le Roman de Thèbes*, éd. F. Mora-Lebrun, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1995 (Coll. Lettres Gothiques, Le Livre de Poche), p. 33-37.

6. *Romania,* 6 (1877), p. 489.

7. D'après des rimes telles que *ot* (<HABUIT) : *portout* (<PORTABAT) ; *pez* (<PECTORES) : *enfossez* ; *-ant* :*v olissent* (<*VOLISSENT), on serait tenté de penser que le poète était originaire de l'ouest, du sud-ouest même, de la *langue d'oïl*.

8. G. Myers a déjà attiré l'attention sur ce fragment (OFCC, 1, p. lxxxi) dont Meyer avait pris connaissance vers 1900.

Norwich, mort en 1406). Aux folios 80r-105r, le copiste donne une suite au texte dérivé de Baudri : après la victoire des croisés à Ascalon, environ 4600 vers font aller l'histoire d'Outremer jusqu'à la prise de Tyr en 1124. Meyer a montré, du moins pour les parties qu'il avait étudiées, à quel point ce récit des premières années du royaume latin suit la trame générale des *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Jherusalem* de Bartholf de Nangis, abréviateur de Foucher de Chartres ; d'autre part, le romaniste a postulé que pour la matière à partir de l'année 1106, pour laquelle la première version de Foucher fait défaut, le poète français a dû dépendre largement d'une rédaction perdue de Bartholf [9]. Toutefois, comme l'a déjà fait remarquer Meyer, aucune différence notable d'ordre stylistique ne semble opposer les deux parties dans **S** où elles paraissent, encore que, à ce sujet, un travail franchement bien plus pointu soit à réaliser.

Pour l'édition que nous préparons, **O** servira comme manuscrit de base. Si bon nombre de vers y sont « faux », généralement hypo- ou hypermétriques d'une syllabe ou deux dans l'un ou l'autre hémistiche, certaines corrections s'annoncent d'ores et déjà comme relativement aisées, voire banales, pour le cas de textes copiés en Angleterre (phénomènes d'élision/non-élision, doublets *onc/onques*, *or/ore*, etc.). Par ailleurs, il y a tout lieu de croire que, sur la foi de quelques erreurs communes significatives, les leçons de **S**, témoin pourtant plus jeune et souvent dans une langue peu correcte, peuvent être adoptées, avec confiance, pour corriger la base. Enfin, il n'est pas impossible que pour les passages conservés également par les deux fragments, ceux-ci jouissent, eux, d'une autorité textuelle — mais, là encore, l'état de nos recherches reste fort embryonnaire. La matière propre à **S**, s'inspirant en gros, semble-t-il, de quelque version de Bartholf, a sans doute mieux sa place dans un appendice. La préparation d'une table de noms propres — avec un minimum d'identifications historiques ou autres, ainsi que celle d'un glossaire sélectif des termes d'ancien français les moins usuels (avec, éventuellement, leur correspondant dans le latin de Baudri) n'appellent pas de remarque particulière. Par contre, pose problème la mise à la disposition du lecteur d'un moyen de contrôler le texte français sur les passages en latin ; il serait tout à fait souhaitable de parfaire en quelque sorte le travail commencé par Meyer, mais d'ores et déjà, la simple reprise de l'édition de l'*Historia* du *RHC Hist. occ.*, vu ses défaillances, ne paraît pas la bonne solution.

La suite de cette communication abordera quelques traits portant sur la spécificité de cette adaptation de Baudri.

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9. *Romania*, 5, p. 45-46. Au dire de notre poète, un témoin oculaire serait la source de l'unique récit de la fin de l'émir Balac-ibn-Berhami (*ibid.*, p. 51-56).

L'agencement de la forme strophique de la laisse et une très nette stylisation formulaire, notamment dans les scènes de combats, renvoient immanquablement au modèle obligé qu'est la chanson de geste [10]. En effet, comment ne pas reconnaître la dette expressive envers les épopées dans ce passage ? *Puis broche le cheval des esporons dorrez / Vait ferir un paen qui ot non Daramez / Tute pleine sa lance l'abat en un fossez / Lors escrie « Mun joie ! Barons, ore i ferrez » !* (O, p. 114).

La fidélité de l'adaptateur à Baudri s'observe dans la conduite générale du récit, ainsi que dans la plupart des énumérations et des indications statistiques et chronologiques. Du reste, une bonne vingtaine de fois, le narrateur invoque directement l'autorité du livre ou de l'*estoire* du chroniqueur. Très tôt, cependant, il avoue qu'... *si ge di plus ne doi estre blamee / Car mainte chose i ad li bons clers obliee / Que cil demainement ont pur veire chantee / Qui l'orent od lur ielz veüe et esguardee* (O, p. 2). L'identité précise de ce « bon clerc » n'est pourtant pas assurée — est-ce peut-être le clerc provençal dont on a parlé plus haut ? — et l'allusion au recours à des récits de témoins oculaires reste fort vague. Mais notre œuvre se révèle tout de même comme une adaptation pleinement créatrice de Baudri, plutôt qu'une imitation *stricto sensu*. Précisons. Si notre poète respecte, et remarquablement bien, la continuité narrative de sa source, il ne se fait point l'écho, par exemple, des textes bibliques qui émaillent la chronique, et aux accents doctrinaux et théologiques que suscitent les tentes des croisés massées devant Nicée (... *sicut tabernacula Cedar, sicut pelles Salomonis*, cite Baudri [11]), il préfère les instances descriptives dérivées de l'écriture romanesque [12]. Bien entendu, il n'est pas question ici d'indiquer tous les raccourcissements ou omissions, pas plus que toutes les additions et mises en relief, servant par ailleurs à démarquer la chanson française de la chronique et à lui conférer son individualité.

Ceci dit, certains détails ou épisodes adventices ne sortent guère tels quels de l'imaginaire de l'auteur. Ainsi, deux éléments de contenu surtout semblent trouver leur origine dans le Premier Cycle épique de la Croisade. Les Tafurs (ces truands dont parle seul de tous les chroniqueurs Guibert de

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10. A cet égard, « la composante épique de l'œuvre » est sans doute plus accusée que ne reconnaît la critique, qui s'est portée jusqu'ici, il est vrai, sur les seuls morceaux publiés par Meyer ; cf. K.-H. Bender, « Un *Récit en vers français de la première croisade fondé sur Baudri de Bourgueil* : une histoire de la première croisade en laisses », dans *Les Epopées romanes*, C. Winter, Heidelberg (Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, 3), t. 1/2, fasc. 5, p. 81-83; partie documentaire préparée par H. Kleber, p. 111-2.

11. *RHC Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 28 (= *Ct* I, 5).

12. A. Petit, « Le Camp chrétien devant Antioche dans le RPCBB », *Romania*, 108 (1987), p. 503-519 ; ajoutons les descriptions de la tente de Corbaran (O, p. 248, 272). Le passage sur les splendeurs d'Antioche aux p. 199-200 n'a pas non plus d'équivalent dans la chronique latine.

Nogent) sont évoqués à maintes reprises dans notre chanson (e.g., O, p. 129, 134, 188, 225, 285, 304, 349) — leurs penchants anthropophages inspirant les mêmes frayeurs ici que dans les textes cycliques [13]. Et comme dans la *Chanson d'Antioche* (vers 5359 *sq.*), du moins dans le remaniement dû à Graindor de Douai, de la fin du XIIe siècle, le Soudan de Perse confie à Corbaran d'Oliferne (Kerboga) la garde de son fils (nommé Moadas ici), lequel sera tué par les croisés (O, p. 318). La brouille qui en résulte, entre Corbaran et son suzerain, est traitée dans la branche cyclique des *Chétifs*. A cet égard, soulignons qu'aux pages 373-92 du MS d'Oxford, en effet, après la déroute des Sarrasins à Ascalon, au début d'un nouveau cahier, écrit par le même scribe, se trouve précisément un fragment des *Chétifs* cyclique [14]. Aux yeux du rédacteur, donc, ce dernier texte pouvait bien former une soudure narrative avec le poème français de Baudri qu'il venait de terminer. Par contre, l'incident impressionnant de la tête de Renaut Porcet, catapultée, puis ramassée par l'évêque du Puy, Adémar, à qui elle rit (O, p. 188 *sq.*), pourrait provenir d'une version ancienne d'*Antioche*, car il ne figure pas dans la refonte de Graindor [15]. Sous les murs d'Antioche, Godefroi de Bouillon assène un coup au Turc Malprianz de sorte que le cheval sarrasin s'enfuit *la furcheüre o tut les esperons* (O, p. 180) ; le poète aurait pu relever ce détail dans le poème d'*Antioche*, mais aussi chez des chroniqueurs — tels Raimond d'Aguilers ou Albert d'Aix — à moins de l'avoir lu dans une rédaction de la chronique de Baudri apparentée au MS Chartres 130, la seule à nous le transmettre [16]. Enfin, la mission d'Amigdalis, confident de Corbaran, auprès des croisés (O, p. 277) n'a d'équivalent que chez Foucher de Chartres, qui l'a peut-être tirée de quelque source vernaculaire [17].

Trois aspects enfin nous permettront, espérons-le, de saisir « l'esprit » de la chanson et d'en apprécier éventuellement son caractère distinctif.

Relevons, pour commencer, un traitement particulier du thème pétrinien. Saint Pierre fut le premier évêque d'Antioche, et, comme l'évoquent à l'occasion les chroniqueurs, l'Anonyme et Foucher de Chartres, entre autres, les croisés sont de ce fait les héritiers tout-à-fait légitimes de cette ville. Baudri va jusqu'à incorporer ce motif dans sa rédaction de l'appel d'Urbain II [18]. Si,

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13. S. Duparc-Quioc, *Le Cycle de la Croisade*, Paris, H. Champion, 1955 (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes, 305), p. 79-80.

14. G. Myers, OFCC, 5, p. xiv.

15. *Antioche*, t. 2, p. 198-199.

16. *Antioche*, t. 1, vers 3667 *sq*, en note ; Madame Duparc nous rappelle que l'édition de Baudri du *RHC Hist. occ.* reproduit le MS de Chartres.

17. *Antioche*, t. 2, p. 210.

18. *RHC Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 13 ; l'élément se retrouve à deux ou trois reprises plus loin dans la chronique. Voir J. Riley-Smith, « The First Crusade and St. Peter », dans B.Z. Kedar, R.C.

pour sa part, le poète ne l'inclut pas dans son abrègement radical du prêche clermontois, il lui arrive de reprendre cette notion ailleurs à sa manière, comme dans un discours argumentatif prononcé par Robert de Normandie (O, p. 109), sans équivalent chez Baudri. Mais surtout, à la différence de sa source et d'autres chroniques, notre auteur souligne un tout autre volet de la carrière de saint Pierre, s'appuyant sans doute en partie sur diverses traditions apocryphes : devant l'armée chrétienne installée devant Antioche, l'évêque du Puy ouvre son sermon en rappelant comment Pierre y *converti la gent et les fist baptizier* et puis en chassa Simon le Magicien ; et, peu après, revenant au même sujet, le narrateur décrit brièvement l'activité menée contre Simon par l'apôtre à Rome (O, p. 85, 87).

D'autre part, le siège d'Antioche par les croisés se double d'un développement, non sans rapport avec ce que nous venons de constater, et également absent ou presque dans la chronique latine. Le rédacteur français met en place un certain nombre de situations menant à des conversions au christianisme, toutes spontanées ou du moins volontaires. Prenons le cas de Pirrus, bien connu des chroniqueurs, ce Firnouz, donc, vraisemblablement un Arménien apostat dont l'amitié pour Bohémond aida les Chrétiens à franchir les murs d'Antioche (*cf.* O, p. 230). En un mot, notre adaptateur fait beaucoup de cas de lui, en le chargeant de multiples ambassades et interventions auprès de Garsion (Darsianus/Yâghi Siyân). Pirrus a ici une fille Gaudette, attirée presque intuitivement par la religion des assaillants (O, p. 136), et fille et père reçoivent le baptême le même jour (p. 236). Mais il y a déjà Saracon, époux de Gaudette, converti en premier, qui se joint même aux rangs des croisés, à côté de Tancrède [19]. Voilà donc, pour les rapports avec le monde païen, tout comme dans beaucoup de textes littéraires vernaculaires, une très nette amorce de « dédiabolisation ».

Enfin, quelques épisodes « inventés » servent à rehausser le caractère exemplaire de la marche vers Jérusalem, en détournant notre regard des actions des princes croisés. Tel l'exploit de *danz* Yves Paen (O, p. 181 *sq.).* Avant de se jeter dans l'Oronte pour affronter des Sarrasins [20], ce vassal du comte Rotrou du Perche reçoit la bénédiction de l'évêque du Puy, au nom de Dieu qui *as fiz Israel fist departir la mer* ; au bord de l'épuisement, il est sauvé par un de ses *norris* (Baudouin/Hardouin), mais, la nuit tous deux meurent de la *freidure de l'eaue* (p. 185), et le lendemain, en grande solennité, ils sont enterrés dans un cimetière béni autrefois par saint Pierre. Survient

19. Aucun rapport ne semble exister entre ce personnage et le Siricon, héros d'un très court fragment de chanson de geste, dont le nom a pu rappeler celui de l'émir kurde Chîr-Koûh (*cf. Antioche*, t. 2, p. 214, note 31 et p. 273).

20. L'épisode n'est pas sans rappeler certains traits des exploits de Gontier d'Aire et Raimbaut Creton dans *Antioche* (t. 1, vers 3058 *sq* et 3900 *sq*).

presque aussitôt le spectacle de la torture de Renaut Porcet, et, ainsi galvanisés, à deux reprises, les croisés peuvent donc gagner les murailles d'Antioche [21].

Que proposer en guise de conclusion ? A dire vrai, celle-ci devrait attendre l'achèvement de notre édition. Notre propos ici a été la présentation générale d'un texte vernaculaire tiré d'une source prestigieuse. Certaines des innovations dans la version française de Baudri de Dol peuvent paraître ne relever que d'une surenchère fictive, imposant sur les données de la chronique une structuration et un équilibre, attributs somme toute « artificiels » et littéraires. Toutefois, la chanson ne constitue-t-elle pas aussi une « relecture » du texte fondateur et de l'*iter jerosolimitanum* même ? Beaucoup reste sans doute à découvrir, et l'historien, attentif aux résonances qui firent de la Croisade un phénomène vivant, voudra peut-être y revenir.

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21. Relevons la présence plus tard sur les murs de Jérusalem d'un Girart l'Hospitalier (*hume mult religius*), que les Sarrasins mettent au pilori et dont la vue incite les croisés à se lancer à l'assaut de la ville (O, p. 354), rappel donc de la scène avec Renaut Porcet à Antioche.

Chris W. GROCOCK

L'AVENTURE ÉPIQUE : le traitement poétique de la première Croisade par Gilon de Paris et son continuateur

L'oeuvre de Gilon de Paris, l'*Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, avec des continuations anonymes préservées dans un seul manuscrit de Charleville-Mézières, révèle un mélange de traitement théologique de la première Croisade avec la tradition littéraire de l'épopée classique, et montre en plus des liens avec la tradition orale de la poésie des *Chansons de Geste*. Ce texte peu connu a pu être étudié seulement dans le *Recueil d'Historiens de la Croisade*, t. 5, où on le trouvera édité de la même manière que celui de Guibert de Nogent, dont Prof. Huyguens parle ailleurs dans ce volume. Gilon lui-même nous révèle qu'il était né à Toucy, et à l'époque où il a écrit son poème, il vivait à Paris ; un explicit anonyme dans deux des manuscrits de l'oeuvre nous dit que plus tard il est devenu moine à Cluny et, éventuellement, cardinal-évêque de Tusculum en Italie [1].

Il semble que Gilon a écrit son poème avant 1110, et son récit est proche à la *Gesta Francorum* et à d'autres sources en prose, notamment celle de Robert de Reims ; ces récits montrent la même admiration que Gilon pour Bohémond, par exemple. Il existe en plus quelques similarités à la *Chanson*

1. Pour des informations plus détaillées sur les deux auteurs de l'*Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, voir l'édition du poème par C. Grocock et E. Siberry dans la série Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, Oxford University Press (sous presse).

d'Antioche écrite en ancien français, surtout dans le septième livre du poème complète [2].

Une péculiarité du récit de Gilon est qu'il commence son histoire non pas avec les débuts de la Croisade en France ou en Allemagne, mais avec le siège de Nicée. En ceci il semble suivre à la lettre le précepte pour la poésie épique d'Horace de commencer *in medias res* [3] ; ce n'est pas la seule occasion où Gilon montrera sa formation dans les poètes classiques, mais ce début pour ainsi dire tardif permettra à son continuateur d'ajouter plusieurs épisodes intéressants dans un style très différent, et de compléter cette histoire poétique de la Croisade. Gilon poursuit son histoire avec le siège d'Antioche et le trajet à et le prise de Jérusalem, terminant son récit avec le souhait que sa premier roi Godefroi, élu le huitième jour après la chute de la cité, mérite de vivre dans le huitième âge [4] — encore une indication de la date assez tôt de l'oeuvre, puisque Godefroi est toujours vivant.

Les continuations du poème de Gilon sont à trouver dans un *codex unicus* qui se trouve maintenant à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Charleville-Mézières. L'auteur de ces continuations a depuis longtemps été connu sous le nom de « Fulcon » ; cependant le manuscrit, seul source d'informations sur son auteur, n'en fait aucune mention du tout [5]. Ceci était noté déjà dans le dernier siècle par le savant Berthéreau ; le nom Fulcon, bien qu'attribué au poème par Sirmond [6], ne figure pas dans le manuscrit et semble n'avoir rien à faire avec les continuations de Gilon en réalité [7].

Les continuations elles-mêmes consistent de trois livres ajoutés avant le poème de Gilon qui donnent l'histoire de l'origine de la Croisade, y compris le sermon du pape Urbain II à Clermont ; la réponse des leaders, et surtout de Godefroi de Bouillon (qui est sans aucun doute le héros par excellence de

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2. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, viii. 400-97. Il s'agit d'une offre de Corbana de décider le siège par une épreuve de combat, le refus de Bohemond, et une liste de participants dans l'attaque qui s'ensuit.

3. Voir Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 148-9 : *semper ad euentum festinat et in medias res/ non secus ac notas auditorem rapit*.

4. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, ix. 370-2.

5. Voir la discussion dans l'introduction à l'*Historia uie Hierosolimitane*. L'anonymité de l'auteur des continuations du poème était la conclusion tirée il y a quelques années quand l'auteur de ce discours a préparé une édition critique du poème pour son doctorat, et était vérifiée pendant une visite à Charleville-Mézières en 1994.

6. Sirmond a fournit le texte, copié du manuscrit de Charleville, pour l'*editio princeps* du poème, dans F. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, Paris, 1636-49, iv. 890ff.

7. *quis et unde fuerit Fulco nusquam apparet* ; Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Français, 9080, f. 127r, et dans *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, éd. P. Riant, Paris, 1881-1884, ii. 129-30.

la Croisade, selon l'anonyme), la « Croisade des paysans », et l'arrivée à Constantinople des armées diverses dont la Croisade proprement dit était formée. Ensuite il y a quelques additions sans grand conséquence aux deux premiers livres du poème de Gilon (iv-v de l'oeuvre complète) et ensuite, au milieu du siège d'Antioche, l'histoire de l'expédition à Edesse, et une autre expédition moins historique à Babylone (c'est-à-dire au Caire) (livre vi). Le récit qui ressemble le plus à celui du poète anonyme se trouve chez Albert d'Aachen, dont l'oeuvre a été vers 1125-1130, mais peut être plus tôt. Les histoires racontées par l'anonyme sont très développées de la matière purement historique de la Croisade, et comprennent des épisodes qui appartiennent plutôt aux romans d'aventures fantastiques qu'à l'épopée, bien qu'elles ont très probablement une germe historique au fond : au sixième livre par exemple, les exploits de Baudoin en Edesse sont suivis par l'histoire de l'ambassade à Babylone. Ces développements aboutissent au cycle de poèmes du *Chevalier au Cygne*, dont Godefroi de Bouillon est un des pivots de l'action[8].

On peut à ce point poser la question : pourquoi écrire une épopée sur la Croisade ? Sauf la *Chanson d'Antioche* et l'oeuvre (des siècles plus tard) de Tasso c'est la prose qui domine l'historiographie de la Croisade. La matière présentée par l'histoire de la Croisade à Gilon est sans doute très convenable à ce genre, et l'auteur lui-même avoue dans sa Prologue[9] qu'il avait écrit des vers légers dans sa jeunesse ; maintenant il tourne son attention vers un sujet plus sérieux, et qui exige l'invocation de Christ pour assister le poète dans ses efforts d'écrire un ouvrage qui mérite le sujet[10]. Gilon se trouve au moment où la grande résurgence d'activité poétique en latin et en les langues vernaculaires venait de commencer, mais une différence entre son oeuvre et d'autres épopées telles que l'*Alexandreis* de Gauthier de Châtillon ou le *De bello Troiano* de Joseph d'Exeter est la distance entre la mythologie et la réalité historique ; Gilon affirme qu'il n'écrira pas des sujets d'un genre essentiellement faux. Pareillement les événements de la Croisade avaient eu peu de temps de développer dans l'esprit collective soit du peuple ou des écrivains, comme semble être le cas de la *Chanson de Roland*[11].

Cependant Gilon lui-même définit le genre en termes des poèmes classiques qui l'ont informé pendant sa formation, l'*Enéide* de Virgile, et l'*Achil-*

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8. *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, éd. C. Hippeau, Paris 1874 ; *Le Chevalier au Cygne : cycle Belge*, éd. F.A.F.T. de Reiffenberg, dans *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, Hainault, Luxembourg*, Bruxelles, s.d.

9. *Historia uie Hierosolomitane*, *op. cit.*, Prol. 4-7.

10. *Historia uie Hierosolomitane*, *op. cit.*, iv. 1-6.

11. Voir le sommaire de théories des *Chansons de Geste* dans I. Siciliano, *Les chansons de geste et l'épopée*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1968.

léide de Stace [12]. Dans ces poèmes le caractère central est le héros, l'individu qui réussit par ses propres forces et sauf l'intervention des divinités, et qui poursuit la gloire : ces éléments fournissent la définition classique du genre selon Bowra [13]. Le souvenir des classiques est fréquent dans le poème, et renforce le soupçon du classicisme de l'éducation reçue par chaque auteur. Paradoxalement le classicisme pur ne suffit pas de décrire l'immensité de la matière à traiter — Gilon avoue que même Virgile et d'autres maîtres de la poésie latine seraient incapables de décrire les exploits de Tancred, par exemple [14].

On verra plus tard que malgré la reconnaissance à Dieu qu'on trouve parsemée dans l'oeuvre de Gilon, il y a plusieurs parties du récit où l'action militaire et glorieuse domine, et le rôle joué par le surnaturel reste au fond et ne figure guère, ou pas du tout ; la tension entre l'attribution du succès de la Croisade à Dieu d'un part et aux combattants de l'autre reste sans résolution. On trouve de temps en temps dans les oeuvres sur la théorie poétique une distinction entre la poésie héroïque et l'épopée pure [15] mais il n'y a que peu d'évidence pour une telle distinction dans l'oeuvre de ces deux poètes. C'est le renom des héros ainsi que la gloire de Dieu qu'on trouve célébré, une poésie qui vante les qualités séculaires autant que religieuses. Selon de Riquer, « rien n'empêche la supposition qu'après les guerres et faits d'armes glorieux, des poèmes se développeraient pour célébrer leurs héros et leurs exploits importants » [16]. Gilon et son continuateur ont donc écrit probablement dans une tradition complexe de fondation classique et d'admiration de l'héroïsme.

Il est possible d'explorer ce mélange d'idées et de traditions en étudiant en bref le style de chaque poète, la langue utilisée, avec ses souvenirs classiques et vernaculaires, et aussi en examinant le rôle du héros tel que présenté dans le poème. Mais d'abord, comment chaque poète a-t-il vu la Croisade comme événement ? Les expressions de chacun donnent une indication de leur croyance fondamentale — il faut tenir en compte que ces deux auteurs font partie d'une communauté de foi vivante. Gilon commence

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12. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, Prol. 3 : *nec Turno dedimus carmen nec carmen Achilli.*

13. C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, Londres, Basingstoke, Macmillan, p. 2, 3, 5.

14. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, v. 374-5, *non Maro non Macer quid ibi Tancretius acer/fecerit exprimerent...*

15. Par exemple J. B. Hainsworth, *The Idea of Epic*, Berkley, University of California Press, 1991, p. 6. La tension que Hainsworth insiste à trouver dans l'épopée est présente dans l'oeuvre de Gilon dans les différences d'avis entre les leaders de la Croisade, le traitement de la psychologie d'Humberga, veuve de Galon, à la fin du cinquième livre, et dans la «trahison » d'Etienne de Blois

16. Voir Martin de Riquer, *Los Cantares de Gesta Franceses*, Madrid, 1952, p. 207.

son oeuvre avec le vers *est ope diuina Turcorum facta ruina* [17] — « la ruine des Turcs a été faite par l'assistance divine », et plus tard il dit que les Turcs sont *gens inimica Deo, Christi subdenda tropheo* [18] — « un peuple hostile à Dieu qui doit être subjugué au triomphe du Christ ». Chez lui, les soldats de l'ouest sont les soldats « du Christ » ou « de Dieu » [19]. Il prie pour l'assistance de Dieu pour écrire son oeuvre [20], et dans la deuxième partie du prologue il décrit le triomphe de Christ dans la Croisade [21] et encourage d'autres de suivre l'exemple de ceux qui ont exercé leur foi si pratiquement [22].

Le poète du manuscrit de Charleville nous donne des expressions plus fortes, ajoutant des réminiscences classiques au thème théologique : son esprit veut écrire « des gestes glorieuses des grands leaders » [23], que « la Troie du temps jadis a commencé de resurgir dans ses Francs » [24], et que la Croisade elle-même était due à « l'instigation et l'inspiration bénévole de Dieu » [25]. Ainsi que Gilon, il prie Dieu pour la même inspiration que les *patres*, leaders de la Croisade, ont reçue [26], et en plus il renie l'assistance des divinités païennes qui figurent dans la littérature classique [27].

Son attitude aux Turcs est pareille à celle de Gilon : ils sont « la férocité païenne», « l'horreur gentile », qui disent « mots de blasphème » et « polluent le temple de Dieu avec leurs idôles » [28]. En effet plus que pour Gilon c'est *Jérusalem* elle-même qui est la raison de la Croisade, Jérusalem qui « chef de toutes églises, mère et nourrice des disciples saints, témoin aux signes du salut, sanctifiée par le sang des premiers martyres, est devenue un trou sale, protectrice de voleurs... où le nom plus saint que tous est

17. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iv. 1.

18. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iv. 324

19. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iv. 298, *Christi miles* ; iv. 348, *miles Dei.*

20. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iv. 1-6

21. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, Prol. 25 : *Christus precessit, Christo uictoria cessit.*

22. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, Prol. 20-24.

23. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 1-2, *inclyta gesta ducum perscribere magnanimorum/ fert animus* ; ces deux derniers mots sont d'Ovide, *Métamorphoses*, i. 1.

24. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op cit.*, i. 11-12, *inque suis Francis antiqua resurgere Troia/ coepit.*

25. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 7, *instinctu Deitatis et auspice nutu.*

26. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 19-32.

27. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 15-18.

28 *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 35, *feritas pagana* ; i. 73, *gentile nefas.. blasphemantia uerba* ; i. 39, *Domini uiolans polluta per idola templum.*

blasphémé et le temple saint de Dieu est foulé aux pieds des méprisants » [29]. Plus tard, Jérusalem est « le tombeau de la vie » [30] ; la Croisade devient une « vengeance de piété », *uindicta pietatis* [31], contre toutes les païens qui, utilisant une image très classique, ont « conjuré leurs armes contre le Ciel, dans une lutte de Phlegra » [32].

Les styles des deux auteurs sont très différents. Gilon commence son poème en hexamètres léonins, rimés à la césure et à la fin, un vers qui était démodé depuis assez longtemps avant 1100 [33], mais il les mélange dans ses troisième et quatrième livres avec d'autres types de rime, et dans son dernier il abandonne toute rime « pour que l'attention du lecteur à la matière ne soit pas distraite par le style » [34]. La construction de ses phrases est très concise, soigneuse, et périodique. En revanche le poète anonyme montre un style linéaire, avec des longues listes de phrases, noms, et références bibliques, et d'autres exemples du rhétorique particulier au moyen âge, y compris l'habitude d'écrire en parataxis (avec de longues phrases jointes par conjonctions) au lieu des constructions soigneusement développées par son prédécesseur au point où, chez l'anonyme, on perd quelquefois la trace de la syntaxe et se trouve dans un jungle de collections de mots en apposition.

Les deux poètes montrent leur connaissance des auteurs classiques assez souvent, surtout de Virgile, d'Ovide, et de Lucan, mais aussi de Claudien, Stace, l'*Ilias Latina*, d'Arator, Prudence, et d'autres poètes de l'antiquité tardif. Chez l'anonyme, une seule réminiscence de Valère Flacce [35] et des phrases tirées de Juvenal [36] doivent leur provenance sans doute à des florilèges ou d'autres intermédiaires. L'anonyme écrit entièrement en *caudati*, ou couplets rimés d'hexamètres, et il utilise plus de citations manifestes que Gilon ; mais c'est ce dernier qui montre l'évidence d'une connaissance profonde du style poétique des anciens, et en particulier d'Ovide, qu'il imite dans sa prologue et à d'autres occasions. Ceci n'est pas surprenant, en vue de

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29. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 115-22.

30. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 186.

31. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 79.

32. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 63-64, *aduersus celum coniurata arma ferebant/ et ueluti Phlegrae certamina restituebant* ; voir Ovide, *Métamorphoses*, xv. 763, x. 151 ; Stace, *Achilléide*, i. 484.

33. Voir P. Klopsch, *Einhführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, Darmstadt, 1972, p. 72 ; D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm, 1958, p. 65.

34. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, ix. 1-14.

35. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, vi. 428.

36. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iii. 334 , vi. 18.

la désignation de l'*aetas Ovidiana* donnée à cette période [37]. Chez Gilon la narration des batailles en particulier est non seulement très classique mais aussi plein de verve, d'élan et de légèreté, et donne l'impression que ces parties de l'oeuvre étaient peut-être non seulement les plus faciles à composer pour le poète, mais aussi celles qui l'ont donné le plus de plaisir [38]. Le continuateur anonyme montre un style plus lourd et pesant, mais ceci à part, l'évidence de tous les deux poètes permet de supposer une formation profonde en lettres de chacun, — résultant des études dans le *trivium* et le *quadrivium* — et la manière dont les souvenirs de tels auteurs que Virgile, Lucan et Ovide sont incorporés dans le poème de Gilon en particulier indique qu'une lecture de ces poètes classiques est dans leur sang plutôt qu'une addition superficielle à leurs vers.

Une analyse des épithètes avec lesquels chacun des « leaders » de la Croisade est dépeint renforce l'impression de l'importance de l'héroïsme, de la chevalerie et de l'épée, tandis que la prière et le jeûne, bien que présents, sont soulignés d'un part en ensuite oubliée pendant des centaines de lignes de narration forte et fluide de l'action de la guerre. Bowra remarque [39] qu'une différence fondamentale entre les poèmes héroïques et des histoires d'aventure en vers est que dans les premiers le héros est admiré parce qu'il réussit par ses propres efforts, même quand la puissance surnaturelle de Dieu n'est pas mise en doute. Pour Gilon, l'intérêt semble résider donc dans les exploits merveilleux des hommes, et non pas dans les gestes merveilleuses soit de Dieu soit des fées. On trouve une attitude semblable à celle de Gilon dans la poésie de Chrétien de Troyes et Marie de France, où des objets magiques introduits dans une histoire sont dépeints avec soin mais ensuite oubliés, même quand le héros du récit aurait pu profiter de sa possession féerique [40].

Gilon introduit les figures les plus importants dès le départ de son récit : Hugues, Robert de Normandie, Robert de Flandres, et Etienne [41]. A iv. 213-5 on trouve Robert de Normandie, « à craindre en armes » (*in arma timendus*) et Hughes « le comte qui ne craint rien » (*nichil timidus comes*). Le duc de

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37. Pour un traitement détaillé de l'influence ovidienne sur Gilon dans son prologue et ailleurs, voir C. W. Grocock, «Ovid the Crusader », dans C. Martindale (éd.), *Ovid Renewed*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 55-69

38. Les exemples sont nombreux, mais *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, v. 260-33 et vii. 7-206 sont des épisodes à noter.

39. Bowra, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

40. Voir H. Cooper, «Magic that does not work », dans P. M. Clogan (éd.), *Medieval Poetics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (Medievalia et Humanistica, n^{elle} s., 7), p. 131-46.

41. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iv. 29ff.

Flandre possède une « épée qui hérisse », et il est « intrépide » [42]. La jeunesse de France est « célèbre », l'armée chrétienne consiste d'hommes de guerre, et les leaders sont dits « les bons nobles et patrons de la foi » et « champions de Dieu » [43]. On trouve aussi de la nostalgie quand Gilon écrit que « la main droite de nos gens, morte depuis longtemps, revit ici » [44]. Les chrétiens sont hommes de religion, c'est clair, mais leur religion est une religion qui va bien avec la chevalerie, et lorsque Gilon prie au Christ pour l'inspirer dans ses efforts, c'est de l'exemple des Maccabées qu'il rêve [45]. Quand les chrétiens donnent leur vie pour la Croisade, il sont néanmoins garantis de participer dans le paradis du ciel, méritant les dons célestes réservés aux fidèles du Christ.

Chez l'anonyme c'est Godefroi de Bouillon qui est le héros suprême, et il est dépeint avec les termes *egregius*, *inclitus*, *culmen honosque ducum* : « suprême, glorieux, l'apogée et l'honneur des ducs ». Il est en plus *exemplum bonitatis militiaeque*, « l'exemple de grâce militaire » [46]. Gilon l'estime très haut aussi, comme « l'étoile des ducs », et quand il charge à l'ennemi, il est semblable à un sanglier dans sa férocité [47]. Plus tard Godefroi figure dans un exploit où, en face d'un Sarrasin fort menaçant et fier, il coupe son ennemi en deux [48]. Cet exploit, le poète nous dit, ne se trouve dans les récits de Tideus ou de Capaneus, du fils d'Aiax, ni d'Hector, ni de Diomède. Un épisode très semblable se trouve dans la *Chanson de Roland* et l'événement est raconté aussi dans la *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne* : *cycle Belge* [49].

D'autres leaders dans l'anonyme sont introduits tour à tour, à la manière des *Chansons de Geste* : c'est un procédure qu'on trouvera plus tard chez Gilon, qui montre aussi des similarités aux poèmes vernaculaires. Dans le septième livre il nous introduit à Evrard de Puteolo, Odo Balgentiacus, Guillemus Beniensis, Paganus, Rainaldus Beluacensis, Drogo, Thomas, et Clarebaldus. Cette courte épisode parallèle très étroitement la *Chanson d'Antioche* en l'ordre de présentation des caractères mais dans un style plus

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42. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, v. 56, 260.

43. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, v.79, 103, 272, 302.

44 *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, v. 377-8 : *hic dextra reuixit/ mortua nostrorum.*

45. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, vii. 1-5.

46. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, i. 71, 173, 174.

47 *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iv. 260.

48. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, v. 351-69.

49. *Chanson de Roland*, 1367-78 ; *Chevalier au Cygne cycle Belge*, éd. Reiffenberg, *op. cit.*, t. v, 6322-32.

« latin » que « vernaculaire » ; les brèves épithètes qui accompagnent chaque individu dans le poème français sont omises dans le latin [50].

Il y a d'autres similarités à la poésie vernaculaire héroïque dans l'anonyme. Au sixième livre de l'oeuvre complète l'auditeur est prévenu par le poète de reconnaître une différentiation très nette entre les « bons » et les « mauvais » qui ne laisse aucune place pour de la doute dans l'auditeur ou le lecteur, même avant le récit des aventures commence : l'émir de « Babylone » est introduit avec l'épithète « perfide », nous préparant pour sa déception des chrétiens plus tard [51]. Devant cet émir de « Babylone » les chevaliers du seigneur se vantent et participent dans une sorte de tournoi, à la fin duquel l'émir effrayé admet la supériorité des armes chrétiennes [52].

De même que chez Gilon, on trouve toute une série de caractères principaux au début du poème de l'anonyme, à la manière des *Chansons de Geste* [53] : Robert, le « courage vivant » des Morini [54], Robert de Normandie, qui « noble et magnifique, brille de courage » [55], et enfin Etienne de Blois, « le descendant célèbre de Tetbald » [56]. (Il est rare de trouver ce dernier décrit en termes de héros dans la littérature de la Croisade ; Gilon, par exemple, prétend qu'il serait mieux de n'en faire mention jamais : *deleo de nostro, de qualicunque libello...* [57]) Nous avons noté déjà que le héros par excellence pour cet auteur est cependant Godefroi de Bouillon [58], qui dans ce récit des événements de la Croisade joue le rôle principal sur tous les autres, et montre plusieurs fois qu'il est courageux, ennemi implacable des païens mais protecteur des siens. Dans un épisode malheureusement plein de lacunes dans le manuscrit, il sauve un soldat d'un ours en luttant main à main — pour ainsi dire — avec la bête, et en souffre des blessures graves [59]. Les seules sources qui ressemble à cet épisode sont Guibert de Nogent, Albert

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50. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, vii. 452-69 ; *Chanson d'Antioche*, 9145-62.

51. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, vi. 346-7.

52. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, vi. 421-33.

53. Voir, par exemple, la *Chanson de Roland*, 2999-3095.

54. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, *Historia Hierosolimitana*, i. 195 : *Rotbertus uiuida uirtus Morinorum ...*

55. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i.199 : *magnifice Rolbertus claruit alter... praesignis et acer*.

56. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, i. 213 : *Stephanus clara propago Tetbaldi.*

57. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, vii. 498-503.

58. Héros est l'epithète qui le désigne, par exemple, à *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iii. 273.

59. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane, op. cit.*, iv. 365-97.

d'Aachen et Guillaume de Tyr [60]. Dans l'anonyme, les bons leaders sont aussi doués de *consilium* et de *moderatio* — des qualités qui sont au coeur du développement de l'action de la *Chanson de Roland* [61]. Au début du sixième livre, tous les ducs sont appelés des « héros », mais encore une fois c'est Godefroi qui est le plus célèbre, même parmi les païens, et c'est de lui spécifiquement que l'ambassade d'Edesse vient chercher de l'aide [62]. Cependant la description la plus développée et riche en techniques de la rhétorique est réservée à Baudoin, dépeint en termes laudatoires dont un Shakespeare ou un Corneille n'aurait pas eu honte [63]. L'héroïsme n'est pas limitée aux nobles, cependant : toutes les classes et les âges d'hommes sont incluses dans l'action à iv. 226-7, et quand Pierre l'Hermite ose s'approcher de Kerbogha à Antioche, la description de ses actions et de son comportement ne nous laisse pas douter son courage [64].

Les caractères principaux sont donc décrits en termes héroïques non seulement par les épithètes mais aussi par les gestes sur lesquels les deux poètes saisissent et par leurs sommaires de la cause de la Croisade elle-même, et de la raison pour le succès des chrétiens. L'adoption des armes pour la poursuite des buts spirituels est donc seulement justifiée mais présentée comme la fondation dynamique de la réussite chrétienne, et la combinaison de religion et d'action militaire est donc liée inséparablement. Gilon nous dit dans son prologue et au début du narratif proprement dit — du moins c'est ce qu'il y prétend — que ce poème est sa première tentative à l'épopée, et que sa motivation en l'écrivant est religieux — il va célébrer les événements de la ruine des Turcs qui est en même temps la victoire de Dieu [65]. C'est la même motivation qui a provoqué les soldats chrétiens de se ranimer contre les assauts des Turcs devant Nicée, lorsque Gilon dit d'eux que « menés par l'espoir du paradis ils ne dédaignent pas de mourir bien pour une vie meilleure » [66]. La combinaison parfaite de religion et de chevalerie est trouvée dans Gilon à iv. 7, où les soldats de l'ouest « brillent par l'épée et par la foi » (*gladioque fideque nitentes*), et dans l'anonyme à vi. 238, où les soldats de Baudoin, pris dans une embuscade, savent que leur vie dépend du Christ et de leurs mains droits (*per Christum et dextras restare superstite uita*). Pour Gilon la prière, le jeûne, les actions du clergé font partie normale de l'action des sièges et de

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60. Voir en particulier Guibert de Nogent, vii. 12, qui est probablement l'origine du récit de l'anonyme.

61. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iii. 171-2 ; *Chanson de Roland*, 1059-1123.

62. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, vi. 3-8.

63 *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, vi. 138-49.

64. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, vii. 498-503.

65 *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iv. 1.

66. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iv. 221-2 : *Francigene ducti spe sedis amene/ despiciendo mori bene pro uita meliori...*

la résistance aux assauts des Turcs [67], et l'inspiration de Dieu est la raison pour la trahison de Firuz à Antioche [68]. La religion ne peut que jouer un rôle important dans l'épisode de la lance sainte trouvée à Antioche, et aussi dans l'utilisation du calendrier chrétien pour donner des dates ou de spécifier des jours particuliers [69]. Le symbolisme de la prise de Jérusalem au jour et même à l'heure de la crucifixion est souligné avec soin [70] pour le soldat du Christ, qui lutte dans la Jérusalem terrestre pour gagner la Jérusalem céleste [71].

Chez l'anonyme la même motivation religieuse est évidente quand Godefroi — qui d'autre ? — adresse les armées chrétiennes sous sa charge pour les dissuader de suivre le mauvais exemple de la « Croisade de paysans » : « tous ceux qui sont constants dans l'action spirituelle doivent se rappeler qu'ils n'avaient pas entrepris ces périls sans l'approbation divine » [72]. A l'ambassade de l'empereur Godefroi insiste qu'il « suit ces routes pour l'honneur du saint-sépulchre et dans l'espoir de voir les lieux saints » — une rare référence à la Croisade considérée comme une simple pèlerinage au lieu d'une exercice militaire [73] — et il assure l'empereur lui-même qu'il est le servant de Dieu, *famulus Dei*, et ne s'attaquera contre d'autres fidèles [74]. La réalité historique est aussi loin du récit de l'anonyme quand il souligne que la victoire des forces de Godefroi sur les soldats de l'empereur était le résultat de l'aide de Dieu [75].

Hainsworth note qu'à « toute occasion où l'érudition classique se ranimait, on a essayé d'imiter les formes antiques » [76] — y compris l'épopée — et que « la vie intellectuelle du Moyen Age était sourde à la note simple de l'action héroïque » telle que présentée par les *Chansons de Geste*. Cependant l'action de la Croisade est claire et vibrante dans la narration épique de

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67. Voir par exemple *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iv. 124-7, 146, 154-5, vii.329-30, 363-4, 413-16.

68. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, vii. 7-8.

69. Voir par exemple *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, viii. 80 (chaînes de S. Pierre), 96 (le Toussaint), 118 (*lux Domini* = Dimanche).

70. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, ix. 272, 286-7.

71. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, ix. 281-2 : *pugnat pro duplici regno, quia querit utramque / Iherusalem, decertat in hac ut uiuat in illa*.

72. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iii. 101-2 : *nosse decere omnes, constantes mentis in actu/ non sine diuino hec suscepta pericula nutu*...

73. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iii. 271-2.

74. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iii. 293-300.

75. *Historia uie Hierosolimitane*, *op. cit.*, iii. 349-50 : *sic ope diuina nostris uictoria plena claruit, ast illis patuit miseranda ruina*. En effet les forces de Godefroi étaient mis en déroute par l'armée impériale.

76. Hainsworth, *The Idea of Epic*, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Gilon, et la matière récente et fraîche, jumelée avec la foi vibrante et actuelle de l'auteur, donne une vie renouvelée au genre classique et pourvoyant aux besoins de l'esprit humain de cet époque [77]. L'épopée de Gilon supporte plutôt l'avis de De Vries [78], qui remarque que « la chanson héroïque » a eu une résurgence pendant le XIe siècle puisque les conditions nécessaires pour cet art étaient présentes ainsi qu'en toute âge où l'épopée a fleuri — et notamment qu'il existait une noblesse puissante, turbulente et fière, dont les seigneurs de l'église sont descendus. Selon lui ces prélats ont vécu « comme des chevaliers, participant à la guerre et à la chasse, et dans leurs monastères sans doute se sont amusés en écoutant des histoires des gestes et des armes » — des épopées. Pour Gilon, pour l'anonyme et leurs contemporains, la Croisade a du représenter une aventure et une réussite presque inconcevable — un miracle surnaturel — au dehors de la littérature, et elle a inspiré une admiration du courage et de la foi exprimée en les termes tout à fait convenables de l'épopée et de la poésie héroïque. En utilisant ce genre pour traiter de la Croisade, il en résulte dans l'oeuvre de Gilon et de son continuateur anonyme un développement parallèle à la croissance des Hospitaliers et des Templiers, une fusion de la religion et de la chevalerie en armes — un hybride d'« épopée chrétienne », où les influences théologiques se montrent très clair, mais où les qualités les plus admirables sont souvent ceux du héros plutôt que ceux du saint.

77. Cf. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

78 J de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, trad. B.J. Timmer, Londres, New York, Oxford University Press, 1963, p 257.

Rudolf HIESTAND

LES CANONS DE CLERMONT ET D'ANTIOCHE
sur l'organisation ecclésiastique des Etats croisés
AUTHENTIQUES OU FAUX ?

Le canon du concile de Clermont sur l'indulgence accordée à tous ceux qui avec pure intention participeraient à une expédition pour porter secours aux frères chrétiens en Orient et pour libérer l'Eglise orientale, est bien connu. Dans sa forme la plus authentique il se lit comme suit : *Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro pecuniae vel honoris adeptione ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia ei reputetur* [1]. Ce canon avait une conséquence imprévue de tous : du pape lui-même, des pères du concile, de la foule affluée pour apprendre les décisions synodales ou tout simplement pour voir le vicaire de Saint-Pierre. Dans une certaine mesure il a créé la croisade ; en tout cas, avec le discours du pape à la fin du concile il a fait de Clermont le concile de la croisade, tel que tous les manuels le présentent [2].

A côté de ce fameux canon connu par tous, il existe une autre décision attribuée également au concile par une tradition très ancienne qui concerne encore plus directement la croisade et l'Orient latin. Dans son étude magistrale sur la tradition très complexe des canons de Clermont Robert

1. Somerville, « The Councils of Urban II » (*infra* note 3), p. 74, canon 2.

2. Sur le concile de Clermont voir en dernier lieu A. Becker, *Papst Urban II.*, t. 2, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1988, (Schriften der MGH 18,2), p. 382ss. ; H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 8e éd., Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1995, p. 13-40 ; R. Somerville, « The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society », *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 12 (1974), p. 55-90.

Somerville ne la mentionne pas, car elle n'est entrée dans aucune collection canonistique [3]. Mais l'attribution au concile de 1095 — à juste titre ou faux n'importe pour le moment — est appuyée par une deuxième décision attribuée à un concile d'Antioche en été 1098, où on l'aurait confirmée. Ainsi les historiens des croisades se trouvent bien devant l'obligation de s'en occuper et Somerville lui-même l'a fait dans un article postérieur sans arriver toutefois à une solution nette [4].

Quel est le contenu des deux décisions ? En racontant le conflit entre les patriarcats de Jérusalem et d'Antioche sur la province ecclésiastique de Tyr, Foucher de Chartres en 1124 s'écrie : « Que Dieu puisse réconcilier l'église d'Antioche avec celle de Jérusalem. Celle-là réclame que Tyr lui était soumise aux temps des Grecs, celle-ci avance des privilèges des papes. Car dans le concile auvergnat si authentique et si bien connu, avec approbation unanime on a établi que, au-delà de la grande mer, chaque ville reprise sur les infidèles restera dans les mains de son libérateur sans aucune contradiction. De même ceci a été répété et approuvé par tous dans le concile d'Antioche sous la présidence de l'évêque du Puy » [5].

D'autre part, le cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre contient une notice de caractère historique en deux parties. La première déclare qu'après la prise d'Antioche, avec le conseil prudent des grands, l'évêque du Puy, légat du siège apostolique, eût fixé la frontière entre le royaume de Jérusalem et la principauté d'Antioche au fleuve qui débouche dans la Méditerranée entre Tripolis et Tortose — aujourd'hui appelé Nahr al-Arkah. Selon la deuxième le pape Pascal II, dans un concile tenu à Bénévent en carême de l'an 1113, répondit aux envoyés du patriarche et du prince d'Antioche qui réclamaient la restitution de ses anciens droits : « Le vénérable pape Urbain II de sainte mémoire est bien connu d'avoir décidé quand il célébra le concile très fré-

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3. R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II.* I, *Decreta Claromontensia*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1972.

4. *Id.*, « The council of Clermont and the First Crusade », *Studia Gratiana*, 20 (1976), p. 323-331.

5. Foucher de Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, III 34, 14s., éd. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Unversitätsbuchhandlung, 1913, p. 739 : *Pacificet Deus Antiochenam ecclesiam cum Iherosolymitana quae duae dissident de Tyria tertia. Illa dicit hanc sibi fuisse subditam sub Graecorum tempore, haec dicit se esse communitam privilegiis a Romano pontifice. nam in concilio Alvernensi tam autentico et nominatissimo constitutum unanimi assensu fuit, ut quaecumque civitas mari magno transito a paganorum posset excuti iugo, sine contradictione perenniter obtineretur. Hoc etiam in Antiocheno concilio episcopo Podiensi magistrante replicatum et concessum ab omnibus est.* Les mots *tam autentico et nominatissimo* se réfèrent au concile et ne sont pas à traduire « wirklich und wörtlich » comme chez L. Buisson, Erobererrecht, *Vasallität und byzantinisches Staatsrecht auf dem ersten Kreuzzug*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985 (Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wiss. Hamburg 2, H. 4), p. 14s.

quenté de Clermont et lança la Croisade, que quiconque des princes pourrait acquérir des provinces ou des villes contre les infidèles, les églises de celles-ci appartiendraient dorénavant ... à leur territoire »[6].

Cette réponse du pape donnée comme citation directe se retrouve à la lettre dans une notice sur les délibérations du synode de Bénévent, qui nous est transmise dans un manuscrit canonistique du XII[e] siècle provenant de l'Eglise de Sidon[7]. Là, le pape ajoute à la fin : « Ainsi nous n'osons pas abolir le décret de ce père très renommé » — c'est à dire Urbain II.

De la sorte trois sources parlent d'une ou mieux de deux décisions de caractère territorial prises au concile de Clermont et dans un concile à Antioche en 1098. Tandis qu'elles sont d'accord sur une concordance entre structures politiques et organisation ecclésiastique établie à Clermont, quant à la décision d'Antioche Foucher de Chartres parle de manière générique sur une confirmation du canon de Clermont, le cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre y voit la définition très précise d'une frontière, tandis que Pascal II n'en souffle mot[8].

Les implications des trois textes sont évidemment graves. Ils concernent un des plus grands problèmes de la première croisade, c'est à savoir dans quelle mesure son issue correspondait à un plan arrêté ou tout au moins à des arrière-pensées bien concrétisées d'Urbain II. Mutatis mutandis il s'agit du problème discuté depuis plus de cent ans à propos de la quatrième croisade : « préméditation » ou « accident »[9], avec la différence que, dans le cas de la première croisade, il ne pourrait avoir aucune discussion sur l'auteur de la « déviation ». Car si nous acceptons les canons comme authentiques, il ne

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6. E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'Eglise du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1849, p. 8, n° 9 ; G. Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1985 (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, 15), p. 203, n° 89 : *Post captam Antiochiam Podensis episcopus sedis apostolicae legatus prudenti optimatum usu consilio Ierosolimitano regno et Antiocheno principatui terminum posuit, fluvium scilicet qui Tripolim et Tortosam interfluit ... Sancte memorie venerabilis Urbanus papa, quando concilium populosissime congregationis in Monte Claro celebravit viamque Ierosolimitanam suscitavit, decrevisse memoratur et scitur, quod quicumque principes provincias vel civitates super gentes conquirerent, eliminatis gentium ritibus eorum principatibus ecclesie restitute pertinerent.*

7. Vat. lat. 1345, f. 214v, éd. R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985 (Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen. 3. Folge, 136), p. 119, n° 15

8. Foucher, *Historia Hierosolymitana* : *Hoc etiam in Antiocheno concilio episcopo Podiensi magistrante replicatum et concessum ab omnibus est ;* Cartulaire : *terminum posuit fluvium scilicet qui Tripolin et Tortosam interfluit.*

9. D.E. Queller, S.J. Stratton, « A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade », *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 6 (1969), p. 233-277.

restera pas de doute que le pape ait prévu (ou même ordonné) la création d'Etats franques et d'Eglises latines en Syrie. Ainsi la réponse déterminera l'interprétation à donner au cours des événements à partir du séjour des croisés à Constantinople.

La littérature immense sur la première croisade fait état d'une attitude contradictoire de face à nos textes. Le premier ne se rencontre que rarement et encore avec un embarras évident. Car la thèse pendant longtemps répétée qui voulait voir en Adhémar du Puy le futur patriarche de Jérusalem manque d'appui dans les sources et soulèverait en plus la question qui avait été prévu pour le siège d'Antioche. Plus rares encore sont ceux qui soutiennent que le pape ait prémédité la création d'Etats croisés. Mais en se référant aux réflexions de Robert Somerville, tout récemment Alphons Becker et Ludwig Buisson, avec quelques hésitations, penchent de nouveau vers une telle thèse [10]. Comme l'appui le plus fort en sa faveur sont tout juste nos deux textes il vaut certainement la peine d'y revenir.

Aussi la question fondamentale garde-t-elle toute sa vigueur : canons authentiques ou faux ? Dans les collections canonistiques, nous l'avons dit, le décret de Clermont cité par Foucher et Pascal II ne se trouve pas. Bien sûr, cela n'en exclut pas en soi l'authenticité, car toutes les décisions des conciles et synodes n'entraient pas dans le droit canonique, surtout quand il s'agit de questions litigieuses. En outre, en 1095, notre statut pourrait avoir été établi après la conclusion des délibérations proprement dites. Il reste que le canon attribue à Urbain II et au concile une anticipation extraordinaire. Car, il ne faut pas l'oublier, il est même douteux que Urbain II à Clermont ait parlé de Jérusalem comme but politique et militaire de l'entreprise. En tout cas, le canon bien connu sur l'indulgence insistait que les croisés devraient partir *pro sola devotione, non pro pecuniae vel honoris adeptione*. Par contre, prévoir la conquête de villes et des disputes sur leur dépendance ecclésiastique, comme notre canon l'implique, se laisse difficilement réconcilier avec de tels principes. En plus, à la fin du concile il n'y eut qu'un seul grand personnage laïc dont on savait l'adhésion : Raymond de Saint-Gilles. Comment alors prévoir des disputes entre plusieurs Etats ? Les obstacles qui se dressent contre l'authenticité du canon de Clermont deviennent insurmontables.

Pareillement pour le canon d'Antioche on ne voit guère comment, entre la victoire sur Kerbogha le 28 juin et la mort du légat le 1 août 1098, une assemblée ait pu fixer une frontière entre la principauté d'Antioche et le

10. Buisson, *Erobererrecht, op. cit.* ; Becker, *Urban. II., op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 384s. : « Urban II. scheint in Clermont wenigstens allgemein an eine Neuordnung im Orient auch durch die Kreuzfahrer selbst gedacht zu haben, wie das (allerdings spätere) Zeugnis Paschalis' II. vom Jahre 1113 zeigt ». Voir aussi J.G. Rowe, « Pascal II and the relations between the spiritual and temporal power in the kingdom of Jerusalem », *Speculum*, 32 (1957), p. 470-501, p. 475.

royaume de Jérusalem. On venait de décider qu'il vaudrait mieux d'attendre la réponse d'Alexis I avant de décider sur les prochains pas et que l'on se réunirait de nouveau le 1 novembre [11]. De même, la mainmise de Bohémond sur la capitale syrienne n'était pas encore reconnue, car Raymond de Saint-Gilles s'y opposa. Ainsi, comme Jean Richard l'a bien remarqué [12], en été 1098 une principauté d'Antioche comme Etat croisé était loin d'exister et encore moins un royaume latin de Jérusalem [13].

Authentiques ou faux ? Retenons que ni le canon de Clermont ni la décision d'Antioche correspondaient à la situation du moment donné. Ainsi, ils semblent être faux l'un et l'autre. Mais alors d'autres questions s'en suivent : invention pure et simple ? invention par qui ? Dans le récit de Foucher comme dans le cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre et dans le manuscrit de Sidon le but est évident : il fallait appuyer la position de Jérusalem dans la controverse sur la province de Tyr [14]. Mais au fond le but fut double — ecclésiastique et politique : d'une part toutes les villes conquises par le roi de Jérusalem devraient être soumises au patriarche de Jérusalem, d'autre part grâce au canon d'Antioche dans la version rapportée par le cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre le royaume de Jérusalem s'étendrait sur tout le territoire au Sud de Tortose, ce qui d'ailleurs ne laisserait pas de place à un comté de Tripoli comme état indépendant. Il s'agirait donc de deux apocryphes fabriqués à Jérusalem, et on serait porté à les attribuer à Arnoul de Chocques, archidiacre et chancelier, avant d'accéder au trône patriarcal en 1112.

Toutefois le texte de Bénévent s'oppose à telle solution trop facile. Ce fut le pape à rappeler, de face à la plainte du patriarche d'Antioche, une décision d'Urbain II dont il n'oserait s'écarter ou même aller jusqu'à l'abolir [15]. Dans tout une série de lettres papales dirigées en Orient dans les années 1110 à 1113 la concordance entre structure politique et ecclésiastique sert comme base. Si des envoyés du patriarche de Jérusalem furent présents à Bénévent, nous ne le savons pas [16]. En tout cas, ni les Antiochéens ni éventuellement

11. Pour les sources H. Hagenmeyer, « Chronologie de la première croisade », *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 7 (1900), p. 314, n° 298.

12. J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine, 1102-1187*, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1945 (Bibliothèque historique et archéologique 39), p. 60 parle à propos d'Antioche d'un « pseudo-décret », à propos de Clermont d'une « décision » d'Urbain II.

13. Hagenmeyer, commentaire à l'édition de Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 741 note 35 avait jugé comme « unwahrscheinlich » une telle décision.

14. Cf. J.G. Rowe, « The Papacy and the Ecclesiastical Province of Tyre 1110-1187 », *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960), p. 160-189.

15. *Quod discretissimi patris decretum rescindere non audemus.*

16. Il semble plutôt que non, voir *infra* la réponse du pape.

des Hiérosolymitains firent la référence au concile de Clermont, mais Pascal II. D'ailleurs, alléguer en 1113 en pleine curie un prétendu canon de 1095 fabriqué tout court, aurait été effronté. Il y avait bien de personnes — à commencer peut-être par le pape lui-même, alors cardinal-prêtre de Saint-Clément [17], certainement le chancelier de l'église romaine, Jean de Gaète, futur Gélase II [18] — qui avaient accompagné Urbain II pendant son voyage en France. Eux, au moins, ils savaient ce que l'on avait établi à Clermont. Et le pape ajouta que, dans cette cause, il pouvait décider sans délai, c'est-à-dire sans attendre le parti adverse, parce qu'« on se souvient et on connaît ce décret » [19]. Il faut bien qu'il y en avait un en propos.

Donc, au moins en ce qui concerne Clermont, canon authentique avec toutes les conséquences ? Il ne faut jamais oublier, nous l'avons dit, que le concile de Clermont n'était ni exclusivement ni principalement le concile de la croisade. Celle-ci y joua à vrai dire un rôle secondaire, elle fut pour ainsi dire un appendice. Tout d'abord Clermont fut le grand concile de réforme pour l'Europe occidentale, comme le concile de Plaisance l'avait été pour l'Italie du Nord et l'Allemagne [20]. Et comme tous les conciles celui de Clermont fut aussi l'occasion à soumettre au pape maintes questions litigieuses. A part les canons, Robert Somerville a pu énumérer 29 décisions prises aux temps du concile [21]. Aucune d'elles ne se rapporte à l'organisation ecclésiastique et sa concordance avec les structures politiques dans des territoires à reconquérir sur les infidèles.

Ces problèmes existaient quand-même à la fin du XIe siècle en plusieurs endroits de la chrétienté. En Sicile le comte Roger était en train de rétablir l'Eglise latine et alla recevoir trois ans plus tard la fameuse légation appelée *Monarchia Sicula* [22]. Pour la Sardaigne et la Corse libérées depuis peu des incursions sarrasines Grégoire VII avait conféré à Pise la légation pour la

17. Sur Renier-Pascal II, cf. C. Servatius, *Paschalis II. 1099-1118*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1979 (Päpste und Papsttum, 14), p. 16, qui retient une présence à Clermont comme probable. Par contre R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049-1130*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1977 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Rom, 48), p. 160s. et Becker, *Urban II., op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 456 ne le citent pas dans l'entourage du pape en France. Somerville, « Latin Christian society », *op. cit.*, p. 80 note 175 laisse la question ouverte.

18. Becker, *Urban II., op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 456.

19. Voir note 6 : *decrevisse memoratur et scitur*.

20. Sur Piacenza et l'appel du basileus voir surtout Becker, *Urban II., op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 184-188, 378s.

21. Somerville, « Latin Christian society », *op. cit.*, p. 84-89.

22. Cf. Becker, *Urban II., op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 117-120 et JL. 5706 ; J. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen*, Köln-Wien, 1972, p. 137ss. ; *Id.*, « Der Anspruch der Herrscher des 12. Jahrhunderts auf die apostolische Legation », *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 2 (1964), p. 117-186 ; S. Fodale, *Comes et legatus Siciliae*, Palermo, U. Manfredi, 1970.

première et Urbain II venait de créer Daimbert de Pise archevêque pour la seconde [23]. Toutefois en Sicile il n'y eut pas de conflits entre des pouvoirs politiques concurrents et la lutte entre Pise et Gênes n'éclatera qu'un quart de siècle plus tard. Cependant dans la péninsule ibérique avec la reconstitution d'anciens et la création de nouveaux évêchés comme Oviedo, Barbastro [24] et Burgos, la reconstruction de Tarragone [25] et la collation de la primatie à Tolède [26], ces problèmes étaient devenus actuels et urgents [27]. Personne d'autre que le cardinal Rénier (soit Pascal II) avait accompli en 1089-1090 une légation pour terminer des différends entre les royaumes ibériques, suivi en 1092 du cardinal-évêque d'Albano et peut-être de Daimbert de Pise [28]. A Clermont un fort contingent de prélats espagnols fut présent : les archevêques de Tolède et de Tarragone, les évêques de Compostelle, Lugo, Pampelune et Vic, peut-être d'autres encore [29]. Peu de mois après Clermont l'évêque de Burgos reçut un privilège qui devant les prétentions irréconciliables de Castille et d'Aragon lui conféra l'exemption [30]. On n'en avait certainement longtemps discuté, peut-être déjà à Clermont. Bien qu'un témoignage direct fasse défaut, une décision sur les principes d'organisation ecclésiastique dans la péninsule s'insérerait dans la situation de 1095 sans problèmes. Elle aura prévu la ligne affirmée plus tard par le pape en face aux protestations réciproques d'Antioche et de Jérusalem, à savoir une concordance entre pouvoir politique et pouvoir ecclésiastique sous la réserve que les anciennes structures ne fussent plus connues.

Ainsi, avec tout probabilité, nous pouvons restituer à Clermont une trentième décision qui comme l'appel du pape avaient des effets imprévus. Car, après le succès de la croisade, au plus tard après la conquête de Beyrouth en

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23. Voir *Italia Pontificia* X, éd. P.F. Kehr-D. Girgensohn, Zürich, Weidmann, 1975, p. 381, n° 4 pour la Sardaigne et *ibid.* p. 469s., n°s 19-22 pour la Corse.

24. JL. 5777 est à retenir comme authentique, cf. P.F. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, 1, Berlin, Weidmann, 1926 (Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen. N. F. n° 18/2), p. 297, n° 31.

25. JL. 5688.

26. JL. 5366s. et 5370s., éd. Mansilla, *op. cit.*, p. 39-45, n°s 24-27.

27. Voir Becker, *Urban II.*, *op. cit.*, t. 1, p. 227-254.

28. Voir G. Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legaten nach Spanien und Portugal*, Diss. Berlin 1931, p. 30-32 et Servatius, *Paschalis II.*, *op. cit.*, p. 18-32.

29. Voir Somerville, « Latin Christian Society », *op. cit.* ; Ordéric Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* IX 2, éd. M. Chibnall, London, Oxford University Press, 1975, t. 4, p. 12 : *omnes episcopos Galliae et Hispaniae*. L'*Historia Compostellana*, éd. E. Falque Rey, Turnhout, Brépols, 1988 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 70), p. 18 mentionne la présence de plusieurs suffragants de Compostelle.

30. *JL.* 5653, éd. D. Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Innocencio III (965-1216)*, Roma, Instituto español de estudios eclesiásticos, 1955, p. 55, n° 37.

1110 par Baudouin I [31], le principe établi à Clermont pour l'Espagne servait de précédent pour l'Orient latin. Il suffit d'omettre les références spécifiques, si besoin y était du tout, pour obtenir un texte générique.

Il reste le canon d'Antioche. Une dernière fois : authentique ou faux ? Evidemment en été 1098 on n'a point tracé une ligne de démarcation entre la principauté d'Antioche et le royaume de Jérusalem, car ni celle-là ni celui-ci n'existait en ce moment. Donc un faux ? Il fallait bien définir une question, quand on pensait à s'installer en Syrie du Nord et, le cas échéant, continuer vers le Sud : les limites du territoire de l'Empire byzantin dont on avait promis la restitution au basileus [32]. Tortose avait encore appartenue aux Grecs jusqu'à l'avance des Turcs à la fin du XIe siècle, tandis que Tripolis se trouvait dans les mains des infidèles depuis la conquête arabe. Cette ligne de démarcation entre Tortose et Tripolis fut reprise en 1108 dans le traité de Devol entre Alexis I et Bohémond [33], et pareillement l'année suivante dans le partage du comté de Tripoli entre Guillaume-Jourdain qui reçut le Nord, féodalement dans la mouvance d'Antioche, et Bertrand auquel échoua le Sud, féodalement dans la mouvance de Jérusalem [34]. Ainsi à Antioche, dans cette réunion des chefs de la croisade sous la présidence d'Adhémar du Puy en 1098, il ne s'agissait pas de démarcation ecclésiastique, mais de frontière politique sans définir déjà la structure d'éventuelles conquêtes. Mais en altérant plus tard le caractère de cette décision en y insérant au lieu de l'Empire byzantin et le territoire musulman les deux Etats croisés d'Antioche et de Jérusalem, le résultat était clair. Il n'aurait en avenir que deux grandes puissances dans le Proche Orient : l'Empire byzantin dont Antioche faisait partie comme on l'avait établi lors du séjour à Constantinople, et un Etat latin pour tout le reste avec la capitale à Jérusalem. On se souviendra du premier titre attribué au royaume de Baudouin I : *regnum Asiae* [35].

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31. Il est étonnant qu'après la prise de Saint-Jean d'Acre en 1104 rien ne fut réglé sur l'organisation ecclésiastique.

32. Cf. Buisson, *Erobererrecht*, *op. cit.*, p. 27-34 ; R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten (1096-1204)*, München, Wilhelm Fink, 1981 (Poikila Byzantina, 1), p. 6-24 ; J.H. Pryor, « The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus : Fealty, Homage - pistis, douleia », *Parergon. Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, n.s. 2 (1984), p. 111-141.

33. Anne Comnène, *L'Alexiade* XIII 12, 21, éd. B. Leib, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1937-1945, t. 3, p. 134s. ; cf. Lilie, Byzanz, *op. cit.*, p. 67-74.

34. Albert d'Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana* IX 12, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1879 (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), p. 667 ; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronicon* XI 9, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis), p. 507s. ; cf. Lilie, *Byzanz*, *op. cit.*, p. 74s. ; Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

35. R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani 1097-1291* (RRH), Innsbrück, Libraria Academica Wagneriana, 1893, n° 36, éd. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, t. 2, Paris 1897, p. 899, n° 1 : *qui fratri suo in regnum Asye successit* ; RRH n° 40, éd. Rozière, *Cartulaire, op. cit.*, p. 71, n° 36 : *Balduino*

En conclusion nous avons probablement d'abord une décision authentique de Clermont sur l'organisation ecclésiastique en Espagne transposée aux territoires syriens, où, en plus, après 1110, Jérusalem chercha à supprimer une réserve sur les anciennes structures ou la papauté à l'y insérer pour sauver sa face vis-à-vis d'Antioche. Pareillement nous avons une décision authentique prise à Antioche en 1098, dans laquelle à l'Empire byzantin et aux territoires en dehors de celui-ci furent substituées les entités politiques nées aux entrefaites pour appuyer Jérusalem dans ses prétentions politiques et ecclésiastiques à la fois. Mais le pape, comme le texte de Bénévent le prouve, ne tint compte de cette décision ni dans sa forme originale ni dans celle altérée. Ceci ne pourra étonner, car au contraire de ce qui valait pour le canon de Clermont, personne parmi les présents n'avait été présent à Antioche et aucune documentation écrite en due forme ne pouvait y suppléer. Antioche n'était pas un canon dans le sens proprement dit, soit de nature ecclésiastique, mais une décision politique, à laquelle le légat du pape avait pris part.

La réponse au problème posé au début doit être par conséquent comme suit : base authentique mais transposition et peut-être dans ce cas non pas insertion mais élimination d'une clause pour le canon de Clermont — base authentique mais échange de termes et « actualisation » pour le canon d'Antioche, — donc tous les deux falsifiés ! Sur un plan plus général on ne peut donc plus alléguer les deux canons comme preuves de la « préméditation » d'Urbain II et d'un plan déjà bien établi à Clermont pour la création d'Etats croisés et d'une Eglise latine en Orient. Par contre, les principes appliqués dans l'organisation ecclésiastique en Syrie sont à ajouter — à côté de l'expérience du pèlerin Adhémar sur la route de Compostelle, de l'expérience de Raymond de Saint-Gilles, mari d'une princesse castillane, dans les combats contre les Maures [36] et de l'indulgence accordée aux croisés — au grand thème trop négligé du rôle médiateur du concile de Clermont entre l'Espagne et la Croisade.

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regnum Asye successit ; RRH n° 40, éd. Rozière, *Cartulaire, op. cit.*, p. 71, n° 36 : *Balduino vero rege ... regnum Babilonie atque Asie disponente*. De même Pascal II avait adressé la première lettre papale aux croisés depuis leur départ *ecclesiae triumphantis in Asia*, ed. JL. 5835, éd. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden, op. cit*, p. 90 n° 1, comme Urbain II en 1098 avait opposé aux succès de la Reconquista ceux *contra Turcos in Asia*, JL. 5703.

36. Cf. la *Chronique de Saint-Chaffre* c. 14, éd. U. Chevalier, Paris, Alphonse Picard, 1881, p. 13s. Dans l'expression *in peregrinatione positus* le mot *Iherosolimitana* ne se trouve que dans un manuscrit plus récent ; sur Raymond de Saint-Gilles en Espagne surtout L.H. Hill-J.H. Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles, comte de Toulouse*, Toulouse, Edouard Privat, 1959, p. 20s.

— II —

LA PREMIÈRE CROISADE

L'APPEL DE CLERMONT ET LA RÉPONSE

John FRANCE

LES ORIGINES DE LA PREMIÈRE CROISADE
Un nouvel examen

Qu'est-ce qui a poussé les hommes à répondre à l'appel d'Urbain II et à partir en croisade en 1095 ? On ne le saura sans doute jamais. Même quand nous avons des connaissances assez détaillées au sujet d'un individu, ce que nous savons reste pour la plupart externe. Godefroi de Bouillon, par exemple, a dû braver de nombreuses attaques contre ses possessions familiales et sa situation en Lorraine n'était pas des plus fortes ; mais est-ce qu'on peut vraiment accepter que cet homme, qui avait déjà repoussé tant de menaces, ait été pris de désespoir au point de partir désespéré pour l'Orient ? Ne serait-ce pas plutôt une décision positive de recommencer ? Même quand les participants semblent nous parler directement dans leurs chartes, c'est à travers l'intermédiaire déformant du scribe monastique. Dans son analyse des raisons pour lesquelles on était prédisposé à répondre à l'appel d'Urbain en 1095, Erdmann souligne l'influence ecclésiastique sur les chevaliers comme sur leurs maîtres [1]. Qu'il eût raison de le faire est indiscutable. — c'était à eux que s'adressait l'appel d'Urbain et leur appui y était indispensable, car la société contemporaine était dominée moins par la classe que par un système de patronage. Urbain avait sans aucun doute l'intention de compter là-dessous pour augmenter le nombre de participants ; et en effet ceci a fait une forte impression sur la croisade. En essayant de comprendre l'attrait de la *Croisade Populaire*, on a élargi l'analyse d'Erdmann d'une manière qui n'aide guère. La Première Croisade a bien fini par embrasser ce mouvement de masse, mais ceci faisait un cas exceptionnel dans une armée créée autour

1. C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trad. M.W. Baldwin et W. Goffart, Princeton, 1977.

des seigneurs et leurs suites. Pour comprendre un peu la motivation de l'aristocratie et des chevaliers qui en dépendaient, il nous faudra examiner leurs idées, leurs coutumes, leur milieu sociale et leur piété.

Dans un livre récent dont le titre, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, décrit si précisément une partie de l'étude prescrite, M. Bull a attaqué vivement — et à mon avis avec justesse — la thèse d'Erdmann où il prétend que la Paix de Dieu avait un grand effet, au moins en Aquitaine. Il semble peu probable que les idées des théologiens de violence tel Anselme de Lucques aient eu beaucoup d'influence. Bull a soutenu également, mais selon moi avec moins de conviction, que les guerres en Espagne ne touchaient guère les attitudes des grands seigneurs du nord[2]. Il est certainement vrai qu'on essayait en vain d'étendre l'attrait des guerres espagnoles, mais on ne saurait douter qu'à l'époque et depuis au moins l'ère carolingien il existait partout à l'occident une forte approbation de toute guerre contre les non-chrétiens. Ceci pourtant ne semble pas avoir été enflammé par une haine généralisée de l'Islam. Erdmann a identifié « les grands traits de l'idée de la croisade » dans le récit fait par Thietmar de Merseburg de la contre-attaque de Benoît VIII contre Mogehid de Denia après la prise par celui-ci de Luni en 1016. Certes, Thietmar s'est réjoui de la triomphe chrétienne, mais la désignation des *inimicos Christi* est plutôt insipide ; plus loin il décrit la guerre faite par Otto II contre les Musulmans d'Italie dans les termes les plus plats[3]. Vers la même époque, Adémar de Chabannes raconte le meurtre d'Ermengaud, comte d'Urgel par les Musulmans de l'Espagne, dont le chef lui a coupé la tête et l'a ornée d'or en signe de victoire ; il en fait le récit de la même manière sèche et détachée qui caractérise une grande partie de son reportage des événements en Espagne[4]. Trente ans plus tard, plusieurs comptes rendus des problèmes du pèlerinage allemand de 1064-5 en rejettent la responsabilité sur les chefs, dont la conduite ostentatoire aurait provoqué l'attaque, plutôt que sur les Musulmans qui l'ont harcelé[5]. Mais — et pour de très bonnes raisons — il est étrangement difficile de trouver de dénonciations acharnées de l'Islam dans

2. M. Bull, *Knightly piety and the lay response to the First Crusade*, Oxford, 1993, p. 21-69, 70-114.

3. Erdmann, *Origin*, *op. cit.*, p. 112 ; Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, éd. I.M.Lappenberg and F.Kurze, Hanover, 1889, p. 219-20, 34, 47, 60, 62.

4. Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, éd. J. Chavanon, Paris, 1897, p. 161.

5. *Annales Altahenses maiores* (a.1065), éd. E.L.B.von Oefele, Hanovre, 1891, p. 66-71 ; Lambert de Hersfeld, *Annales* (a. 1064-5), *MGH SS*, 5, p. 168-171 ; Marianus Scotus, Chronicon, *MGH SS*, 5, p. 558-559 ; *Vita Altmanni*, *MGH SS*, 12, p. 227-230. Ce sujet a été étudié par E.Joranson, « The Great German Pilgrimage », dans L.J.Paetow (ed), *The crusades and other historical essays presented to D.C.Munro*, New York, 1928, p. 2-43 ; Erdmann, *Origin*, *op. cit.*, p. 302-303 ; L.Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1921, p. 45-48.

les sources du XIe siècle ; après tout, l'Islam ne touchait guère personne en dehors de l'Espagne, et quelque peu en Italie. En Espagne, l'histoire du Cid qui se battait pour les puissances islamiques et chrétiennes, devrait nous mettre en garde contre la considération de ce conflit en termes purement idéologiques. Bien sûr, en Espagne, l'Islam était l'ennemi « numéro un », mais pas tout le temps et à aucun moment l'ennemi principal de tous. En Allemagne, l'ennemi préconçu était le paganisme de l'Europe centrale et même là, les circonstances ont permis des alliances comme celle de Henri II avec les Ljutici contre les chrétiens polonais.

Mais il existe un seul écrivain du XIe siècle qui présente en effet la guerre contre l'Islam dans les simples termes idéologiques noirs et blancs si typiques de l'âge des croisades — il s'agit de Raoul Glaber. Il avait un sens assez poussé pour son époque de la Chrétienté latine — « notre continent de ce côté de la mer » — qu'il oppose très nettement à l'Islam, aux païens de l'Europe centrale et à la chrétienté byzantine, contre lesquels il entretient une hostilité violente. Dans un passage célèbre il parle d'un ton approbateur des moines qui se battent contre l'Islam en Espagne et représente ceux qui y trouvent la mort comme bénéficiaires de la vie éternelle. Mais ce passage reste fort exceptionnel ; comparé à ses contemporains comme aux auteurs qui le suivaient, le sens qu'avait Glaber de la chrétienté latine était extraordinairement puissant [6]. Les chroniques du XIe siècle n'indiquent que rarement une conscience élevée de « l'ennemi extérieur » et ne donnent certainement pas l'idée de l'existence de son concomitant, un sens d'identité chrétienne latine. En fait, il est étrangement difficile de trouver avant le XIIe siècle des références dans nos documents à l'église orientale ou à l'église occidentale. Ces références paraissent à des moments de crise particuliers, tel le fameux schisme cérularien. Mais encore là, le langage de Léon IX est intéressant et le souci qu'il se donne de séparer celle de Constantinople des autres églises de l'orient est digne d'attention. La Papauté, d'évidence, considérait l'église comme corps uni, dirigé par elle-même — *Romania ecclesia caput et mater ecclesiarum* [7] —, et cette idée se révèle d'une manière puissante et subite dans la correspondance de Léon IX. Avec le schisme, il y avait les problèmes de l'Eglise en Afrique du Nord qui concernait également Grégoire VII [8].

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6. Rodulfus Glaber, *Opera*, éd. J. France, Oxford, 1989, p. 4-5, 82-85 ; J. France, « War and Christendom in the thought of Rodulfus Glaber », *Studia Monastica*, 30 (1988), p. 105-120 ; H.E.J. Cowdrey, « Cluny and the First Crusade », *Revue Bénédictine*, 83 (1973), p. 285-311.

7. *PL*, 143, p. 769-81, 931-75. Au sujet du schisme de Cerulaire, voyez S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, Cambridge, 1955 ; F. Dvornik, « Preambles to the schism of Michael Cerularius », *Concilium*, 17 (1966), p. 155-169, reprinted in *Photian and Byzantine ecclesiastical studies*, London, 1974, n° xxii.

8. *PL*, 143, p. 728-731 ; E. Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII*, Berlin, 1920, I, p. 22, III, p. 19, 20, 21.

Quand celui-ci a écrit à Michel VII, le 9 juillet 1073, il s'est montré très conciliatoire ; et en déplorant le fait que pendant quelques années les relations entre les deux églises s'étaient refroidies il utilise exactement la même expression — *caritas friguit* — dont il s'est servi dans une lettre du 14 octobre 1073 aux nobles de la Sardaigne, dans laquelle il cherchait à rétablir de bonnes relations avec cette église. En effet, ce manque de conscience d'une chrétienté occidentale est peu étonnant, car le fait que la Papauté se donnait pour le coeur de l'église universelle a dû décourager l'apparition d'un sens de chrétienté occidentale. Le thème de fraternité chrétienne dominait l'appel d'Urbain et restait très puissant pendant le XIIe siècle [9]. A cet égard, nous avons été égarés par les attitudes de Glaber, dont le sens d'une identité chrétienne européenne est particulièrement fort et qui prévoit la situation créée par la croisade. Il vaut la peine de se rappeler que même au moment de la première croisade, Cluny a pu adresser le problème de l'Islam d'une toute autre manière, c'est-à-dire en cherchant la conversion, et que St Anselme, du moins au début, s'est opposé à l'idée de la croisade [10].

Erdmann croyait que Jérusalem servait comme un aimant aux hommes du XIe siècle et que son influence suffisait pour déformer même les intentions d'Urbain, l'idée de l'importance de Jérusalem que les révisionnistes modernes ont renforcée [11]. Mais quelle était la prééminence de Jérusalem dans la conscience religieuse collective du XIe siècle ? En 1009, comme l'a noté presque tout commentateur moderne, le calife fatimide du Caire, al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (966-1021) a ordonné la persécution des Chrétiens et la destruction du Saint Sépulcre [12]. Cet incident étant raconté dans les

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9. *Das Register*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 18, 29 ; W.M. Daly, « Christian fraternity, the crusades and the security of Constantinople », *Medieval Studies*, 22 (1960), p. 43-91.

10. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton, 1964 ; R.W. Southern, *St Anselm. A portrait in a landscape*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 169.

11. Erdmann, *Origin*, *op. cit.*, p. 355-371 ; Bull, *Knightly piety*, *op. cit.* ; and J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading*, London, 1986, passim.

12. Adémar of Chabannes, *Chronique*, *op. cit.*, p. 169-71. Adhémar est mort en route à Jérusalem en 1034. Sur ses oeuvres voyez J. Lair, *Etudes critiques sur divers textes des Xe et XIe siècles*, Paris, 1899. Adémar aussi fait allusion à la destruction, dans son *Commemoratio abbatum Lemovicensium basilice S. Marcialis Apostoli*, *PL*, p. 141.83 ; une nouvelle étude d'Adémar sera bientôt publiée par R. Landes, *Apocalyptic Age : the life and times of Adhémar of Chabannes (989-1034)*, qui a discuté ses idées dans « Between aristocracy and heresy: Popular participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994-1033 », dans T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God, Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*, Cornell, 1992, p. 184-218. Raoul Glaber (c.980-c.1047) passa beaucoup de sa vie à St. Germain d'Auxerre, mais il a vécu aussi à Dijon où il servit St. Guillaume dont il a écrit la vie. Il a vécu aussi à Cluny et plusieurs autres maisons : Glaber, *op. cit.*, p. xix-xxiv. Sur le Calife Hakim, voyez J.H. Kramers, E. Levi-Provençal, J. Schacht, B. Lewis, C. Pellat (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1960, « al-Hakim », 3.. p. 76-82 and « al-Aziz », I., p. 823-825 ; M. Canard, « La destruction de l'Eglise de la Résurrection par le calife Hakim et l'his-

chroniques de Raoul Glaber et d'Adémar de Chabannes, particulièrement bien connues toutes les deux, on a présumé que l'occident en a été bouleversé ; mais en fait on en était assez ignorant. Hugues de Flavigny l'a raconté à la fin du XIe siècle ; mais l'usage qu'il fait de la chronique de Glaber est si étendu que sa propre oeuvre en fait tout simplement le témoignage. Ce qui est à peu près certain, c'est que c'est à partir de Hugues que cette histoire a passé dans la *Chronicon Sancti Petri*, produite à Sens au début du XIIe siècle, malgré le fait que d'autres récits, contemporains à cet événement, n'en parlent pas. En dehors de cette allusion, on en trouve mention seulement dans l'encyclique du pape Serge IV, faite à Moissac, où il y avait une tradition de contact avec Jérusalem, lors de la visite d'Urbain peu après son séjour à Saint-Martial de Limoges, abbaye d'Adémar [13].

Il est extraordinaire que les récits contemporains, produits dans les mêmes régions que Glaber et Adémar, n'aient pas rapporté la destruction — parmi eux les *Annales de Fleury*, les *Miracles de Saint Benoît* et même la *Chronique de Saint-Maixent*, dont les auteurs ont utilisé l'oeuvre d'Adémar, comme également la *Vie de l'Evêque Hugues d'Auxerre* (999-1039), écrite en Bourgogne, les *Annales de Bèze* et la *Chronique de St. Bénigne* [14]. Un des écrivains les plus importants pour l'histoire allemande à la fin du Xe-début XIe siècle était Thietmar de Merseburg, qui est monté au siège épiscopal en 1009, l'année même de la destruction ; mais bien qu'il ait fait un récit très détaillé des événements de cette année, il n'y fait aucune allusion, comme toute autre source allemande du XIe siècle d'ailleurs [15]. D'après un examen des

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toire de la descente du feu sacré », *Byzantion*, 25 (1965), p. 16-43, qui montre que les sources orientales soutienent 1009, la date de Glaber, et non pas 1010, celle d'Adémar. Voyez aussi A. Gieysztor, « The Genesis of the Crusades. The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-12) », *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 6 (1950), p. 13 et B. Schaller, « Zur Kreuzzugsenzylika Papst Sergius IV », dans H. Mordek (éd.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65 Geburstag*, Tübingen, 1991, p. 135-153.

13. Glaber, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n.2, xc-xci, ci-cii. Helderic de St. Germain d'Auxerre (989-1010) était aussi abbé de Flavigny, et il est possible que Hughes ait utilisé le Ms latin 10912 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, un autographe du travail de Glaber's, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi* [dite de Clarius], éd. R.H. Bautier and M. Gilles, Paris, 1972, p. 106, xxxvi-xxxix. Les éditeurs pensent que l'oeuvre de Glaber était connue à Sens. Le silence de l'*Historia Francorum Senonensis*, 688-1034, *MGH SS*, p. 364-369, et d'Odorannus, contemporain de Glaber dans son *Chronicon*, 675-1032, *Odoranni Senonensis Opera Omnia*, éd. R.H. Bautier et M. Gilles, Paris, 1972, est remarquable. Gieysztor, « Genesis of the crusades », *op. cit.*, p. 28-30.

14. Helgaud de Fleury, *Epitoma vitae regis Rotberti Pii*, éd. R.H. Bautier et G. Labory ; André de Fleury, *Vie de Gauzlin*, éd. L. Delisle, *Mémoires de la société archéologique de l'Orléanais*, 2 (1853), p. 257-322 ; *Annales floriacenses*, 626-1058, *PL*, 139, p. 581-584 ; *Les miracles de Saint Benoît*, éd. E. De Certain, Paris, 1858 ; *Chronique de Saint-Maixent*, éd. J. Verdon, Paris, 1979 ; *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, dans L.M. Duru, *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne*, Auxerre et Paris, 1850-1863, vol. 1, p. 387-388 ; *Anelecta Divionensia*, éd. L.V.E. Bougaud et J. Garnier, Dijon, 1875, p. 1-230.

15. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, *op. cit.*, *MGH SS*, 3., p. 817-819.

sources historiques de provenance italienne, française et anglo-normande, on constate clairement que les événements de 1009 ont été complètement oubliés. Ceux qui ont raconté la première croisade se préoccupaient surtout de Jérusalem. Baudry de Dol savait que les Fatimides avaient pris Jérusalem en 972 et, comme Guibert de Nogent et Robert le Moine, souligne l'appel sacré de Jérusalem, mais sans parler des événements passés quatre-vingt-dix années auparavant. Sigebert de Gembloux (c.1030-1112) était un auteur méticuleux qui connaissait assez bien l'histoire de Jérusalem. Bien qu'écrivant vers la fin de sa vie, il ne mentionne pas la destruction du Saint-Sépulcre en 1009. Guillaume de Malmesbury, historien lui aussi bien réputé, a précédé son récit de la première croisade dans son *Gesta Regum* par une histoire de la ville sainte, qui elle non plus n'a rien à dire sur ce point. Encore plus bizarre, sans doute, est le silence des *Gesta Consumum Andegavorum* qui raconte les pèlerinages de Foulques Nerra, notamment et en grand détail celui de 1008, et qui de plus fait une utilisation considérable des *Histoires* de Glaber. C'est uniquement dans le récit sérieux et détaillé de Guillaume de Tyr, qui est complètement différent à celui donné dans les sources occidentales et qui se basait visiblement sur des connaissances locales, que revient le souvenir de la destruction faite par Hakim en 1009 [16]. Cela ne veut pas dire, cependant, que les sources historiques ne s'intéressent nullement à Jérusalem.

Certains auteurs ne font aucune allusion à Jérusalem : Dudo de St Quentin et Guillaume de Poitiers en sont des exemples peu étonnants auxquels on pourrait ajouter de nombreuses annales locales. Mais en général, peu de sources importantes laissent Jérusalem à l'écart. On mentionne sa prise au VII[e] siècle et le souci de Charlemagne à son sujet dans presque toutes les grandes chronologies qui étaient si répandues en Allemagne pendant les XI[e] et XII[e] siècles [17]. Mais l'intérêt qu'on y porte s'intensifie à partir de la fin du X[e] siècle. Les chroniques et les annales de cette époque que j'ai étudiées notent quelques soixante-neuf exemples de pèlerinage entre c.980 et la veille de la première croisade. Ce qui frappe, c'est la mention de la fréquence des pèlerinages pendant les années 1000-1030. L'âge des deux millénaires de Glaber, époque où un nombre sans précédent d'hommes importants

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16. *RHC Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 11-12 ; 3, p. 727-729 ; 4, p. 123-34, 137-140 ; Sigebert de Gembloux, *MGH SS*, 6 ; Guillaume de Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, éd. W. Stubbs, London, 1887-1889, vol. 2, p. 424-425 ; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronicon*, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis, 63), p. 109-114.

17. Herimannus Augiensis, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS*, 5, p. 92-93, 101 ; Bernoldus, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS*, 5, p. 414, 419 ; Marianus Scotus, *Chronicon*, MGH SS, 5, p. 542 ; Saxo, *Annales*, *MGH SS*, 6, p. 570, 619 ; *Chronica Frutolfi, Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, éd. F.J. Schmale et I. Schmale-Ott, Darmstadt, 1972 ; *Annales Quedlinbergenses*, *Annales Hildesheimenses*, *Annales Weissemburgensium*, *MGH SS*, 3, p. 447-604.

ont pris la croix, représentait un apogée — Poppo de Stavelot, Pierre de Dorat, Aldouin, évêque de Limoges et son frère Guy, Foulques Nerra et l'évêque de Périgueux sont tous partis vers 1000, année où on nous parle également des bandes de Normands qui passent par l'Italie et d'autres qui profitent de la conversion de l'Hongrie [18]. Au moment de l'arrivée du millénaire de la Passion, nous constatons les pèlerinages de Poppo de Trèves, de Richard de Saint-Vannes accompagné par des Normands et des Aquitaniens, y compris Guillaume Taillefer, Odon de Bourges, Richard de St Cybard, Giraud Fanesin et Humphroi et maintes gens moins importants, subventionnés par des dons de Richard II de Normandie, suivis peu après par les évêques de Poitiers et de Limoges, le voyage diplomatique d'Ulric d'Orléans et ceux de Foulques d'Anjou, Robert de Normandie et Hugues, évêque de Chalons — tout ceci à une époque où on voyageait plus que jamais vers l'Orient [19]. Mais même si cela représentait le sommet, les pèlerinages ont certainement continué. La période des années quarante était relativement calme, mais il s'ensuivaient le voyage de Liébert de Cambrai en 1054, celui d'un groupe d'Allemands éminents en 1056-57, celui de Gisulf II de Salerne en 1059 et celui de l'évêque Aldred d'Angleterre en 1058. Le grand pèlerinage allemand de 1064-65 est très connu, mais par la suite un défilé constant de pèlerins a continué jusqu'à la veille de la première croisade [20]. Ce qui est important, c'est que les auteurs contemporains aient noté de tels voyages à Jérusalem et de tout évidence les ont considérés des événements notables dans les contextes variés — leurs propres monastères comme le monde qui les entourait. Mais de tels voyages étaient bien sûr et exceptionnels et saisissants, c'est pour cela qu'on les notait ; ce sont les départs des hommes importants que soulignent les récits, tandis que les pauvres, ceux par exemple auxquels Foulques Nerra a payé le prix d'admission à Jérusalem, restent à l'arrière-plan. En fait, le mouvement des pèlerins du XIe siècle semble ne jamais avoir été dans aucun sens un mouvement des masses. Glaber parle des nombres exceptionnels qui partaient en voyage au moment du millénaire, mais les groupes dont il fait mention étaient en réalité plutôt

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18. *Vita Popponis abbatis Stabulensis*, *MGH SS*, 15, 1, p. 90-106 ; Adhémar, *op. cit.*, p. 162, 168, 171 ; Glaber, *op. cit.*, p. 96-97 ; Amatus, *Ystoire de li Normant*, éd. V. de Bartholomaeis, Rome, 1935, p. 207-11 ; *Die Chronik von Monte Cassino*, éd. H. Hoffmann, Hanover, 1983 (MGH SS, 34), p. 236.

19. Hughes de Flavigny, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS*, 8, p. 404-405 ; *Vita S. Symeonis heremitae*, *MGH SS*, 8, p. 209-211 ; Adémar, *op. cit.*, p. 189-92, 194 ; Glaber, *op. cit.*, p. 202-203, 202-205, 212-215, 198-205 ; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, éd. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1969-1979, vol. 2, p. 11, 116, vol. 4, p. 76 ; Saxo, *op. cit.*, p. 689 ; *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

20. *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, *MGH SS*, 7, p. 393-525 ; Ordericus, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 69-71 ; Amatus, *op. cit.*, p. 207-211 ; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, éd. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas, S.I. Tucker, London, 1961 p. 124. Sur les sources du pélerinage allemand, voyez Joranson, « The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-5 », dans L.J. Paetow (éd.), *Crusades and other historical essays*, *op. cit.*, p. 3-43.

petits. On a proposé des chiffres incroyables pour le pèlerinage français de 1054 — 3000 — et également pour le « grand » pèlerinage allemand de 1064-5 où l'on suggère 7000 ou même 12000 ! Les écrivains modernes, fortement influencés par une tendance à voir dans de tels événements les précurseurs de la croisade elle-même, ont accepté avec beaucoup trop d'enthousiasme ces chiffres. L'armée de Guillaume de Normandie en 1066 ne comprenait que 5-8000 et la façon dont on l'approvisionnait était considérée comme la merveille de la logistique contemporaine. En fait, l'armée qui a assiégé Jérusalem en 1099 contenait à peine 12000 hommes. Si on avait vraiment compté par milliers ceux qui étaient partis en 1064, il est difficile de voir comment le groupe aurait survécu et, de plus, peu probable qu'une force si puissante ait été admise dans les cités en route. En fait, cette habitude de chercher les mouvements de masse provient de nos idées fausses au sujet de la première croisade. La « Croisade populaire » a fasciné les historiens, mais même au contexte de la première croisade, c'était un événement insolite. Urbain a fait son appel aux grands de la société et ceux-ci ont formé le noyau des armées ; la croisade cherchait à s'attirer les grands seigneurs et leurs partisans armés, qui à leur tour y entraînaient leurs suites ; et nous voyons que ceci faisait la cohérence fondamentale au cours du voyage à Jérusalem. C'est leur piété que nous devons examiner, car c'était eux le dynamisme qui animait la croisade et la façon la plus efficace d'examiner cette piété est à travers les ordres monastiques qu'ils patronnaient. Il est remarquable à quel point la composition des pèlerinages était dominée par les moines.

Le charisme des moines dépendait surtout de leur rôle de protecteurs des reliques et le dévouement offert à ces protecteurs de la localité était d'évidence très fort au XIe siècle, ce qui est indiqué par le remaniement des récits de leur vie à cette époque. Le pèlerinage aux lieux saints qui leur étaient associés était une très grande partie de l'usage religieux contemporain [21]. Mais il se développait des cultes universels et parmi ceux-ci, celui de la sainte croix qui avait des liens particuliers avec Jérusalem. On ne peut pas accepter comme coïncidence le fait que les maisons clunisiennes de Lavoûte-Chilhac, près de Brioude, et le Saint-Sépulcre Châteaudun, ont été établies respectivement en 1025 et 1029-30, en même temps que la refondation de la maison bretonne importante de Sainte-Croix, Quimperlé. En 1030, le comte Manegold de Werden a rapporté d'une ambassade à Constantinople un fragment de la Sainte-Croix en l'honneur de laquelle il a consacré un couvent à Donauwörth. L'évêque Ulric d'Orléans lui aussi a reçu une relique semblable de Constantinople et l'a donnée avec une lampe du Saint-Sépulcre à sa cathédrale de Sainte-Croix. A la même époque, l'évêque Meginwerd de

21. T. Head, *Hagiography and the cult of saints. The diocese of Orléans 800-1200*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 58-101, 282-283.

Paderborn a fait reproduire à Paderborn le Saint-Sépulcre selon les dimensions notées par l'abbé Vino lors de sa visite à Jérusalem. Déjà, en 1013, Benoît VIII avait établi l'abbaye du Saint-Sépulcre et des Quatre Evangélistes à Città di Castello et avait chargé les moines surtout de soigner les pèlerins. Par la suite au cours de la deuxième moitié du siècle, le nombre de dédicaces se réduisent à de rares petites églises et chapelles ; d'un intérêt particulier, pourtant, est la décision prise par Léon IX de faire de Sainte-Croix Woffenheim le lieu de sépulture de sa propre famille. C'était également pendant son règne que Santa Croce a été remise à neuf [22]. On reconnaît clairement un vif soulèvement d'intérêt au moment des deux millénaires. Mais si ensuite, les dédicaces sont devenues moins courantes, la circulation des reliques de la Sainte-Croix était très répandue. Trait frappant est le grand nombre de reliquaires dits « portemanteau » qui contenaient les os de plusieurs saints avec, en plus, un fragment de la croix. Bernard d'Angers a fait des observations méprisantes au sujet de l'étalage d'une collection de reliques décousue sous canevas à Conques, mais manifestement de telles expositions étaient bien reçues [23].

Parmi les grands personnages du XIe siècle, l'intérêt apporté par saint Pierre Damien[1002-72] au culte de la Sainte-Croix est hors du commun. Il a consacré Fonte Avellana à la Sainte-Croix vers le milieu du siècle et l'a fait décorer d'images de la crucifixion. Alors que le dévouement à la Sainte-Croix n'occupe qu'une place mineure dans l'oeuvre d'Odilon de Cluny, qui fait mention de son utilisation par Héraclius comme marque de victoire, chez Damian c'est un thème très puissant et on y trouve très souvent des allusions à Jérusalem. Pour lui, le symbole de la croix fait rejoindre la Terre et le Ciel, et les grands objets de dévouement sont la Sainte Vierge, la Sainte-Croix et les Anges ; par leur signification spirituelle, nous serons tous finalement transformés, comme Jérusalem, par le second avènement. Son intérêt était sans doute spirituel, mais il se préoccupait néanmoins du pèlerinage et a encouragé le marquis Rainier d'accomplir son serment d'aller à Jérusalem, en citant comme exemples de sa valeur l'histoire des trois moines, dont l'un est

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22. G. de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1970, vol. 2, p. 183 ; *PL*, 143, p. 803-808, 879-884 ; *Gallia Christiana*, 14, p. 900-905 ; K. Leyser, « Tenth century Byzantine-Western relations », dans *Germany and her neighbours*, London, 1982, p. 107 ; A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix : recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, Paris, 1961, p. 268-269 ; *PL*, 141, p. 637-639 ; Glaber, *op. cit.*, p. 202-203 ; *Vita Meinwerci*, *MGH SS*, 9, p. 129 ; G.G. Mittarelli et G.D. Costadini, *Annales Camaldulenses*, Venise, 1755-1773, vol. 1, p. 364-365 ; Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, *op. cit.*, p. 243, 260-262, 272, 276, 280, 283 ; *PL*,.143, p. 605-606, 731-732 ; *The Book of the Popes*, éd. R. Davies, Liverpool, 1976, vol. 1, p. 14-17, 503.

23. Frolow, *Vraie croix*, *op. cit.*, p .73-94, 198-210, 219, 237, 244, 250, 259, 260-261, 264, 271, 275, 277, 279-280, 283-5. Oudalscalcho, *Vita Chuonradi Constantinensis episcopi*, *MGH SS*, 4, p. 433. Bernardus Scholasticus, *De miraculis sanctae Fidis*, *PL*, 141, p. 141-142.

allé à Saint-Michel du Gargano et les deux autres à Jérusalem [24]. Pourtant, au cours de ses nombreux écrits qui touchent à Jérusalem, Damian ni exprime aucune connaissance ni ne montre aucun intérêt à la ville elle-même ; il n'y a aucun signe de cette réalisation — au sens des biens fonciers — qui paraît dans les récits de la première croisade. Un souci pour la Jérusalem terrestre n'était pas non plus un développement spontané et nécessaire. Même au XIIe siècle, les pèlerins ont longtemps fait preuve d'une indifférence marquée au sujet des conditions qui existaient dans le Royaume Latin. Bien qu'un article récent ait raisonné que l'occupation prolongée de la ville a fini par toucher la piété contemporaine [25], le fait d'avoir voyagé à l'Orient ne signifiait aucune familiarité réelle — pas plus qu'une visite à la Costa Brava ne donne pas de connaissance de l'Espagne. Il nous faut reconnaître un paradoxe ; déjà en 1095, Jérusalem était un élément bien établi et de longue date dans la piété de l'époque ; mais les écrivains monastiques, qui, au cours des années qui suivaient la première croisade, ont essayé de donner à celle-ci sa place convenable dans l'histoire chrétienne, révèlent un sentiment de nouveauté pour ce qui s'était passé. Baudry de Dol, Guibert de Nogent et Robert le Moine de Reims se sont tous servis des *Gesta Francorum* anonyme comme base de leurs récits au sujet de la croisade ; mais ils les ont utilisés tous pour élaborer leurs propres idées [26]. Ils ont considéré la réussite de la croisade comme l'accomplissement de la prophétie, mais il leur manquait des conseils pour indiquer de quelle prophétie il s'agissait ou dans quel sens ; ils ne s'entendent donc pas [27]. Guibert a consacré un livre entier de son oeuvre à l'élaboration d'une théologie de Jérusalem. Il parle du nouveau phénomène extraordinaire, que « Dieu a institué à notre époque des guerres saintes pour que [l'ordre] des chevaliers... puisse trouver un nouveau moyen de gagner le Salut » et que de cette manière il voit « les nations émues par l'inspiration de Dieu » [28]. Cette

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24. *PL*, 144, p. 511, 325, 561, 794, 823, 888, 619-623, 563-567, 553-557, 766-777, 761-766, 794, 897, 748-750, 455-458.

25. A. Grabois, « Christian pilgrimage in the thirteenth century », dans B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, J. Smail (éds.), *Outremer: studies in the history of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jérusalem, 1982 ; B. Hamilton, « The impact of crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom », *The Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), p. 666-667.

26. Concernant ces idées, voyez E.O. Blake, « Formation of the Crusade Idea », *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21 (1970), p. 11-31, et Riley Smith, *Idea of the Crusade*, *op. cit.*, p .135-155, qui parle de Baudry de Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, *RHC Hist. occ.*, 4 ; Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *RHC Hist. occ.*, 4 ; Robert le Moine, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, *RHC Hist. occ.*, 3. Riley Smith indique comment ces écrivains monastiques ont développé l'idée de la croisade.

27. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, *op. cit.*, p .142-143.

28. Guibert, *op. cit.*, p. 119-134, trad. dans Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, *op. cit.*, p. 149-150.

idée d'une nouvelle religion d'un ordre séculaire qui partagerait la vertu monastique par raison du sacrifice de soi de la part de ceux qui avaient participé au voyage se trouve chez tous les auteurs, mais gagne son apogée dans l'oeuvre de Robert le Moine qui dit de Godefroi de Bouillon « qu'il semblait être moine plutôt que chevalier » [29]. On y voit une préoccupation considérable pour la Jérusalem terrestre, pour l'endroit même, qui n'a pas de parallèle dans les allusions que nous avons notées dans les textes qui antidatent la croisade. « Que vous puissiez vous émouvoir par le Saint-Sépulcre de notre Seigneur et Sauveur, qui est subjugué aux races impures, et par les Lieux Sacrés qui sont maintenant traités avec déshonneur et sont pollués avec irrévérence par leurs usages impurs » [30].

Qu'Urbain ait dit cela ou que ce soit Robert qui le lui a fait dire, cela n'a aucune importance ; mais les sentiments développés dans cette version du discours d'Urbain finissent par exprimer ce qui est pratiquement un hymne à Jérusalem, ce qui est complètement éloigné à la pensée de la première moitié du XIe siècle. Il est intéressant de noter que les idées qu'on trouve chez les témoins oculaires — en particulier celle qui présente la bataille pour la Jérusalem terrestre comme partie du progrès vers une Jérusalem céleste — ont été ensuite développées par les écrivains qui suivaient. Robert le Moine a longuement développé le thème que les croisés étaient les élus de Dieu, un parallèle bien naturel qui a dû être du plus grand réconfort à ceux qui ont souffert au cours du voyage. Le fait que de tels érudits auraient choisi d'intellectualiser de telles notions souligne le côté nouveau de celles-ci et à quel point les auteurs se sont trouvés dépourvus de leurs points de références habituelles quand ils cherchaient à expliquer ce nouveau phénomène.

Car ce qui était nouveau a été créé essentiellement par Urbain II. C'était un homme politique avec un but politique — l'affirmation de la suprématie du siège de Rome ; et comme tout autre homme politique, sa préoccupation principale était moins les moyens que la manipulation des gens et l'arrivée aux fins. Il avait bien sûr ses objectifs — ce qu'il avait à faire, c'était enthousiasmer autrui. Il pouvait compter sur le fait que la controverse de l'investiture avait sensibilisé la noblesse européenne à l'idée du choix idéologique. Il était conscient des éléments de leur piété mais il est loin d'être clair si parmi ses éléments Jérusalem ait déjà gagné quelque place dominante. Il ne pouvait pas compter sur une haine répandue de l'Islam. Mais il comprenait ses auditeurs éventuels ; comme celui qui le suivait, il aurait pu déclarer — « Je vous ai compris ! » — et ce qu'il offrait, c'était un perspective d'avenir

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29. Robert le Moine, *op. cit.*, p. 731. La même idée se trouve dans Baudry, *op. cit.*, p. 14 et Guibert, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

30. Robert le Moine, *op. cit.*, p. 728, trad. dans Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, *op. cit.*, p. 147 et 729-730. Voir aussi le passage parallèle dans Guibert, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

et de possibilités. Nous le savons, nous, qu'un mouvement de croisade allait se lancer ; ni Urbain ni son public ne bénéficiaient d'une telle sagesse rétrospective. Les efforts de l'église au XIe siècle pour l'exploitation et la direction de la violence de la noblesse européenne avaient, pour la plupart, échoué, mais de nombreuses familles profitaient des relations étroites avec les monastères, basées en partie sur des intérêts financiers et fonciers en commun et en partie aussi sur un « dévouement d'échappement », l'échappement aux tortures de l'enfer. Pour certains nobles, à certaines époques, le conflit entre ce que réclamait de plus en plus l'église et ce que nécessitaient la vie quotidienne, la politique et la guerre, devait être accablant. A l'approche menaçante de la mort, les priorités ont changé et d'autres crises faisaient un effet semblable. Cela va sans dire que la persuasion, ajoutée à l'éloquence aient pu, elles aussi, toucher les hommes. On n'a qu'à citer l'exemple de Foulques Nerra d'Anjou, chez qui coexistaient une rude brutalité, une générosité envers les églises et un dévouement au pèlerinage qui l'a poussé à partir au moins trois fois à Jérusalem [31]. Ainsi, à n'importe quel moment, il y avait toujours quelques grands seigneurs susceptibles à des appels religieux et ce que proposait Urbain était remarquablement différent, le Salut par moyen d'une seule action violente et convulsive, la libération de Jérusalem. Il a prêché ceci très vigoureusement à travers une très grande partie de la France, principalement dans le sud et l'ouest, où il a convoqué toute une série de conseils ecclésiastiques. On ne saura pas accepter comme coïncidence que c'était précisément de ces régions que sortait un très grand nombre des forces armées de la première croisade — jusqu'à 40% peut-être [32]. Urbain a lancé une campagne publicitaire intensive, où il prêchait aux prêtres qui feraient circuler la nouvelle, nommait des prédicateurs et écrivait aux régions qu'il ne pouvait pas visiter. Nous avons tendance à oublier l'effet qu'il a dû faire — depuis le pontificat de Léon IX il y avait plus de quarante ans, aucun Pape ne s'était rendu en Europe du nord ; et Léon n'avait rien fait de comparable aux efforts d'Urbain. Cette campagne, à la fois étendue et fervente était certaine de saisir plusieurs seigneurs et chevaliers à des moments réceptifs et Urbain pourrait donc profiter des nombreux fils d'intérêt et d'alliance qui liaient les hommes dans la *mouvance* d'un grand seigneur. En termes théologiques, chacun a décidé lui-même de partir en croisade ; je me demande si ce fait était vraiment très bien compris à l'époque, dans une société où les liens du patronage était si importants. Ce qui n'est pas douteux, c'est qu'il n'y avait aucun droit de choix pour le plus grand groupe

31. B.S.Bachrach, « The pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, count of the Angevins, 987-1040 », dans T.F.X. Noble et J.J. Contreni (éds.), *Religion,culture and society in the early middle ages · studies in honour of Richard E.Sullivan*, Kalamazoo, 1987, p. 205-217.

32. Au sujet des chiffres, voyez J. France, *Victory in the East. A military history of the First Crusade*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 122-412.

social de la croisade, c'est-à-dire les 20,000 et quelques serviteurs des chevaliers et de la grande noblesse [33]. L'effet était inégal. On a dû s'étonner de la présence de Godefroi de Bouillon et se contrecarrer de l'absence d'un Foulques Requin, comte d'Anjou [34]. Cela vaut la peine de constater un parallèle — cet âge est marqué par l'ascension des ordres monastiques dont le trait distinctif était leur caractère puritain, de ceux-ci, les plus célèbres étant les Cisterciens. La réponse des grands seigneurs à ces nouvelles impulsions religieuses était également inégale ; les forces de persuasion et de bel exemple ont permis à Cîteaux de trouver à la longue des patrons, mais au début les propriétaires fonciers se méfiaient des ordres nouveaux [35].

Les intentions d'Urbain étaient religieuses et il a créé une nouvelle piété qui a été célébrée, comme nous l'avons vu, par les chroniqueurs monastiques. Mais ceci ne veut pas forcément dire que les intentions des participants étaient religieuses au sens simple ; accepter cela seraient revenir aux certitudes simplistes des Victoriens éminents. Les moines étaient les guides des hommes pour tout ce qui était piété et ils ont dû transmettre leurs idées à leurs voisins comme à leurs bienfaiteurs ; mais ils étaient liés à de tels gens par des intérêts et des rivalités très contournées. L'analyse d'un cartulaire monastique, où sont notés de longs détails de vente, d'acquisition et de procès nous fait poser une question complexe, à voir : à quel point les moines étaient-ils religieux, ou du moins, à quel point pourrait-on séparer leur intérêt religieux de leurs intérêts visiblement mondains ? Pour un grand personnage, qui avait beaucoup de responsabilités, un souci profond pour les choses de l'esprit ne serait tout au plus qu'intermittent — et ceci a dû faire à certains un effet profond, à d'autres très peu d'effet. Urbain a prêché une guerre sacrée et a ainsi sanctifié un pillage sacré, car ceci était inévitable dans la nature même de la guerre. Et si le pillage était légitime, il en était ainsi de la saisie de la terre même de Dieu — et un nombre assez surprenant des croisés y sont restés s'en réjouir. Nous pouvons préciser de nombreux motifs possibles chez ces quelques gens dont nous connaissons un peu la vie. Godefroi cherchait peut-être son avenir dans son passé ? Robert duc de Normandie était dérouté par les complexités politiques ? D'autres ont dû avoir des mobiles semblablement divers. Les chevaliers embrassaient toute sorte de rang social, depuis des gens d'origine obscure — Guillaume de Jumièges en mentionne deux qui étaient fils d'un forgeron de Beauvais —

33. France, *Victory in the East, op. cit.*, p. 126.

34. J.C.Andressohn, *Ancestry and life of Godfrey de Bouillon*, Bloomington, 1947, p. 39-41 ; *Fragmentum historiae Andegavensis, auctore Fulcone Rechin*, dans L. Halphen et R. Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, Paris, 1913, p. 244.

35. Au sujet de l'Eglise et des chevaliers, voir H. Leyser, *Hermits and the new monasticism : a study of religious communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150*, London, 1984 ; J. Flori, *L'idéologie du glaive : préhistoire de la chevalerie*, Genève, 1983.

jusqu'aux propriétaires d'importance, dont le départ pour l'Orient a été marqué par des chartes où l'on parlait en termes flatteurs de leur dévouement [36]. Les chevaliers ne formaient pas un groupe social homogène ; le terme indique plutôt un champ de mobilité sociale, ce qui correspond au terme *manager* en anglais, qui peut exprimer ou *aspirant* ou *arrivé* ou *arriviste*. Les chevaliers comprenaient des civils aussi bien que des militaires. Aucune description simple — religieux ; économique ; matériel ; spirituel — ne saurait préciser leur motivation.

En tant qu'homme politique, Urbain a su isoler et exagérer les désirs complexes d'une énorme variété de gens. En particulier il a mobilisé autour de Jérusalem et de l'indulgence leur désir de trouver un échappement à l'enfer ; et il a agrandi une haine de l'Islam qui jusque-là sommeillait seulement. Il a insisté pour une pureté d'intention ; mais en pratique il évitait toute action susceptible de compromettre son appel — il a lâché un fléau sur le Moyen-Orient dans lequel l'ambition et la cupidité personnelles ont renforcé un zèle acharné. Urbain II a créé les éléments d'une nouvelle piété qui se concentrait sur Jérusalem ; le succès de la croisade a donné à cette piété de l'autorité ; et les écrivains du début du XIIe siècle lui ont donné de la définition. Mais en faisant ceci, ces derniers ont idéalisé et spiritualisé — il ne faut pas nous laisser tromper. Orderic Vital nous raconte l'histoire d'un jeune homme qui a fêté son entrée dans l'ordre chevaleresque par l'attaque sur un moine qu'il a volé — de tels hommes avaient tendance à avoir des intentions plutôt mixtes !

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36. Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, éd. J. Marx, Paris, 1914, p. 106-108. Au sujet des chartes croisadières, voir H.E.J. Cowdrey, « Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade », *History*, 55 (1970), p. 177-188.

George T. BEECH

URBAN II, THE ABBEY OF SAINT-FLORENT OF SAUMUR, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

Urban II's four month journey through west-central France immediately after the council of Clermont in Nov. 1095 has long been seen as an essential part of the Pope's effort to gain support for his proposal of an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Due to the survival of an abundant contemporary documentation of the trip, historians, and most recently René Crozet (1937) and Alfons Becker (1986), have been able to reconstruct Urban's itinerary in some detail, to the point of determining the towns and monasteries he visited, where he stayed, and in many cases the length of his stay [1]. In view of this unusually detailed knowledge of his movements it comes as something of a surprise to discover an entirely new stage in the Pope's itinerary, one missed or unknown by all the narrative and documentary sources for the time. The recent discovery of a new chronicle account makes clear that Urban stayed at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, about 45 km Southeast of Angers[see map], for about a week in late Jan. early Feb.. of 1096. Although it adds one new detail to what is already known about the Pope's techniques for promoting the crusade, this new historical text, which is only seven lines in length, does not modify prevailing views about Urban's

1. R. Crozet, « Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négotiations avec le clergé de France 1095-96 », *Revue Historique*, 179 (1937), p. 271-310 ; *Id.*, « Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095-96) et son importance du point de vue archéologique", *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), p. 42-69 ; A. Becker, *Papst Urban II 1088-99*, Teil 2., *Der Papst, die Griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, Anhang *Urban II. Frankreichreise 1095-96 Regesten*, Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1988 (MGH, SS, Bd. 19, II), p. 435-57.

French trip. Nonetheless it may not be without interest for the broader study of the organisation of the First Crusade as a whole. For this case study of relations between the Pope and a single monastic community brought out some indications of quite unexpected local reactions to the idea of the Jerusalem campaign. These two topics, i.e. the relations between Pope and abbey, and the unanticipated local reactions, will be the focus of the paper which follows.

The historical text which sheds light on this episode is a previously missing segment of a chronicle from the monastery of Chaize-le-Vicomte (arrond. La Roche-sur-Yonne, Vendée) [see map], a priory in western or Bas-Poitou and a dependence of the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur. Historians of the crusades have known of this chronicle since an archivist from Angers, Paul Marchegay, published two portions of it in 1869 and 1877 [2]. Marchegay had found two parts of a single folio from a history of the foundation of the priory among loose parchments in the departmental archives in Angers which had previously been used as end papers in the bindings of other manuscripts. However since the parts are discontinuous and amount altogether to only 5 or 6 printed pages, historians have paid little attention to the text and the editors of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* missed it altogether [3] Nonetheless in those 5 or 6 pages the author provides a sufficiently detailed account of the launching of the Aquitanian portion of the 1101 campaign to make one wonder what the missing sections of the chronicle contained. And an inventary of 1501, when the text was still intact, indicated that it had 14 folios in all [4].

Some years ago I found a part of the missing sections of this chronicle in a XVII[th] century copy of the frères Sainte-Marthe in the BN in Paris [5]. While

2 P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, « *Fragmentum chronicae prioratus de Casa Vicecomitis* » in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, Paris, Vve. J. Renouard, 1869, p. 335-43 ; and in *Cartulaires du Bas Poitou*, Les Roches Baritaud, Imprimerie L. Gaste, 1877, p. 3-8, where Marchegay entitled it *Fragmentum Libri de Fundatione prioratus de casa vicecomitis*.

3. Two recent historians made use of these fragments in their accounts of the crusade of 1101. J. Cate, « The Crusade of 1101 », in *A History of the Crusades*, I, *The First Hundred Years*, Madison. University of Wisconsin Press, 1969[2], p. 348, n. 9 ; p. 360, n. 24 ; and J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of of Crusading*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986, p. 128-29.

4. M. Saché, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Maine et Loire. Archives Ecclésiastiques. Serie H.T. II. Abbaye de Saint-Florent-de-Saumur*, Angers, Impr. Siraudeau, 1926, p. 361, H 30376 : « ...livre fort ancien en parchemin, de la fondation du prieure, contenant xiiii feuilles commencant *Anno si quidem incarnatione*...". See also pp. 354-55, H 3371 for a description of the single surviving original folio.

5. Paris, BN, Fonds Francais, 20258, ff. 62r-65v, and a second copy in the same manuscript, ff 74r-80v

most of the new section deals with local concerns, especially relations between the priory and the bishop, it also contains the new passage about Urban II stopping at Saint-Florent for several days in late Jan. 1096.

That this new passage forms part of a single whole with the earlier published version is shown by the fact that it continues without a break a narrative begun in the first of the Angers fragments. The second part of this folio then overlaps word for word with the later part of the XVIIth century copy. The new section must thus have been copied from now lost folios in a middle section of the text. None of the three segments is either a beginning or an ending of a narrative but must be either the continuation of a story begun earlier or ended later. The beginning and end of the original continue to be missing although the 1501 inventory at Angers furnishes the incipit *Anno in quidem incarnatione*. This same inventory entry also provides a title for the text, something lacking in all the fragments surviving today ; *Livre de la Fondation du prieuré*, thus identifying it as a history of a monastic foundation, a form of historical narrative not uncommon in the XIth and XIIth centuries.

In all likelihood this history was written anonymously so even the recovery of the lost sections, especially the beginning, would probably not reveal the name or identity of the author. Nonetheless the latter recounts nothing but incidents in the life of the priory, or involving the prior, its monks, and noble benefactors, and all of these from the perspective of the community itself. Without any doubt the author was a monk from the community itself. The greater part of the story contained in the surviving fragments concentrates on events taking place at the very end of the XIth century with nothing later than the year 1102. Since independent charters show that the priory was founded in 1080 with construction starting in 1088 and dedication of the church in 1099, it is conceivable that the author dealt with those events in the now missing opening section of his history. How far he continued beyond 1102 remains a matter of conjecture. yet the title of his work makes it conceivable that he was not beginning a general history of his monastery to be continued by a successor after his death, but intended to write a work about its beginnings only and bring it conclusion when the abbey was firmly established in the early years of the XIIth century. His wealth of detail when recounting journeys, meetings, disputes, and litigations between his prior, the local bishop, and neighboring abbots suggests that the author was a contemporary observer writing at the end or shortly after the events themselves. An interest in monastic history at Chaize-le-Vicomte at this time would be fully consistent with contemporary developments in the mother house at Saint-Florent. The abbacy of William

(1070-1118) was a time of great activity in historical writing, most notably in the composition of a *Historia Sancti Florentii Salmuriensis* [6].

To be sure none of these conjectures will suffice to verify the accuracy of the author in asserting that Urban II stopped at Saint-Florent in Jan. 1096, a matter to which I now turn. Since most of Urban's visit during his four month trip was abundantly documented by a host of papal bulls, local charters, and chronicles, the complete silence of all these sources about a papal stay at Saint-Florent automatically raises doubts about the reliability of the Chaize-le-Vicomte narrative, or at least calls for an explanation of the discrepancy. Despite these doubts a strong argument in favor of the authenticity of the new text comes from an examination of what is already known from independant sources about Urban's timetable and the places where he stayed during his journey into the Loire valley at the beginning of February. A visit to Saint-Florent from late Jan. until early Feb. fits in perfectly with his other known movements at the time. On Jan. 22 the Pope participated in the dedication of the new Cluniac house of Montierneuf in Poitiers [7]. The Pope's movements [see map] then remain obscure until Feb. 6, fifteen days later, when he was in Angers [8]. The Chaize-le-Vicomte chronicle places him at Saint-Florent from Jan. 29 until Feb. 4 [9]. A glance at the map shows that Saint-Florent lies directly on the route between Poitiers and Angers at a distance of about 100 km from the first town and 45 from the second. Had he left Poitiers immediately after the dedication of Montierneuf this would have given Urban seven days to negotiate the first 100 km and two for the last 45 km, both of which distances would have been quite feasible at the time. Thus if it does not prove the authenticity of the report of the Chaize-le-Vicomte chronicler, the concordance between the two sets of evidence not only does not rule it out, but makes it highly probable.

> « *Anno incarnationis dominicae millesimo nonagesimo quinto Urbanus Papa usque Andegavis venit et anno iii kal. Febr. usque in iiii diem dominicae in ecclesia Sti. Florentii Salmuriensis mansit, plurimasque Ecclesias in locis*

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6. Marchegay, dans *Chroniques des églises, op. cit.*, p. 217-318 ; and Marchegay's commentary, p. xxiv-xxxi.

7. Fr. Villard, in his edition of the charters of Montiemeuf — *Recueil des documents relatifs à l'abbaye de Montierneuf de Poitiers (1076-1319)*, Poitiers, 1973 (Archives Historiques du Poitou, LIX), p. 440, n. 1 —, eliminated the possibility that this dedication could have occured on Jan. 27 instead of Jan. 22. Becker, *Papst Urban II*, II, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

8. *Ibid.*

9 Uncertainty about the meaning of the second part of the date in this text leaves doubts about the precise day of Urban's departure : « *...in 3 Kal. Feb. usque in 4 diem dominicae in ecclesiae Sancti Florentii Salmuriensis mansit*... ». I translate this as « ... the third day of the kalends of Feb. », i.e. Jan. 29, until the fourth day [of Feb.?], but am puzzled by the *dominicae*. In 1096 sundays fell on Jan. 26, then on Feb 2.

quibusdam dedicavit ac populum ut Ierosolimitanum iter a Paganis usque Constantinopolim processum et loca sancta destructa reedificarent privatim et publice invitabit » [10].

What our historian writes about the Pope's activities only strengthens that likelihood. According to him Urban dedicated several churches in the area and exhorted the local population to make the trip to Jerusalem via Constantinople to rebuild the holy places destroyed by the pagans. Both of these activities are fully consistent with what other contemporaries tell about the Pope in his stays at other stages along his journey [11]. Although St. Florent sources do not independantly record the dedications of any churches in the immediate region at this time, the author may have been thinking of Urban's rededication of the abbey church of St. Nicolas of Angers on 10 Feb.. directly after his stay at St. Florent [12]. What is noteworthy about the passage describing the pope's urging people to make the Jerusalem trip is the author's insistence on his having done this publically and privately. This is, I believe, the only contemporary text to call attention to different ways in which the Pope sought to gain support for his new movement. *Publice* should certainly be taken to refer to sermons Urban delivered at local churches whereas *privatim* presumably refers to his efforts to persuade prominent individuals, namely the nobility, to back his crusade. Though the author of the chronicle says nothing about the success of the papal appeals, certain conclusions on this score can be inferred from other St. Florent evidence, a subject to which I will return below.

The meagre bits of information which can be gleaned from this brief passage in the Chaize-le-Vicomte chronicle, namely the fact of a papal stay at St. Florent, its dates, and a short description of Urban's activities while there, lead inevitably to a question left unanswered by the author. Why did Urban II chose to visit and stay at St. Florent in preference to a number of other abbeys he bypassed along the route he followed ? The possibility that it was pure chance, that he simply found himself needing a place for the night and happened on this abbey on the road to Angers, must be doubted. A view of the entire trip of Urban II from Clermont in Nov. 1095 to southern France in the summer of 1096 leaves the distinct impression that the Pope knew in advance where he intended to stay and what he hoped to accomplish. Almost invariably he stayed at monasteries, frequently Cluniac dependancies, and although he sometimes left after a day or two, often his stay lasted up to a week or longer. Typically he dealt with local ecclesiastical affairs during these stopovers issuing papal charters of confirmation of properties or privi-

10. Paris, BN, Fonds Francais, 20258, f. 65r

11. Becker, *Pabst Urban II*, *op. cit.*, and Crozet, « Voyage d'Urbain II », *op. cit.*, passim.

12. Becker, *Papst Urban II*, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

leges, dedicating new churches, and settling disputes in addition to encouraging people to make the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Much of the former must have been planned in advance and it seems only reasonable to assume that this holds true for the visit to St. Florent. This must mean either that he had a specific purpose in going there and had requested hospitality, or that the abbot had invited him, or perhaps both.

It is highly likely that the Pope's visit to the abbey in Jan. 1096 was related to the attendance of the abbot of Saint-Florent at the council of Clermont the previous Nov. It was Abbot William's entering into a prayer confraternity during the course of the council with a number of other heads of religious houses from central France which reveals his presence at Clermont at that time [13] and makes it most probable that Urban had expressly invited him to come.

How the Pope came to know Abbot William and the monastery of St. Florent cannot be learned with certainty from the surviving sources but a brief historical sketch of the abbey in the XIth century, accompanied by a summary biography of William as abbot should help to answer the question [14]. Due to the lack of modern scholarship on it, the abbey remains a lar-

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13. « ... *Nec plura dicere vacat de societate precum quas nonnulli abbates ex variis provinciis ad hoc concilium congregati inter sese inierunt, ut discimus ex veteri notitia ejus rei in ms. codice monasterii Illidiani ejusdem urbi relati. In ea memorantur cum abbate Sancti Illidii, abbates Sancti Florentii, sancti Nicolai Andegavensis, sancti Cypriani prope Pictavum, Sancti Savini apud Pictonis, Casae Dei; tum monachi Portus Dei, Sancti Petri Mauriacensi, et abbas et monachi sancti Symphoriani Thiernensis* », Th. Ruinart, *Vita Urbani*, PL 151, 180. On the participants at Clermont in general see R. Somerville, « The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade », *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae*, 12 (1974), p. 62-82 at 74.

14. No full scale work has yet been published on this abbey. A XVIIth century history by Dom Jean Huynes survives in manuscript (Paris, BN, mss. francais, 19862, and another superior copy at the departmental archives of the Maine et Loire in Angers, H 3746). Also still unpublished is the thèse of M. Hamon, *Les origines de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent-les-Saumur. Histoire des monastères du Mont Glonne et du chateau de Saumur, V^e^-VIe - 1026*, Ecole des Chartes, Positions des Thèses, 1971, p. 95-102. In addition to these, several historians have recently written on selected aspects of the abbey's history of which I mention here only those concerned with the later XIth century. M. Hamon, « Un aspect de la reconstruction monastique dans l'Ouest : les relations entre Saint-Florent de Saumur et les abbayes de la Loire moyenne (950-1206 environ) », *Bulletin Philologique et Historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1972 (1979), p. 87-94 ; W. Ziezulewicz, « Restored churches in the Fisc of St Florent de Saumur 1021-1118. Reform Ideology or Economic Motivation ? », *Revue Bénédictine*, 96 (1986), p. 106-17 ; *Id.*, « Etude d'un faux monastique à une période de réforme : une charte de Charles le Chauve pour Saint-Florent de Saumur du 8 Juin 848 », *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 28 (1985), p. 201-11 ; *Id.*, « Abbatial Elections at St. Florent de Saumur ca. 950-1118 », *Church History*, 57 (1988), p. 289-97 ; J. Martindale, « Monasteries and Castles . the priories of St. Florent de Saumur in England after 1066 », in Carole Hicks ed., *England in the 11th Century*, t. 2, Stamford, 1992 (Harlaxton Medieval Studies), p. 135-

gely unknown quantity in the ecclesiastical history of medieval France. Ironically it is the very abundance of surviving original sources, not their ,rarity, which seems to have discouraged attempts to write a comprehensive history of this house ; masses of original charters and four cartularies are housed in the departmental archives of the Maine-et-Loire in Angers. Since little of this is published, interested scholars have been obliged to work largely from the originals and this has slowed down and greatly complicated the task of grasping the whole. To conclude that the continuing obscurity of its history to modern historians reflects its insignificance in the monastic world of the day would, however, be a serious error. The community experienced severe difficulties in its early years, with IXth century Norman invaders driving the earliest monks from their first house at Montglonne on the Loire to a new location in the castle of Saumur. Destruction of that complex by Fulk Nerra of Anjou in 1026 then led to a second resettlement and reconstruction at a third, permanent, site outside Saumur. But from this time forth the abbey, living under peaceful conditions, began to thrive and expand to an unprecedented degree under the tutelage of the monks of Marmoutiers at Tours who controlled the selection of abbots. Reaching its high point in the later XIth and XIIth centuries, when the abbey had become independant of Marmoutiers, this expansion expressed itself in various ways. The construction of a new complex of monastic buildings crowned by a great romanesque church of which little remains today [15], the creation of an active monastic school (at which Suger of Saint-Denis may have studied) based on an extensive library and leading to the production of new liturgical texts [16], a new *vita* of their patron saint [17], charters and cartularies and a history of the abbey, and above all to the acquisition of a vast network of dependant priories, parish churches and rural properties extending from England and Wales southward through Normandy, Brittany, the Isle-de-France, Anjou, Poitou, Berry, Touraine, Saintonge, Angoumois, Perigord, and the Bordelais. By the end of the XIIIth century the dependant priories alone numbered a hundred and were peopled by 300 monks [18]. The abbot of Saint-Florent thus presided over a monastic empire matched by no other abbey in western France, an empire which made his house a worthy rival to Marmoutiers, La Chaise-Dieu, and even Cluny. Much of the abbey's expansion was accomplished

56 ; B. Watkinson, « A case study on the revival of stone quarrying in the late XIth century ; St. Florent de Saumur and Notre Dame de Noyers », *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), p. 113-28 ; finally there is Daniel Arnaud's unpublished Mémoire de Maitrise of 1992 from the Université Catholique de l'Ouest, *Les Vicomtes de Thouars et la fondation du monastère de la Chaize-le-Vicomte*.

15. J. Mallet, *L'art roman de l'ancien Anjou*, Paris, Picard, 1984, p. 44-50 ; p. 161-69.

16. *Ibid*, p. 11 ; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, n.e., VII, 62 ; XII, 362.

17. M. Hamon, « La vie de Saint-Florent et les origines de l'abbaye », *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 129, 1971, p. 215-38.

18. M. Hamon, « Un aspect de la reconstruction », *op. cit.*, p. 93.

under the leadership of a single abbot, William, who ruled the community for nearly half a century, 1070-1118. In the absence of any modern studies of this man it would be premature to venture a precise assessment of his role, in the rise of his abbey, but the history of Saint-Florent (written during his abbatiate and later) leaves no doubt that he was a figure of great importance.

The purpose of this brief historical sketch was not only to identify the abbey of Saint-Florent but also to suggest that even if he had never travelled in western France or met Abbot William, Pope Urban II would have known about this monastery simply because of its high standing and importance in the monastic world of the day. Thus he could well have wished to visit it in January 1096 in order to persuade Abbot William to let him make use of that vast complex of priories and parishes for the dissemination of his crusading message. In any case, as noted earlier, William's presence at the Nov. 1095 council in Clermont indicates that the two men had already met by that time and that Urban's visit to Saint-Florent had been planned in advance.

Just how effective Urban was in making his appeal at the abbey is open to question. None of the abundant contemporary sources from the abbey itself — charters above all, but also the *Historia Sancti Florentii* — provides an explicit answer : for instance, the new fragment discussed here from Chaize-le-Vicomte merely notes that the Pope invited people publically and privately but abstains (with one exception to be discussed later) from explaining whether the latter agreed to take the cross. Nonetheless those sources are not entirely uninformative on this matter.

Monastic charters are one important gauge of aristocratic participation in the crusades. In an effort to raise money for those expeditions many nobles mortgaged properties to local religious houses in return for advances of money to meet expenses [19]. Others requested prayers in return for donations of land. In both cases the abbey in question drew up a charter to record the transaction and hundreds of such documents survive to document the crusading intention in France at a local level. Against this background it is striking to observe that the archives of Saint-Florent, with its exceptionally rich collection of charters for the XIth and early XIIth centuries, do not appear to

19. G. Constable, « The financing of the Crusades in the 12th century », in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, Yah Izhak Ben-Zoi Inst., 1982, p. 70-80. For an example of the importance of monastic charters in studying aristocratic response to the call for the crusade, in this instance in a single region, the Limousin, see M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and GAscony c. 970-c.1130*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 258-81.

contain a single document of either of these two kinds [20]. While this does not prove anything the absence of such acts would seem to suggest that nobility living in the vicinity of Saint-Florent, or of its many dependant priories, either were not taking the cross, or, at the very least, did not appeal to that abbey for financial support.

A look at another aspect of the contemporary documentation only lends further credence to this suspicion. One of the best indicators of Urban II's itinerary during his tour of western France is the long list of papal bulls he issued at the various abbeys where he stopped en route confirming privileges and donations, dedicating churches, settling disputes and the like. But not a single bull of his survives from his stay at Saint-Florent, either for the benefit of that abbey or for any neighboring house. Nor is Urban mentioned as witnessing the charters of other monastic houses while at Saint-Florent as is true for the other places where he stayed. Nor did neighboring chroniclers from Poitou (Saint-Maixent), Anjou (Saint-Aubin), and the Touraine call attention to the Pope's visit at Saint-Florent as they frequently did to his various stops elsewhere. Finally, the dating clauses of the Saint-Florent charters do not name Urban as the reigning pope as do comparable documents from neighboring regions. The complete lack of papal bulls, monastic charters, and chronicle descriptions is of course the reason his Saint-Florent stopover remained unknown to subsequent historians until the lost fragment of the Chaize-le-Vicomte chronicle came to light.

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20. There are none in the various collections of charters published by P. Marchegay · « Chartes de Saint-Florent près Saumur concernant l'Angoumois », Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique de la Charente, 1877 ; *Chartes bordelaises de 1080 à 1185 tirées des archives du monastère de Saint-Florent près Saumur*, Les Roches-Baritaud, impr. V. Forest et E. Grimaud, Nantes, n.d. ; « Chartes et autres titres du monastère de Saint-Florent près Saumur concernant l'Isle de France 1070-1220 environ », *Mémoires de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Isle-de-France*, 5 (1879) ; *Chartes mancelles de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur, 848-1200*, Mamers, impr. G. Fleury et A. Dangin, 1878 ; « Chartes nantaises du monastère de Saint-Florent près Saumur de 1070 environ à 1186 », *Bulletin de la société archéologique de Nantes*, 1877 ; « Chartes poitevines de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur », *Archives historiques du Poitou*, 2 (1873) ; *Cartulaires du Bas Poitou*, Les Roches-Baritaud, 1877 ; « Chartes saintongeaises de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur de 1067-1200 », *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, 4 (1877) ; *Cartulaire du prieuré bénédictin de Gondon sur Loire*, Les Roches-Baritaud, impr. V. Forest et E. Grimaud, Nantes, 1879 ; « Chartes anciennes de Saint-Florent près Saumur pour le Périgord », *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Périgord*, 6 (1879) ; « Chartes anciennes du prieuré de Monmouth en Angleterre au diocese de Hereford, membre de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Florent près Saumur », *Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des chartes*, 40 (1879) ; « Chartes normandes de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur 718-1200 », *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 4e s., 1 (1879). In an undated Norman charter from the end of the XIth century (« Chartes Normandes », *op. cit.*, p. 43), the scribe noted in passing that a noble confirming his father's donation was making the Jerusalem trip. M. Saché makes no reference to crusader charters in his detailed inventory of the unpublished Saint-Florent documents, *Inventaire*.

Perhaps strangest of all in this story is the fact that it was an observer from a distant priory (Chaize-le-Vicomte is 125 km from the mother house - see map) who wrote about the papal stay at Saint-Florent and not someone at the abbey itself. Not that no local chronicle exists for this period. On the contrary the *Historia Sancti Florentii*, written at the abbey at the beginning of the XIII[th] century but, for the XI[th] century, based on contemporary texts, devotes 63 lines to the abbatiate of William yet is silent on the subject of any papal visit [21]. Taken on its own the silence of the *Historia* would in fact cast doubt on the authenticity of the account of the Chaize-le-Vicomte chronicle were it not for the other evidence mentioned earlier, arguing in favor of the accuracy of that narrative. The only acceptable conclusion is that the anonymous author of the *Historia Sancti Florentii* knew about the papal visit but deliberately omitted it from his account of Abbot William's rule. Certainly not because of the insignificance of the visit : the frequency and the manner with which other contemporaries mentioned Urban's calling at different abbeys along his route leave no doubt that they considered it a memorable event.

There remains the possibility that for some reason the abbey found Urban's stay there to have been somehow unsatisfactory, perhaps in his personal relations with Abbot William and the community, and therefore decided to eliminate any reference to his visit in its history. It seems highly improbable that it was displeasure at, or rejection of, Urban's call for the crusade. After all the Pope already knew Abbot William, had probably invited him to Clermont with confidence that the latter was sympathetic to the idea of the Holy Land expedition, and had in turn presumably been invited to stay at the abbey during his tour (see above). For the abbot of Saint-Florent to have reversed his position vis a vis the crusade at the last minute seems unlikely.

But if the two did not disagree over the crusade, they certainly did on a quite different matter shortly after Urban's stay. A notice from the abbey of Saint-Philibert of Tournus reports that in a council held in Tours on 20 March, 1096 (i.e. 6 weeks after the visit at Saint-Florent), Urban II rejected the claim presented in person by Abbot William and his monks that two disputed churches in the town of Loudun belonged to their abbey instead of the community from the Maconnais [22]. Could William's disappointment at the losing this dispute have caused him to blame the Pope ? Since the conflict

21. On the stages in the composition of the *Historia*, see Marchegay and Mabille, *Chroniques des Eglises*, *op. cit.*, introduction, p. xxiv-xxxi.

22. Ph. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2[nd] ed., I, Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1956, n° 5622, p. 685 ; P. Chifflet, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Tournus*, Dijon, Vve. P. Chavance, 1664, preuves, p. 333-34.

had already dragged on for many years the abbey may well have attached considerable importance to it, but given the present documentation it is impossible to say whether this unfavorable judgement could have soured the overall relations between the two men. Thus, in the final analysis the silence of the Saint-Florent records remains a mystery. And equally mysterious is the aforementioned absence of crusading charters of neighboring aristocracy in the Saint-Florent archives, an absence may or may not be related to the silence of the same archives about the Pope's visit.

In view of these curious facts the attention paid to the Pope's visit and the crusade by a single priory of Saint-Florent, i.e. Chaize-le-Vicomte, the only one to do so, is all the more striking. Not only does the priory's chronicle describe the papal visit at the distant mother house (thereby making possible this paper) but it also furnished a striking description of the crusade made by a local nobleman, the son of its founder, from his taking his vow in 1101 until his death in Jaffa in 1102 [23]. Furthermore one of the XII[th] century Saint-Florent cartularies contains an undated forged bull of Urban II purporting to confirm the donation of the priory of Chaize-le-Vicomte to the abbey of Saint-Florent by Aimeri the Viscount of Thouars, and to exempt it from local episcopal control [24]. This supposed intervention of Urban in its favor is unique in the Saint-Florent archives which otherwise appear to contain not a single further reference to that Pope in relation to the abbey. Even though the bull is an obvious forgery, it is conceivable that it rests upon the tradition that a special relationship had existed between Urban II and Chaize-le-Vicomte, something certainly implied by the way in which the anonymous chronicler featured that Pope and the crusade in his story.

Such a relationship could hardly have been based on personal acquaintances since Urban cannot have visited the then new priory (it was founded c. 1087 and the new church consecrated in 1099) during his tour in Poitou-Anjou in Dec. 1095-Jan. 1096. It may well been their enthusiasm for the cult of St. Nicholas of Myra/Bari which gave the monks of Chaize-le-Vicomte a special attachement to Pope Urban II. Although that saint was already known and venerated in France by the early XI[th] century, it was the theft of his relics from Myra in Asia Minor and their translation to Bari in Apulia in May 1087 which gave an enormous new impetus to his cult in Italy and

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23. P. Marchegay, *Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou*, Les Roches-Baritaud, 1877, p. 6-8 ; Fr. Poitier-Coutansais, « La croisade du vicomte Herbert de Thouars d'après une chronique de Saint-Florent de Saumur (1101-2) », *Mémoires de l'Academie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts d'Angers*, 10 (1985-6), p. 183-6.

24. *Ibid*, p. 18 ; J. Ramackers, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, Neue Folge, 5, *Touraine, Anjou, Maine und Bretagne*, Gottingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956, n° 23, p. 83-4 ; Arnaud, *Vicomtes de Thouars*, *op. cit.*, p. 36-7.

northern Europe after that time [25]. Urban II played an essential role in the propagation of this revitalized saint, as, for instance, in dedicating the new basilica of St. Nicholas at Bari on 9 May, 1089, and in holding his council of 1098 in the same church [26]. Almost immediately the basilica became a shrine attracting pilgrims from many parts of Europe. With their extensive familial ties in Apulia, Normans were among the most assiduous both in worshipping at the shrine and in carrying the cult back to their native Normandy [27].

The new Saint-Florent priory of Chaize-le-Vicomte may have been one of the first monastic foundations in western France to be dedicated to the cult of St. Nicholas after the translation to Bari. Given the relative richness of its early documentation, the date of the arrival of the cult can be determined with some exactitude. Abbot William came from the mother house to celebrate the saint's day, Dec. 6, for the first time in 1091 when the new priory church was just under construction [28]. The care with which local scribes noted that Abbot William returned on the same date for the same commemoration in 1094 and 1095 testifies clearly to the importance both attributed to their patron saint [29]. Since this new priory owed its existence to Aimery Viscount of Thouars who viewed it as his personal creation, founding and endowing it and then being buried there, it is only natural to assume that he had insisted on its dedication to Nicholas of Bari. And that may well have been the result of his own pilgrimage to Bari sometime between 1089 and 1091. He could have met the Pope in the course of his pilgrimage and thereby have been the intermediary who informed the monks of La Chaize of Urban's vital role in the furthering of the veneration of St. Nicholas. This in turn could explain why the anonymous author of the local chronicle gave particular attention to Urban II at the time of his stay at Saint-Florent in late Jan. 1096.

The purpose of this paper was to call attention to a previously unknown visit of Pope Urban II at a Loire valley abbey during his tour of western France in the winter of 1095-96, to explain how and why the two came into contact, and to see what, if any, light the episode might shed on the call for the First Crusade. The inquiry brought out that the Pope would have known of the fame and influence of this abbey through the latter's extraordinary

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25. C. W. Jones, *St. Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan. Biography of a Legend*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978, p. 104, 112, 142, 161, 172, 202ff.

26. *Ibid*, p. 209-17.

27. *Ibid*, p. 207 ; M. Chibnall, « The translation of the relics of St. Nicolas and the Norman Historical Tradition », *Rivista Storica del Mezzogiorno*, 11/12 (1976-77), p. 31-41.

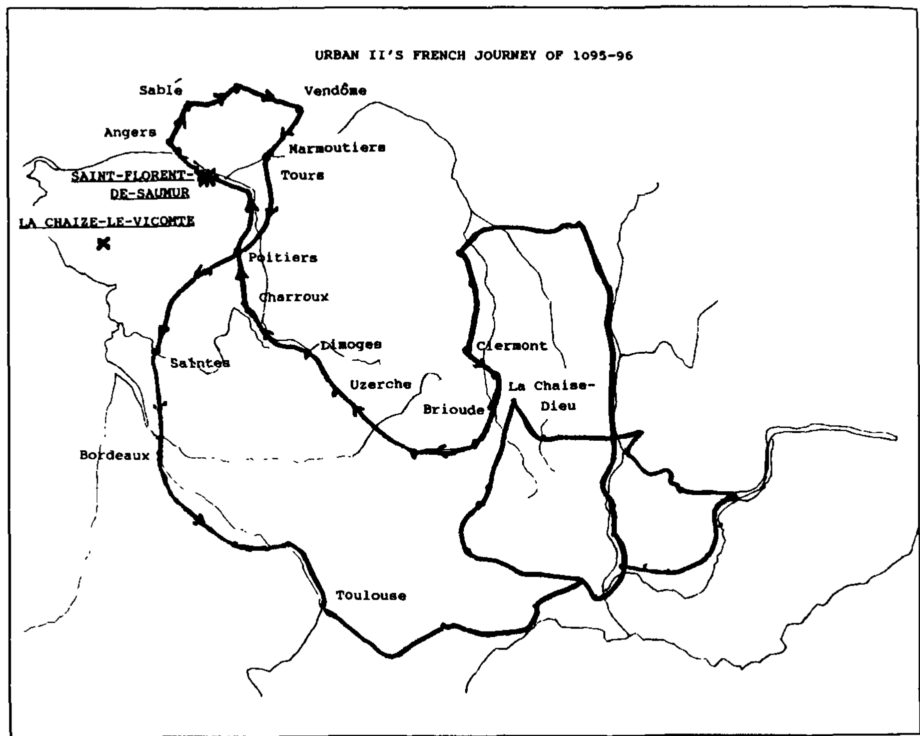
28. *Anno incarnatione domini MXCI quando primum ivit abbas Guillelmus facere festivitatem Sancti Nicolai apud casam*, Marchegay, *Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

29. *Ibid*, p. 19, 340.

network of dependant priories reaching from England to southern France. In all probability it was his desire to profit from the abbey's vast range of personal relationships in spreading his appeal for crusaders that led the Pope to invite Abbot William of Saint-Florent to the council of Clermont in 1095 and, in turn, to secure an invitation to the abbey during his tour the following Jan. But if the Pope approached that visit with high hopes for an enthusiastic reception of his appeal for crusade volunteers, the indications are that he may have been disappointed. The monks of a single distant Saint-Florent priory responded positively, possibly because they traced to Urban II their patronage of St. Nicholas of Bari, but elsewhere, and particularly at the mother house, the abbey records imply an unsympathetic reaction to Urban's ideas and presence, and the two may have parted on unfriendly terms. However the same records are more effective in hinting at a coolness in relations between the two than in explaining it. At best they imply that the abbot and monks may have been unhappy with the pope because of a matter entirely peripheral to the validity of the crusading call — the loss of a jurisdictional dispute with another monastery. But would monks at this time have allowed such considerations to influence their decision about something as important as a crusade ? And even if they did, would monastic opinion have had a decisive effect on the reactions of potential participants from the ranks of the nobility ? Could it not have been that the favorable or hostile views of the regional prince or castellan had a greater weight in the decisions of local nobility as to whether or not to join the movement ?

Almost without exception modern studies of the First Crusade have stressed the amazing success of pope, princes, and popular preachers in persuading large numbers of people to make the 1096 expedition. Failure to attract followers is, by contrast, a subject little touched, yet the French response to the papal appeal varied significantly in different parts of the country. The abbey of Saint-Florent was located on the confines of a province, Poitou, which appears to have contributed little to the 1096 movement, its own prince, the Duke of Aquitaine, not taking the cross until 1101 [30]. And this despite the fact that Pope Urban II laid special emphasis on the region to judge from the number of places he visited and the length of time he spent there. By calling attention to apparent reservations about the pope and the crusading movement the case of Saint-Florent of Saumur may have the merit of bringing out that the reasons for success or failure may have been more complicated than appears at first glance.

30. J. L. Cate, « A Gay Crusader », *Byzantion*, 16 (1942-45), p. 503-26. And his Poitevin vassal, Herbert, Viscount of Thouars, son of the founder of La Chaize-le-vicomte, did not himself take the cross until 1101. See note 23 above.


URBAN II'S FRENCH JOURNEY OF 1095-96
Sablé
Vendôme
Angers
Marmoutiers
SAINT-FLORENT-
DE-SAUMUR
Tours
LA CHAIZE-LE-VICOMTE
Poitiers
Charroux
Limoges
Clermont
Saintes
Uzerche
La Chaise-
Dieu
Brioude
Bordeaux
Toulouse

Christopher K. GARDNER

THE CAPETIAN PRESENCE IN BERRY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE *

The Capetians were able to establish a royal presence in Berry because the *vicomte* of Bourges, Eudes Arpin, sold his title and lands to the French king, Philip I (r.1060-1108) in order to finance his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1101. This sale was the first unchallenged acquisition by the Capetians south of the Loire River. Accordingly, the history of the region suggests how Capetian participation on the crusades to the Levant also served as a means to reinforce the family's legitimacy to rule there. Bourges, which was also the seat of the archbishop, served as a royal power base in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries for expeditions not only to the Holy Land, but also against the Plantagenets to the west and the Cathars in the south [1]. Yet in order better to understand the Capetian presence in Berry as it relates to the crusades, we must also appreciate the influence of pilgrimage in this region. While this theme takes us back before the Council of Clermont, we must see how this older tradition became a part of the loyalty of the castellans of the *vicomté* to the Capetian monarchy — a loyalty that did not go unrewarded during the era of the crusades through Louis IX.

Only a few years before the First Crusade, in 1090, an ascetic, Ebrard, gained permission from his abbot at St-Sulpice of Bourges, Odo, to satisfy

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* I wish to thank Gary Dickson, my advisor at the University of Edinburgh, for his guidance in preparing my M.Litt. thesis, from which this paper is derived.

1. G. Devailly, « Comment les Capétiens sont devenus maîtres de Bourges », *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry*, 5 (1966), p. 9-29.

his eagerness to go to Jerusalem [2]. Ebrard's path was not smooth, however, for Odo passed away, and he had to convince Odo's stricter successor, Teunius, to allow him to go [3]. Louis Raynal, in his study *Histoire du Berry jusqu'en 1789* [4]. claims that Ebrard was acquainted with Peter the Hermit. He then suggests what an impact Ebrard would have had if he returned to central France with Peter to help enlist soldiers for the *iter* of 1096. Raynal, unfortunately, could offer no evidence to suggest Ebrard did return. There seems to be no trace of him after he left Bourges. Ebrard's journey does show, nevertheless, that the spiritual ideal of pilgrimage to the Holy Land was alive in central France in the last decade of the XIth century. It also suggests that the region was accustomed to the presence of itinerant ascetics, perhaps making the inhabitants receptive to Peter when he preached there [5] — whether we want to imagine Ebrard accompanied him or not.

Moreover, Ebrard was part of a pilgrimage tradition. Odo *Le Roux*, lord of Déols and Châteauroux, is the first XIth century pilgrim from Berry whose journey was recorded. He departed for the Holy Sepulcher, arriving in March 1027, accompanied by duke William the Great of Aquitaine, Fulk III of Anjou, and William Taillefer II, count of Angoulême [6]. From this aristocratic sojourn, we have a striking example of the way the ideal of the Jerusalem pilgrimage was brought to Berry in the early XIth century.

In the town of Neuvy, some one hundred kilometers Southwest of Bourges, a relic church built as a pious, though not architecturally faithful, reconstruction of the Anastasis church brought the « presence of Jerusalem » to Berry [7]. The date of construction of Neuvy-St-Sépulcre is uncertain. The

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2. *Cartulary A of St-Sulpice of Bourges*, in L. Raynal, *Histoire du Berry depuis les temps les plus anciennes jusqu'en 1789*, Bourges, Librarie De Vermeil, 1845, vol. 1, p. 473-74 : *Transacto longo tempore, Ebrardus Hierosolimam ire cupiens...*

3. G. Constable, « Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades », in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusades and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the SSCLE and Presented to R.C. Smail*, Cardiff, The University College of Cardiff, 1985, p. 78.

4. Vol. 2, p. 391.

5. Albert of Aix, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux* [= *RHC*], Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1844+, Bk. 1, ch. 2, vol.4, p. 272.

6. G. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, Toulouse, Privat, 1987, p. 79-80. See also G. Thaumas de la Thaumassière, *Histoire de Berry*, Bourges, A. Jollet et Fils, 1865, vol. 2, p. 392 ; and J. Favière (ed.), *Berry Roman*, Yonne, Le monastère de La Pierre-Qui-Vire, 1970, p. 118. His going with the count is recorded in Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chavanon, Paris, A. Picard, 1897, p. 189.

7. The phrase is taken from F. Cardini, « The Crusades and the "Presence of Jerusalem" in Medieval Florence », in B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben Zvi Institute, 1982, p. 332-46.

Chronicle of St-Martin of Auxerre places it as far back as 1034 [8], while the Chronicle of Anjou dates it as late as 1045. Unfortunately, references to the specific founder are almost as vague as the date of his foundation. The report offered by the chronicle of Anjou names the sponsor as the *vicomte* of Bourges, Geoffrey *Le Meschin* [9]. Of the other three chronicles known to record its foundation, the *Chronicon* of William Godelli (a monk at St-Martial at Limogues), the *Chronologia* of Robert (a monk at St-Mary's of Auxerre), and the *Chronicle of Tours*, only the one written in Limogues mentions a possible patron. It is worth quoting this passage in full : « In the same year [1042] the church of the Holy Sepulcher was founded in Berry in the form of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem, presented by Odo the Red, lord of the castle of Déols and by the illustrious man Boso of Clos » [10].

Whether by Geoffrey or by Odo, or perhaps by both, it seems quite certain that the church was founded by a member of the lay nobility of Berry, a spiritual exercise widely practiced by the aristocracy at the time [11]. The closer geographical proximity between Châteauroux and Neuvy, and Odo's pilgrimage to the Levant discussed above, suggest that he was probably the founder of Neuvy's memorial of the Holy Sepulcher. Land holdings could be widely fragmented, of course, and no evidence has been found showing who held the lordship of Neuvy at this time. Yet I have also found nothing to suggest that Geoffrey *Le Meschin* or his predecessors undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. While it is always dangerous to build an argument on a lack of evidence, I do think it is reasonable to conclude that Odo was indeed the primary lay patron of Neuvy-St-Sépulcre.

The Church itself is a rather inexact copy of its archetype. The original, built in the V[th] century, was circular and separate from the basilica to the east, although they were later connected by a colonnade [12]. Neuvy has, for example, only eleven central piers compared to the twelve in the

8. M. Bouquet (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* [= *RHGF*], Paris, Les Librairies Associés, 1685+, vol. 11, p. 308.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 169 : *MXLV constructa est Ecclesia Sti. Sepulchri in Bituria a Gaufrido Bituricensi Vicecomite*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 282 : *Anno Dom. MXLII. Hoc eodem anno Ecclesia St. Sepulchri fundata est in Bituria ad formam S. Sepulchri Jerosolimitiani, præsente Odone Ruffo Dolensis castri domino et Bosone viro illustri de Closis.*

11. C.B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister : Nobility and the Church in Burgundy*, Ithica, Cornell University, p. 110.

12. C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, Toronto, The University of Toronto, 1974, p. 74. See also F.E. Peters, *Jerusalem : The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets*, Princeton, Princeton University, p. 123-73.

Anastasis [13]. Also, the entrance at Neuvy opens seemingly arbitrarily to the north while the entrance to the Anastasis is oriented. The archaeological study in *Berry Roman* argues that the rotunda was originally meant to stand on its own, while the basilica was probably added very soon after. The basilica rose more quickly than the rotunda, but it was then attached rather ineptly to the earlier building [14].

Neuvy also became a noteworthy stop on one of the pilgrimage routes to Spain. Of the four main roads to Compostella, the *via Lemovicensis* included La Charité-sur-Loire, Bourges and Déols before directing the pilgrim south to Limogues [15]. Neuvy-St-Sépulcre was a major religious center on a secondary route of this circuit. Unfortunately, the *Guide du pélerin de St-Jacques de Compostelle*, a guidebook of the early XII[th] century, does not mention this church, although it may be noted that it does not get specific about any church along the route until it talks about those in the bas-Limousin and the Pyrenées [16]. The *Guide* does, nevertheless, indirectly support the fact that there was a passage through Berry by describing a route from Orleans due south to Limogues.

An inventory of relics has not been found for Neuvy until the XIII[th] century when it indeed had strong ideological and royal links with the church of the Holy Sepulcher rebuilt by the crusaders in Jerusalem — as we shall see. Still, it was understood to be a true replica of its mother institution from its founding, and indeed may have been seen as a relic itself. Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith's prosopographical database includes references made in 1118 to Fulk of Anjou's pilgrimage in the 1020s, the pilgrimage upon which Odo the Red and duke William participated. These XII[th] century documents record how they returned with many pieces of the Holy Sepulcher left from its destruction around 1009. If these stones were brought to Neuvy, this might well explain why references to the building of this church in southern Berry may be found in the chronicle of Anjou. Neuvy's round form, symbolizing eternity and resurrection would have been enough for contemporaries to link it unquestionably with the pilgrimage destination of Jerusalem [17]. That it was an important pilgrimage site is indirectly corro-

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13. C. Couasnon, *The Cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem*, Oxford, Oxford University, 1974, p. 15 and p. 123-37.

14 *Berry Roman*, p. 115-19.

15. P.A. Sigal, *Les marcheurs de Dieu*, Paris, A. Colin, p. 110 and 119. La Charité is due east of Bourges, but just across the Loire River in the lands of the count of Nevers.

16. J. Vielliard (ed.), *Le guide du pelerin à St-Jacques de Compostelle*, Mâcon, Protat, 1938.

17. R. Krautheimer, « An Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture" », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), p. 15-16. He also sites an article

borated by the fact that the four chronicles mentioned above are all outside the domains of the vice county of Bourges, suggesting that the knowledge of, and interest in, this shrine was widespread due to its popularity as a pilgrims' church recalling the Lord's Tomb.

Thus we see that both monks and warriors in Berry undertook pilgrimages throughout the XIth century. In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, from which we find more surviving sources, we may see that armed pilgrimages included lesser aristocrats, modest land holders, and even local artisans [18]. However, for our purposes we must focus on the nobleman who sold his title to the king of France in order to participate on the First Crusade.

Eudes Arpin of Bourges and his wife, Mahaut of Sully, had no children or siblings who would have claim to their holdings. Therefore, to find the money necessary to go to Jerusalem, he sold his lands to Philip I. Unfortunately, reports of the date and price of the sale vary [19]. Orderic Vitalis, who goes on to give an account of Eudes's adventures on the crusade itself, dates the sale to 1101, which may be indirectly corroborated by a charter concerning the abbey of St-Sulpice of Bourges signed by Eudes and his wife in the previous year [20]. Guy Devailly, the most widely published modern historian of the region, is also convinced that the sale dates between 1100-1101 [21]. Orderic Vitalis begins his section on the *vicomte* of Bourges in the context of the pressure put on Stephen of Blois to return to the crusade he had abandoned at Antioch and on those who had not fulfilled their obligations made in 1095-1096. It is conceivable, but probably unprovable, that Arpin took the cross at that time but could not leave until the sale was

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by R. Michel-Dansac, « Neuvy-St-Sépulcre », *Congres Archæologique*, 94 (1931), p. 523-55, which argues it was originally designed with twelve supports to match the Anastasis, although neither historian can confirm the hypothesis.

18. C.K. Gardner, *Holy War and the Home Front : The Crusading Culture of Berry France in the Eleventh Through Thirteenth Centuries*, M. Litt. thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 1993, p. 69-76.

19. William of Malmesbury [*RHGF*, 12, p. 6, n.1] does not mention the sale itself, but has Arpin and 300 men heading for Jerusalem in 1098. See G. Devailly's *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, Mouton, 1973, p. 382-84 for the debate over the cost and what possessions were involved. He also cites *La chronique de Vézelay*, which lists the impossible sale date of 1065.

20. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1969-1975, Bk. 10, ch. 20, vol. 5, p. 324 : *Anno itaque Dominicæ Incarnat MCI...Tunc Harpinus Bituricam urbem Philippo Rego Francorum vendit et cum Goscelino de Cortenaia et Milone de Braio iter Ierusalem iniit*. Thaumas de la Thaumassière, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p.7 8, discusses the charters signed by him in 1097-1098, but does not cite them specifically. In the charters I have found, they always appear together, probably because his title depended upon their marriage.

21. « Comment les Capétiens », *op.cit.*, p. 12.

completed. Perhaps circumstances forced him to wait for the third general passage of 1101, launched as reports of miraculous victory began to be brought back to Latin Europe by the first returning soldiers [22].

Arpin's crusading career included his participation in war councils [23], and his being captured at the battle of Rama in May 1102 [24]. His exploits even became an integral part of the Jerusalem crusading song cycle that developed through the XIIth century. While I have pursued this literary tradition somewhat, and hope to follow it further, we must stay with the real story, which is less dramatic. After he was ransomed, he presented himself to pope Paschal II, then joined the Cluniac monastery of La Charité-sur-Loire, situated on the eastern border of what had been his *vicomté*. In 1107 he was elected abbot and oversaw the completion of the abbey's rebuilding programme and its rededication by the pope. There he died in 1130 [25].

The connection between Berry and the Capetians' participation on the crusades was quickly established in 1145 when Louis VII (r.1137-1180) held a coronation in the Romanesque cathedral of St-Etienne of Bourges at Christmas, 1145 [26]. Odo of Deuil, the sole chronicler of his crusade from a French perspective, reveals that this was one of many coronations because he states that more prelates and magnates were summoned to Bourges than usual for such an event [27]. In fact, it was Louis's second one in Bourges alone. He had married Eleanor of Aquitaine the same year of his accession to the throne, in 1137. Her dowry included most of southwestern France, and the king made a general tour of these lands in 1137-1138 to reinforce the Capetian presence there [28]. Odo also relates the preaching of the crusade at the Christmas court where the bishop of Langres, Godfrey of la Roche, himself a native of a town in southern Berry, preached about the oppression of the Christians by the insolent pagans in Edessa. Odo mentions nothing about papal involvement, which is a surprising omission by a monk, even one

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22. J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, New Haven, Yale University, 1987, p. 34-36.

23. Albert of Aix, Bk. 7, ch. 57, *op.cit.*, p. 544-45.

24. Orderic Vitalis, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, Bk. 10, chs. 22-23, p. 342-54. See also Guibert of Nogent, in *RHC Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 244-45.

25. A. Tortrat, E. Jouin, A. Redon, *Le Berry : étude géographique et historique de la région Berrichonne*, Bourges, Tardy-Pigelet et Fils, 1913, p. 193 and H. Hilberry, « La Charité-sur-Loire Priory Church », *Speculum*, 30 (1955), p. 14.

26. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem. The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. V.G. Berry, New York, Columbia University, 1948, p. 6.

27. Odo of Deuil, *op. cit.*, p. xiv. See also G. Constable, « The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries », *Speculum*, 9 (1953), p. 215-20.

28. M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume*, Paris, SEVPEN, 1964, p. 29-30. See also Orderic Vitalis, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, Bk.13, ch. 35, p. 508, where he mentions the 1137 royal court at Bourges.

keenly aware of his Capetian loyalties. As he does not mention the papacy, it would appear that Louis, having heard the preaching of a native *Berrieur*, hoped to launch a crusade himself [29].

Yet the French reaction towards Louis's appeal was not at all enthusiastic. This hesitancy was probably due more to regional political issues than to disinterest in the plight of the Latin states. In an earlier attempt to stamp his authority over central France, Louis blocked pope Eugenius III's (1145-1153) elevation of Peter of la Châtre to the archbishopric of Bourges. He hoped to install his own candidate, Cadurc, who already enjoyed multiple benefices in Berry : he was a canon of the cathedral, archdeacon of Déols, prior of St-Ursin and abbot of St-Sulpice, the latter two in Bourges itself [30]. Peter was elected with the backing of Eugenius's predecessor, Innocent II, but he had to take refuge from Louis with the count of Champagne during his return from Rome. The debate then grew to include marriage claims made by the count, and Louis moved troops into the area in 1142. During this struggle, a number of people perished when the king's men burned a church in Vitry [31].

The pressure Louis felt from Rome concerning the affair must have been significant. A letter that Innocent sent to his candidate, Peter, in 1143 demanded that the king endure « a penitential trip whether to Jerusalem or in Spain, in the service of God for one year » [32]. Under such pressure, the king used the Christmas court at Bourges as an opportunity both to establish a royal presence in Berry and to propose an armed pilgrimage. By doing so, he could portray himself as the instigator of the campaign, giving him much needed political prestige, while at the same time satisfying the demands of Rome. The assembly was adjourned with the plan to reconvene in Vézelay, specifically to take up the cross for a crusade [33].

In the meantime, Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the pope urging him to allow the king to continue « the work of God », which was the very reason

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29. H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. J. Gillingham, Oxford, Oxford University, 1988², p. 93-95. See also H. Mayr-Harting, « Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade and the Monastery of St-Denis », in M.A. Meyer (ed.), *The Culture of Christendom. Essays in Medieval History in Commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethel*, London, Hambledon Press, 1993, p. 225-41.

30. Pacaut, *op. cit.*, p. 42-43. La Châtre is due south of Issoudun and just east of Neuvy.

31. A. Graboïs, « The Crusade of Louis VII. A Reconsideration », in *Crusade and Settlement, op.cit.*, p. 96. According to Devailly, « Comment les Capétiens », *op. cit.*, p. 14, the king's muster included the lords of Graçay, Issoudun, Montfaucon, and Beaugency, all towns in Berry.

32. *Cartulary of St-Satur*, in Raynal, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 529-30 : « .. *penitentie ei detur ut Hierosolimis aut in Hispania in servicio Dei per annum permaneat* ».

33. Odo of Deuil, *op. cit.*, p. 6-8.

the council had convened at Bourges [34]. This suggests that the king now had, unlike the First Crusade, a pivotal role to play in crusading activity, and one of Louis's earliest attempts to establish this position was made in Bourges. Nevertheless, it is true that, in the end, it was Bernard's preaching at Vézelay that ultimately motivated the laity to enlist in the crusade [35]. Louis, so obstinate in confronting his vassal in Champagne and in defending his claims to nominate Cadurc as archbishop, also was eager to receive papal backing for his enterprise, probably because he saw how much more successful it would be with such support [36].

During the reign of Philip Augustus (r.1180-1226), the royal presence in Berry had been severely challenged due to the annulment that his father, Louis, obtained for his marriage to Eleanor in 1152. She married Henry II of England and took her lands with her. This brought a tangled set of political issues into play, which in themselves are not within the scope of this study. However, one of the fault lines of this tension ran through Berry, along the River Cher. The promises to go on crusade made by Henry and Philip II were often delayed due to their political feuding in central France and Normandy. The problem was to make peace in the west to ensure participation in the crusade to the east.

A truce was discussed at the abbey of Déols in 1187, where it is quite probable plans for a joint crusade were also forwarded [37]. Although an armistice was finally agreed upon after a series of meetings, Philip quickly invaded Plantagenet territory upon his hasty return from Acre in 1191. This struggle preempted many from Berry and Normandy, two regions with long-established crusading traditions, from joining the Fourth and Fifth Crusades. If only central France had not responded to Innocent III's appeals, then this might suggest a waning of crusade support particular to the region. Yet Berry and Normandy were the two most hotly-contested areas between the French and English kings. The fact that Normandy also did not must muster a significant crusader army shows that it was the political rivalries that kept the domestic situation too volatile for people to leave on such a long-term

34. J. Leclercq and H.M. Rochais (eds.) *Sancti Bernardi Opera,* Rome, Editiones Cistercienses, 1974-1977, vol. 8, epistles 219-221, p. 80-86. All were written in 1143, the first was sent to dignitaries in the Roman *curia*, asking for leniency on behalf of Louis due to his youth and his earlier support for the Church. The latter two were to Louis himself, trying to get him to mollify his position over the affair.

35. E. Delaruelle, « L'idée de croisade chez Saint Bernard », *Mélanges Saint Bernard,* Dijon, Association des Amis de Saint Bernard, 1953, p. 54.

36. Graboïs, *op. cit.*, p. 96-99.

37. Devailly, *Le Berry*, *op. cit.*, p. 11-12.

commitment [38]. In such an environment of regional hostility, it would have been unlikely that large numbers would have left their possessions unprotected to fight even in the sanctified wars of the crusades.

In my thesis for the University of Edinburgh, I have attempted to show how the archbishops of Bourges played a pivotal role in mustering armies for the Albigensian crusades to Languedoc [39]. Such contributions continued to reinforce Berry's « crusading culture » by continually emphasizing both loyalty to the Latin church and to the Capetian monarchy — both of whom stood to benefit by the victories of the armies (who still called themselves « pilgrims ») that left from Bourges to make their way to the Midi. The cathedral of St-Etienne was being rebuilt at this time and still stands as an iconographical assertion of these two allegiances. Yet the crusades to the French Midi involved political motives for the family that would not have been an issue for their continued leadership on expeditions to the Holy Land, and should not be included here [40]. Therefore, for this paper, we need only mention that three of these expeditions to the south included Louis VIII, and he was to die in the Languedoc in 1226, making way for his young son, Louis IX (r.1226-1270) to ascend the throne.

One of the men who made a great impact on Louis's first crusade was Odo of Châteauroux. He was not a nobleman and probably was born at Neuvy, whose pilgrimage church was discussed above. His first known post was as abbot of Déols, an abbey which, as we have seen, had a tradition of supporting the crusades. From there, he became the chancellor of Notre Dame of Paris [41]. It was in this office that Odo consecrated the Sainte Chapelle for the housing of the relic of the crown of thorns that Louis had brought from the Latin emperor of Constantinople in 1234. Before the general passage of 1248, he was appointed papal legate, managing the crusading taxes brought in from England and the north-western areas of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as from France itself [42]. There are also a number of narratives that refer to his preaching the crusade to prelates, barons, knights, and, less often, to the general public [43].

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38. J. Godfrey, *1204. The Unholy Crusade*, Oxford, Oxford University, 1980, p. 36-38 and D.E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade : The Conquest of Constantinople*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1977, p. 1-4.

39. Gardner, *op.cit. supra*.

40. Although I do not agree with her ultimate conclusions, see M.-B. Bruguière, « Un mythe historique : "L'impérialisme capétien" dans le Midi aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles », *Annales du Midi*, 97 (1985) p. 245-67.

41. J. Richard, *Saint Louis*, Paris, Fayard, 1983, p. 192.

42. *RHGF*, vol. 20, p. 166 and p. 551. See also Raynal, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 227.

43. *RHGF*, vol. 20, p. 67 and p. 551 ; vol. 21, p. 74-75 and p. 165.

As for his contributions on the crusade itself, Odo was in the king's council at Damietta [44], and because he was not captured when the army were trapped between the Nile and the Muslim army at Mansurah, he worked diligently for his king's release. After Louis was ransomed in the spring of 1250, they continued their pilgrimage by going to Acre, although many fellow crusaders returned to France [45]. Odo stayed by his king, and he, like Bernard of Clairvaux a century earlier, was forced by events to become an apologist for a crusade that had looked so sure of victory upon its departure [46].

It seems that Odo was respected for his discretion as well as his fidelity because he was given the responsibility of informing Louis of his mother's death. It is quite probable that Odo stayed behind in Acre when Louis embarked for France to make arrangements for the funeral [47]. When he did return, Odo was bearing two passion relics as gifts for Neuvy-St-Sépulcre. These relics complemented the iconographic links between Neuvy and the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem intended in the architecture. The inventory included stones from the grotto of the original church and a few drops of blood from Jesus himself [48]. With the stones taken from Jerusalem, a second grotto was built in Neuvy, which survived until 1806 and included the inscription *Hic sunt reliquie de Sepulchro domini et de loco Calvarie* [49].

These were not the only relics pertaining to the passion of Christ that were brought back to Berry. Louis himself donated a splinter of the true cross to a church at Orval, on the River Cher. The relic is housed in a gold crucifix with fleur-de-lys on each end [50]. The cross probably served as a gift both to the number of *Berrieurs* who accompanied the king and to Henry II of Sully in particular, who was the lord of the town, and whose family had often participated on the crusades with their king [51].

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44. *Ibid.*, p. 31 and p. 14 respectively.

45. Jean, Sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, credo, et lettre à Louis X*, ed. N. de Wailly, Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1874², p. 166-244.

46. P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge, MA., Harvard University, 1991, p. 235-43.

47. Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 330-36. Raynal, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 229, dates Eudes's arrival at Neuvy to July 1257.

48. G. Wimbée, *Histoire du Berry des origines á 1790*, Paris, G. Wimbée, 1957, p. 93 and Thaumas de la Thaumassière, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 537.

49. Raynal, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 229.

50. F. Deshoulières, *Les églises de France. Cher*, Paris, Librarie Letouzey et Ané, 1937, p. 189. I have come across a reference to an article by G. Mallard, « La croix d'Orval », *Memoires de la société des antiquaires du Centre*, 1923, but have been unable to consult it.

51. Wimbée, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and Deshoulières, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

With these relics, the presence of Jerusalem comes full circle, so to speak, in the crusading culture of Berry. The church in Neuvy was built by aristocratic pilgrims as a model of their goal in Jerusalem, and it thus served as an iconographical link to the Holy Land before the crusade of 1095. In the mid-XIII[th] century the church received relics related to the passion of the Lord because of the participation of generations of participants from Berry who embarked on the crusades, often in the armies of the Capetian monarch. These expeditions, the people who joined them, and the relics they brought back, continually infused the home front with the ideal of service both to the heavenly king and to the king of their nation. Neuvy-St-Sépulcre continued to be a vibrant pilgrimage shrine whose spiritual presence was reinvigorated with the gifts of a local prelate who had taken the cross with his sovereign. The cross at Orval recalled the suffering of Christ, sufferings that Odo of Châteauroux asked the crusaders themselves to endure [52]. This latter artifact also shows the affinity between Paris and Berry that had grown ever stronger from Eudes Arpin's sale around 1100. Such gifts were the earthly treasures won through the tradition of armed pilgrimage that developed in central France after 1095, and because the king wanted to reward the people of this region specifically for their loyal contributions to his royal *iter* of 1248.

52. Cole, *op.. cit.*, p. 238-39. See also J. Riley-Smith, « Crusading as an Act of Love », *History*, 65 (1980), p. 182.

Thérèse de HEMPTINNE

LES ÉPOUSES DES CROISÉS ET PÈLERINS FLAMANDS AUX XIe ET XIIe SIÈCLES : L'exemple des comtesses de Flandre Clémence et Sibylle

> « Hélas ! Amour, quelle dure séparation il me faudra faire d'avec la meilleure qui jamais ait été aimée et servie ! Puisse Dieu en sa douceur me ramener vers elle aussi certainement qu'il est vrai que je me sépare d'elle à grand deuil. Las ! qu'ai-je dit ? Je ne me sépare pas d'elle : si le corps va servir Notre Seigneur, le coeur reste en son servage, tout entier » [Conon de Béthune] [1].

Tout chercheur qui s'intéresse à l'histoire du comté de Flandre aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles ne peut être que frappé par l'énorme enthousiasme qu'a suscité dans ces contrées l'idée du libre accès aux lieux saints pour les Chrétiens et de la défense des possessions latines en Orient. Pèlerinages, expéditions armées et croisades « officielles » ont mobilisé de nombreux lignages nobles, génération après génération pendant deux siècles [2]. Nous savons, grâce surtout aux documents diplomatiques, que des centaines de lignages

1. Conon de Béthune, « Ahi ! Amours », cité par M.-A. Vandevoorde, « La première croisade et l'établissement des Francs en Orient, XIe-XIIIe siècle », dans G. Brunel, E. Lalou (sous la direction de), *Sources d'histoire médiévale* [Textes essentiels], Paris, Larousse, 1992, p. 389-390

2. Les Audenarde, Béthune, Beveren/Dixmude, Comines, Courtrai, Cysoing, Gavere, Landas, Saint-Omer, Wavrin, Avesnes (ce dernier lignage hennuyer, mais avec de fortes attaches féodales en Flandre) et autres, pour ne citer que quelques familles huppées. Voir les tableaux généalogiques dans E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*, Courtrai, G. Desmet-Huysman, 1976, part II, 1 et 2.

plus modestes ont fourni eux aussi une appréciable contribution [3]. Il faut dire que la famille comtale donnait l'exemple : du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Robert Ier le Frison à la fin des années 80 du XIe siècle jusqu'à la participation de Guy de Dampierre à l'expédition de Louis IX à Tunis en 1270, chaque génération, à la seule exception de celle des filles de Baudouin de Constantinople, a participé assidûment à l'effort gigantesque de la conquête et de la défense des lieux saints [4].

La première croisade vit la participation d'un des fils du Frison : le comte Robert II [5]. Son neveu Charles, qui deviendra comte de Flandre en 1119, fit le pèlerinage à Jérusalem [6]. Thierry d'Alsace, cousin de Charles, participa à la deuxième croisade et fit trois autres voyages en Terre sainte [7]. Son fils Philippe d'Alsace, pèlerin une première fois en 1177-1179, trouva la mort au siège de Saint-Jean d'Acre en 1191 [8]. Le neveu de ce dernier, Baudouin IX s'embarqua pour la quatrième croisade et le destin fit de lui le premier empereur latin de Constantinople [9]. Deux des petits-fils de l'empereur Baudouin, les comtes de Flandre Guillaume et Guy de Dampierre furent des croisés eux

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3. Sur l'utilité des chartes en général pour ce genre de recherches, cf. G. Constable, « Medieval charters as a source for the history of the crusades », P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, 1985, p. 73-89.

4. Th. Luykx, *De graven van Vlaanderen en de Kruisvaarten*, Louvain, 1947 (Keurreeks van het Davidsfonds, 38) [à utiliser avec circonspection] ; H. Van Werveke, « La contribution de la Flandre et du Hainaut à la Troisième Croisade », *Le Moyen Age*, 78 (1972), n° 1, p. 55-90 ; K. Ciggaar, « Flemish counts and emperors. Friends and foreigners in Byzantium », dans V.D. van Aalst, K.N. Ciggaar (eds.), *The Latin Empire, Some Contributions*, Hemen, A.A. Bredius Foundation, 1990, p. 33-62.

5. M.M. Knappen, « Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade », in L.J. Paetow (ed.), *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to D.C. Munro by his Former Students*, New York, 1928, p. 79-100. Il est possible, mais pas entièrement sûr qu'un autre fils, Philippe, ait participé lui aussi : E. Warlop, « Willem van Ieper, een Vlaams Condottiere », *De Leiegouw*, 6/2 (1964), p. 167-169, n. 6 et 7.

6. Galbert de Bruges, *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum*, éd. J. Rider, Turnhout, Brepols, 1994 (CCCM, CXXXI), cap. 12, p. 31. Plus tard on aurait même proposé à Charles la couronne de Jérusalem, *ibid.*, cap. 5, p. 15.

7. H. Van Werveke, « De vier reizen van Diederik van de Elzas naar het Oosten », dans *Filips van de Elzas en Willem van Tyrus, een episode uit de geschiedenis van de kruistochten*, Bruxelles, 1971 (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 33/2), appendix 2, p. 27-31 ; Th. de Hemptinne, M. Parisse, « Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre. Biographie et actes », *Annales de l'Est*, 5e s., 43e an., 2 (1991), p. 97-100.

8. H. Van Werveke, « Filips van de Elzas, graaf van Vlaanderen », dans *Nationaal biografisch Woordenboek*, Bruxelles, 1970, vol. 4, col. 290-320, et *Id.*, *Filips van de Elzas en Willem van Tyrus*, *op. cit.* ; cf. *supra*, n. 7.

9. W. Prevenier, « Boudewijn IX (VI) », dans *Nationaal biografisch Woordenboek*, Bruxelles, 1964, vol. 1, col. 224-237.

aussi [10]. Cet impressionnant état de service des mâles de la famille comtale de Flandre, dont les sources nous informent abondamment, cache à notre avis une activité féminine tout aussi décisive pour le succès de ces entreprises, une activité que les sources évoquent beaucoup moins explicitement et que nous allons essayer de retracer ici.

Pour concrétiser la force que l'idée de croisade devait avoir sur les hommes de son temps, force qui les poussait à abandonner leurs femmes pour partir au loin, Guibert de Nogent écrit que la plus belle épouse était devenue un objet aussi répugnant que putréfaction [11]. Car il fallait bien se résoudre à les laisser au pays, ces femmes dont la présence aux côtés des croisés n'était pas vraiment souhaitée, au contraire. Selon Robert le Moine, Urbain II aurait appelé les femmes et tous les gens incapables de se servir d'armes à s'abstenir, la présence de ces derniers dans l'armée du Christ étant « plus une nuisance qu'une aide, plus un fardeau qu'un bienfait » [12]. Pourtant il faut croire que dès ce premier appel des femmes s'étaient senties concernées, car le pape jugeait bon d'ajouter qu'il leur faudrait obtenir une permission masculine pour s'engager [13]. On sait par ailleurs que, malgré ces nombreuses réticences, des femmes de toutes conditions ont accompagné les croisés [14]. En fait on constate même une évolution dans le sens qu'un siècle plus tard on les y encouragera, pour contourner la règle du consentement mutuel au voeu de croisade [15]. Urbain II aurait aussi demandé à ceux qu'il voulait convaincre de prendre la croix d'avoir le courage de résister aux paroles dissuasives des femmes, à leurs artifices séducteurs pour les empêcher de partir. Comme l'indique bien Jonathan Riley-Smith [16] les sources, ecclésiastiques et populaires, donnent l'impression que les femmes, épouvantées par le départ imminent de maris, fils et amants, étaient des inhibitrices, tandis que les hommes détestaient l'idée de les abandonner. Mais les sources nous trompent. Selon Riley-Smith les généalogies montrent à l'évidence que certaines femmes ont transmis la ferveur pour l'idée de croisade dans les

10. Cf. *supra*, n. 4 ; Luykx, *De graven van Vlaanderen*, *op. cit.*, p. 200-209 et 216-224.

11. *Uxores pulcherrimae quasi quiddam tabidum vilescebant*, Guibert de Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur gesta Dei per Francos*, Paris, 1874 (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), p. 124 (F).

12. Robert Le Moine, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, Paris, 1866 (RHC, Hist. occ., 3), p. 729 (E/F).

13. Robert le Moine, *ibid.*

14. Il suffit par exemple de parcourir H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100)*, Paris, 1902, pour trouver des mentions épisodiques de présences féminines. Les « chartes de départ » font parfois aussi allusion aux voeux de croisade de conjoints.

15. J.A. Brundage, « The Crusader's Wife : a canonistic Quandary », *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), p. 434.

16. J. Riley-Smith, « Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade », dans M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York, 1992, p. 105.

familles où elles sont entrées par mariage. Il y voit même un élément essentiel de la motivation des croisés, au moins dans les premières décades après l'appel de Clermont. Nous pensons qu'il a vu juste, car lorsqu'on examine les faits, comme nous l'avons fait pour les épouses et filles des comtes de Flandre, on constate que les femmes, dans ce cas comme dans bien d'autres où intervenait le sentiment religieux, loin d'être des inhibitrices, ont au contraire joué un rôle moteur de persuasion et d'encouragement. On connaît les cas extrêmes et célèbres d'Ide d'Ardenne et d'Adèle d'Angleterre. La première, dont Orderic Vital disait : *precipue in expeditione Ierosolimitana probavit, corroboravit atque sullimavit*, prit apparemment une part décisive dans l'engagement de ses trois fils Godefroid de Bouillon, Baudouin et Eustache de Boulogne et de sa belle-fille à la première croisade [17]. Adèle d'Angleterre pour sa part persuada son époux Etienne de Blois, qui avait déserté la première croisade, de repartir au combat, ce qui coûta la vie au malheureux [18]. Mais l'implication féminine non seulement dans le départ, mais aussi dans le retour des croisés ne devait pas nécessairement être aussi spectaculaire pour être effective. Les femmes restées en Occident n'étaient pas moins que les chevaliers partis défendre les lieux saints animées du désir pieux de prendre part à la réussite de l'entreprise. Elles y participèrent à leur manière, aidant leurs pèlerins et croisés en engageant ou en vendant des biens afin de financer les voyages, et en remplissant très consciencieusement des tâches que l'absence prolongée des hommes les obligeait à prendre sur elles [19].

Les canonistes se sont surtout préoccupé du problème d'incompatibilité entre le devoir conjugal mutuel et les voeux de croisade et du problème moral des tentations offertes à l'épouse délaissée [20], donnant ainsi l'impression que les femmes étaient toutes prêtes à bafouer l'honneur des croisés. Or la réalité est fort différente. Si les comtesses de Flandre n'ont pas accompagné leur mari en Orient avant l'extrême fin du XIIe siècle (nous reviendrons sur le cas exceptionnel de Sibylle d'Anjou), elles ont pris en charge de façon

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17. *Historia aecclesiastica*, livre IX, cité par N. Huyghebaert, « La mère de Godefroid de Bouillon : La comtesse Ide de Boulogne », *Publications de la Section historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg*, 95 (1981), p. 55.

18. *The ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 5 (Books IX and X), ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford, Clarendon, 1975, p. 324-326.

19. Sur les différents moyens de financement utilisés, cf. G. Constable, « The financing of the crusades in the XIIe century », in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, p. 64-88. Un exemple de vente de biens par une mère pour permettre à son fils de participer à la première croisade, dans A.V. Murray, « The army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099 : Structure and dynamics of a contingent on the First Crusade », *Revue belge de Philologie et d'histoire*, 70/2 (1992), p. 309-310.

20. J.A. Brundage, « The crusaders wife », cf. *supra*, n. 15, p. 425-442.

exemplaire la direction de leur maison et des affaires, si bien qu'il ne restait à leurs aventureux partenaires qu'à cueillir les fruits de leur sage gouvernement en rentrant. On assiste en Flandre, au même phénomène que Jean-Louis Kupper à remarqué pour le Brabant, et qu'il a judicieusement appelé un pouvoir politique féminin « à deux vitesses », c'est-à-dire quasi nul quand l'élément adulte mâle est en charge, très important quand ce dernier est absent [21]. L'autre problème qui occupe les canonistes est celui du remariage des veuves présumées de croisés et autres pèlerins et de l'éventuelle réapparition du conjoint qu'on croyait décédé [22]. Bien que cette éventualité ait dû se présenter assez fréquemment, nous avons peu de sources qui nous informent sur des cas concrets. L'ironie veut même que dans un des rares cas précis que nous connaissions, il s'agit d'une femme qui, rentrant de Jérusalem, trouve son époux remarié et qui exige qu'il lui soit rendu [23]. En ce qui concerne les comtesses de Flandre ce problème ne s'est pas posé. Les nouvelles se rapportant au sort des grands de ce monde circulaient relativement vite [24], comme on le verra lors du décès de Philippe d'Alsace, mort devant Acre le Ier juin 1191 et dont le décès était connu en Flandre à la fin août. Par contre la disparition en Bulgarie de Baudouin IX, dont l'épouse Marie de Champagne était morte en voyageant pour aller le rejoindre, causa de nombreux tracas à leur fille Jeanne qui eut à faire à un imposteur, prétendant être son père [25].

A l'époque que nous étudions ici la première comtesse de Flandre à voir partir son mari pour un pèlerinage à Jérusalem (1087-1090) fut Gertrude de Saxe, épouse de Robert Ier le Frison. Ce pèlerinage eut lieu une dizaine d'années avant l'appel de Clermont. Son fils aîné (Robert II) ayant déjà atteint l'âge adulte à l'époque, le comte investit pourtant son épouse du co-

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21. J.-L Kupper, « Mathilde de Boulogne, duchesse de Brabant († 1210) », dans *Femmes. Mariages-Lignages XIIe-XIVe siècles. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, Bruxelles, 1992 (Bibliothèque du Moyen Age, 1), p. 253.

22. J.A. Brundage, « The Crusader's wife revisited », *Studia Gratiana*, 14 (1967), p. 241-251.

23. La chronique de Vézelay signale deux cas de pèlerins trouvant leur conjoint remarié à leur retour, celui d'un homme et celui d'une femme : R.B.C. Huygens, *Monumenta Vizeliacensia : textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1976, p. 400 et 402. Nous remercions monsieur Huygens qui a eu l'amabilité d'attirer notre attention sur cette source.

24. On verra au sujet des moyens de communication au temps des croisades, les contributions à ce colloque de mesdames S. Menache et S. Edgington, ainsi que Y. Ragheb, « La transmission des nouvelles en terre d'Islam. Les modes de transmission », dans *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Age*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994, p. 37-48, surtout p. 41.

25. H. Platelle, « Erreur sur la personne. Contribution à l'histoire de l'imposture au Moyen Age », *Universitas, Mélanges de science religieuse* [Lille], n° spéc., 1977, p. 117-145.

gouvernement, probablement par déférence pour elle[26]. Gertrude ne paraît pourtant pas avoir joué un rôle d'importance durant l'absence de son époux ; il semble bien que se soit surtout après le décès de celui-ci (octobre 1093) qu'elle ait profité de la relative liberté financière que lui apportait son modeste douaire pour faire des donations aux églises[27]. Ses filles Adèle et Gertrude portèrent la ferveur pour la défense des lieux saints dans les lignées où elles se marièrent. La première, d'abord épouse de saint Canut de Danemark, entra ensuite, en épousant Roger des Pouilles, dans une famille qui fournit de nombreux combattants à la première croisade. Gertrude, la deuxième fille de Robert Ier, épousa en seconde noces Thierry de Haute-Lotharingie, dont le lignage fournit cinq croisés en 1147[28]. La belle-fille de Gertrude de Saxe, Clémence de Bourgogne, était chargée d'au moins deux enfants en bas âge lors du départ de son époux à la première croisade[29]. Clémence eut très probablement un rôle important dans l'administration du comté durant les trois années d'absence de Robert II[30]. Entourée des conseillers que son mari lui avait laissés, elle dût s'occuper des affaires courantes de sa maison et du comté. Il est pourtant particulièrement malaisé d'appréhender l'action de Clémence dans ces années-là, l'éditeur des actes des comtes de Flandre n'ayant pas jugé utile d'éditer ni même de répertorier les actes où Clémence agit seule, c'est-à-dire indépendamment de son mari ou de son fils[31]. Nous en avons recensé plus d'une quinzaine et nous espérons que la publication de la thèse sur Clémence de l'historienne américaine Penelope Adair nous en donnera la liste exhaustive. Si il est vrai que le « Nouveau Wauters »[32] permet à présent d'accéder aisément aux actes de

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26. *Glorioso comite Roberto Jherosolymis commorante, inclitoque filio Roberto regnum cum matre bone memorie Gertrude optinente* (4-8-1089), cf. Ch. Verlinden, *Robert I le Frison, comte de Flandre*, Anvers, Paris, La Haye, 1935, p. 151, n. 2.

27. N Huyghebaert, « Gertrude de Saxe, comtesse de Flandre (ca 1033-1113) », dans *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1976, vol. 39, col. 429-432.

28. J. Riley-Smith, « Family Traditions », *op. cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 16, p. 105.

29. Elle agit conjointement avec ses deux fils Baudouin et Guillaume dans deux actes de Robert II de 1096 (peu avant le départ de ce dernier en septembre ou octobre) dans lesquels il donne des biens et met en gage une avouerie pour assurer le succès de son expédition, cf. F. Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre (1071-1128)*, Bruxelles, 1938 (Commission royale d'Histoire de Belgique), p. 62-63, n° 20 et 64-65, n° 21.

30. Sur la remarquable figure de Clémence de Bourgogne, comtesse de Flandre, on consultera H. Sproemberg, « Clementia, Gräfin von Flandern », *Revue belge de Philologie et d'histoire*, 42 (1964), p. 1203-1241, repris dans M. Unger (ed.), *Mittelalter und Demokratische Geschichtschreibung*, Berlin, 1971 (Forschungen zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 18), p. 192-220, et N. Huyghebaert, « Les femmes laïques dans la vie religieuse des XIe et XIIe siècles dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims », dans *I laïci nella « Societas Christiana » dei secoli XI e XII*, Milan, 1968, p. 346-395, en attendant la publication de la thèse de l'historienne américaine Penelope Adair.

31. F Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, *op. cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 29.

Clémence, il n'en reste pas moins que la plupart de ces documents n'étant pas datés et la comtesse ayant exercé le pouvoir conjointement avec son fils après le décès de son époux (de 1111 à 1113) et ayant survécu à trois des successeurs de ce dernier (fort probablement jusqu'en 1133) munie d'un plantureux douaire, il est souvent difficile de situer chronologiquement les documents rédigés en son nom. Il en est de même pour les témoignages plastiques de ses activités administratives, son sceau et les monnaies frappées à son nom.

Ce que l'on peut en tout cas constater c'est que Clémence, comme c'était souvent le cas des épouses dans les transactions financières préalables au départ en Orient des chevaliers, participa activement aux donations que fit Robert II à la veille de partir en croisade et lors de son passage à Reims, en route pour l'Italie, pour assurer le succès de son expédition [33]. L'acte rédigé à Reims montre en outre que Robert avait bien confié les rênes du pouvoir à son épouse pendant son absence, puisque c'est à elle qu'il adresse un mandement avec des directives de gouvernement. Elle a donc apparemment reçu le pouvoir de donner des ordres, dans ce cas précis aux forestiers comtaux. Nous avons la confirmation de ce pouvoir dans une lettre adressée à Clémence par l'évêque Lambert d'Arras dans laquelle il lui demande d'ordonner à son prévôt de Bapaume de restituer leurs biens à des pèlerins arrageois que ce dernier avait spolié [34]. Bien plus tard (en 1106) Robert lui-même rappellera qu'alors qu'il était parti en guerre à Jérusalem : *uxor mea nomine Clementia quam terre mee et omnibus quecumque juris mei erant vice mea dum dicederem prefeceram*. On la voit également à l'oeuvre dans une charte pour l'abbaye de Watten en 1097, par laquelle elle offre, à la demande expresse de son époux, des reliques qu'il lui a envoyées lors de son séjour dans les Pouilles. Elle donne aussi des terres et des salines lui appartenant et fait consacrer l'église des chanoines de Watten par l'évêque Lambert d'Arras. Cette consécration permet à Clémence de se mêler incidemment des affaires de l'Eglise, car le siège de Thérouanne étant vacant, il lui faut s'adresser à l'archevêque de Reims pour obtenir que ce soit l'évêque

32. Concernant le « Nouveau Wauters », c'est-à-dire la toute nouvelle version informatisée de la *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés de Belgique* d'Alphonse Wauters, réalisée par Ph. Demonty pour la Commission royale d'Histoire de Belgique et le Cetedoc à Louvain-La-Neuve, cf. G. Declercq, Ph. Demonty, K. Naessens, G. Triffin, « L'informatisation de la *Table chronologique* d'A. Wauters. Méthodologie du nouveau répertoire des documents diplomatiques belges antérieurs à 1200 », *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire de Belgique*, 153 (1987), p. 223-302.

33. Cf. les sources citées à la n. 29 et F. Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, *op. cit.*, p. 65-67, n° 22.

34. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* [= RHF], Paris, 1808, t. 15, p. 183, n° XII.

d'Arras qui se déplace [35]. Pour Clémence l'évêque Lambert est un ami, en qui elle a toute confiance [36]. Toujours en l'absence de Robert II, on voit Clémence se démener pour introduire la règle clunisienne à Saint-Bertin et pour faire élire Jean de Warneton au siège épiscopal de Thérouanne. Elle réussit dans ces deux entreprises, comme on peut le constater dans cet acte extraordinaire où elle annonce qu'elle a assujetti Saint-Bertin à l'abbé de Cluny et où elle appelle Lambert et Jean « mes évêques ». Cet acte très intéressant à plusieurs points de vue nous montre une Clémence très sûre d'elle-même et de son pouvoir : *eadem potestate ac stabilitate quo dominus meus dum adhuc in terra sua esset*, se prétendant sur la même longueur d'onde que son époux absent, dont elle affirme : *de cujus voluntate atque assensu super hoc negotio... certissima sum*, et s'identifiant tout naturellement, elle la princesse comtoise et clunisienne, aux ancêtres de la famille dans laquelle elle est entrée par mariage : ... *quicquid ad nos ac antecessores nostros... attinebat* [37]. Ce dernier aspect concernant l'identification au lignage de l'époux et la défense du patrimoine familial ne se concrétise pas uniquement par des mots. Si Herman de Tournai dit vrai, ce qui paraît aussi impossible à prouver qu'à mettre en doute, Clémence aurait, après la naissance de trois fils, utilisé des moyens contraceptifs pour éviter qu'une plus nombreuse progéniture ne s'entre-déchire au sujet du patrimoine familial [38]. Mais cette volonté d'intégration au sein du lignage de l'époux et de défense des intérêts de celui-ci, n'empêchera pas Clémence de se battre pour ses propres intérêts (quand il s'agira plus tard de défendre son douaire vis-à-vis de son fils) et de continuer à entretenir les meilleures relations avec sa famille paternelle et sa région natale, ce dont témoignent son ardeur à promouvoir la réforme clunisienne, sa bonne entente avec son frère le pape Calixte II et ses activités de marieuse au profit de ses nièces Adélaïde et Jeanne.

Quoi qu'il en soit et pour en revenir à notre sujet, le retour de Robert II permit à Clémence, ou l'obligea (selon l'optique qu'on choisit) de revenir à la vitesse zéro de participation politique. Robert, malgré la certitude de son épouse d'avoir agi selon ses désirs, réduit quelque peu les largesses de

35. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, Innsbruck, 1901, p. 142-143, n° 7 et p. 247-254.

36. Clémence s'adressant à Lambert : ... *in te non minimum confido, mando, et ut amicum moneo*. . : RHF., *op. cit.*, cf. supra, n. 34, p. 187, n° XXIV.

37. A. Bernard, A. Bruel, Recueil inédit des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny (1091-1210), Paris, 1894 (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 5), p. 836, n° 3733 bis.

38. Sproemberg (cf. *supra*, n. 30) est très violemment opposé à croire les propos d'Herman de Tournai, qu'il accuse de colporter toutes sortes de rumeurs scandaleuses. Par contre F. Vercauteren, « Les médecins dans les principautés de la Belgique et du Nord de la France, du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle », *Le Moyen Age*, 57 (1951), p. 72-74, envisage sérieusement, avec raison selon nous, cette éventualité.

Clémence vis-à-vis de Cluny, afin de préserver ses droits d'avouerie [39]. Par ailleurs, il ne semble pas qu'il ait eu à se plaindre du gouvernement de son épouse durant son absence.

Mais ce dont on peut être certain, c'est que Clémence, malgré une présence plus effacée aux côtés du comte, auréolé de la gloire du croisé vainqueur, a continué à exercer une influence profonde sur la politique religieuse de son mari. Celle qu'Anselme de Cantorbéry appelait sa *domina et filia charissima*, son *adjutrix* et à qui il confiait le soin de conseiller son époux en matières religieuses, avait pu conserver l'estime et la confiance de ceux qui l'avaient vue à l'oeuvre alors qu'elle portait seule la charge du gouvernement [40].

Le fait qu'elle soit, à ce que nous savons, la toute première femme non souveraine à avoir utilisé un sceau à son effigie et qu'elle ait fait frapper des monnaies à son nom (au moins quatre types connus), montre à l'évidence que Clémence avait conquis, peut-être grâce à son comportement durant la première croisade, un statut inconnu jusqu'alors pour une femme de son rang. La première attestation de son sceau se trouve dans un acte de l'évêque de Cambrai Manassès, non daté, mais à situer entre 1100 et 1103, pour l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tournai. Cette date pourrait faire remonter l'emploi d'un sceau par Clémence à la période de la première croisade, ce qui est exceptionnellement tôt pour une femme non souveraine [41]. Il est fort difficile de dater précisément ses monnaies, vu que comme régente et comme douai-

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39. F. Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, *op. cit.*, p. 99-101, n° 34.

40. On trouvera de nombreux témoignages des activités religieuses de Clémence dans les chartes de Robert II et de Baudouin VII où Clémence est très manifestement présente, dans sa correspondance avec des papes, des évêques et des abbés et plus particulièrement les lettres d'Anselme de Cantorbéry (P.L., 159, col. 58-59 et 92-93), et dans une source comme les *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini* de Simon.

41. Ce sceau n'est pas signalé par B. Bedos Rezak, « Women, Seals and Power in Medieval France, 1150-1350 », dans M. Erler, M. Kowaleski (eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, p. 61-82, qui signale (p. 63) une autre comtesse de Flandre, Sibylle d'Anjou, comme première détentrice non-souveraine. Le sceau de Clémence est reproduit, d'après un moulage existant au Archives générales du royaume à Bruxelles (AGRS, 11857), dans R Laurent, *Les sceaux des princes territoriaux belges du XIe siècle à 1482*, Bruxelles, 1993, t. II, Flandre Pl. 73/95. Le premier acte daté où il est question du sceau de Clémence est un acte de confirmation de l'évêque d'Amiens Geoffroy du 26 février 1105 : *cartas sigillatas a Roberto Flandrense comite iuniore et ab uxore sua Clementia et filio eorum Balduino* (Paris, B.N., Latin 5460, f. 14 r-v, n° 26 ; cf. L. Morelle, « Un "grégorien" au miroir de ses chartes Geoffroy, évêque d'Amiens (1104-1115) », dans M. Parisse (sous la direction de), *A propos des actes d'évêques : hommage à Lucie Fossier*, Nancy, 1991, p. 215. La charte à laquelle l'évêque fait référence n'est qu'une notice, dont l'original n'est pas conservé (F. Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre*, *op. cit.*, p. 97-99, n° 33).

rière il lui a certainement été loisible de faire battre des monnaies à plusieurs reprises [42].

Si nous avançons dans le temps pour découvrir l'épouse de Thierry d'Alsace, le plus assidu des comtes de Flandre à prendre le chemin de l'Orient latin (il y séjourna brièvement à quatre reprises) [43], nous trouvons une princesse d'Anjou, prénommée Sibylle dont le père Foulque V, ancien pèlerin lui aussi, était roi de Jérusalem au moment de leur mariage en 1134. En ce qui concerne Sibylle d'Anjou nous observons le même scénario que pour Clémence de Bourgogne, à cette différence près que Sibylle aura à assumer le gouvernement à deux reprises (en 1138-1139 et lors de la deuxième croisade) et qu'elle finira, après avoir élevé sept enfants, par accompagner son époux à Jérusalem lors de son troisième voyage [44]. On ignore si ce fut Sibylle qui persuada son époux d'aller porter du renfort à son père en 1138, et quel rôle précis elle joua dans ses décisions d'organiser des pèlerinages armés en Orient. Mais il est certain que Thierry eut des relations excellentes d'abord avec son beau-père et ensuite avec le demi-frère de son épouse, Baudouin III, à chacune de ses visites là-bas. Une deuxième expédition vers la Terre sainte projetée par Thierry en 1142, mais qui n'eut finalement pas lieu, vit également la comtesse, à peine accouchée d'un second fils, se préparer à une séparation pour la bonne cause [45]. Sibylle ne manqua jamais de soutenir le formidable effort financier qu'exigeaient les expéditions de son mari, et de l'aider à combler de dons le nouvel ordre du Temple. Cet intérêt particulier pour les templiers lui venait aussi de famille, son père et sa mère Aremburge du Maine les avaient déjà favorisés en 1127 [46]. Elle partageait cet engouement avec beaucoup de ses contemporaines. On a montré que de nombreuses femmes ont été les généreuses bienfaitrices des ordres militaires

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42. Pour les monnaies de Clémence on verra A. Haeck, « De munten van Clementia van Boergondië, goevernante van het graafschap Vlaanderen tijdens de kruistochten van Robrecht II van Jeruzalem (1095-1099) », *Tijdschrift voor numismatiek. Europees Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, 30 (1980), p. 67-72.

43. Cf. *supra*, n. 7.

44. Contrairement à ce que prétend Th. Luykx (p. 117-119, cf. *supra*, n. 4), Sibylle n'accompagna pas son époux lors de ses deux premières expéditions, mais prit sur elle la charge de sa maison et du comté, comme en témoignent les actes rédigés en son nom en 1138-1139 et 1147-1149. Cf. Th. de Hemptinne, A. Verhulst, m.m.v. De Mey, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (Juli 1128-September 1191)*, II, 1, *Regering van Diederik van de Elzas (Juli 1128-17 Januari 1168)*, Bruxelles, 1988 (Commission royale d'Histoire de Belgique), p. 82-87, n° 46, 47, 48 et 49 et p. 178-186, n°s 110, 111, 112, 113 et 114

45 Th. de Hemptinne, A. Verhulst, *De oorkonden*, *op. cit.* à la note précédente, p. 107, n° 63 et p LXXII.

46. A. d'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple (1119-1150)*, Paris, 1913, t. I, p 5-6, n° VIII.

et hospitaliers [47], espérant peut-être ainsi chasser le remords de ne pas participer personnellement à l'effort militaire. Ainsi la « reine » Mathilde de Portugal, deuxième épouse du comte de Flandre Philippe d'Alsace, continuera plus tard une tradition familiale bien ancrée, remontant à sa grand-mère, en faisant des dons à l'ordre militaire de saint Jacques de Compostelle et en protégeant les droits des templiers [48]. Pour en revenir à Sibylle, on la voit même débourser une somme de 30 marcs pour aider un chevalier à s'équiper pour un pèlerinage armé [49]. Comme Clémence, Sibylle est une administratrice consciente de ses responsabilités ; le rédacteur d'une de ses chartes s'exprime ainsi : *ego Sibilla, cum filio Balduino iam in comitem designato* (le jeune Baudouin décédera en 1150), *de totius gubernatione comitatus sollicita et ecclesiarum Dei negotiis et paci preceptiva petitione domini mei precipue intenta* [50]. Elle s'occupe d'affaires religieuses et féodales [51] et va même, à peine relevée d'un accouchement, jusqu'à prendre héroïquement la tête de la petite armée que son époux lui a laissée, pour défendre le comté contre un envahisseur [52]. La comtesse avait si bien mené ses affaires que Thierry ne tarda pas à rentrer après l'échec de la deuxième croisade, selon ses propres dires pour tenir une promesse faite à son fils Baudouin de ne pas s'absenter trop longtemps [53]. En fait il profita ainsi rapidement de l'avantage stratégique que Sibylle avait réussi à lui ménager en son absence. Comme Clémence également, elle sut être disponible au moment voulu et s'effacer quand sa présence était moins nécessaire, sans pourtant disparaître complètement de la scène politique et religieuse. Ainsi elle s'entremit probablement pour réconcilier ses neveux Henri II, roi d'Angleterre, et Geoffroy d'Anjou en 1156 à Rouen [54]. Elle était presque toujours associée aux donations que son époux faisait aux églises et ensemble ils fondèrent l'abbaye de Clairmarais. Les autorités ecclésiastiques l'utilisèrent comme médiatrice pour faire avancer leurs affaires auprès du comte Thierry. Ainsi en 1153 le pape Eugène III s'adres-

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47. M. Barber, *The new Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 25-26 et 257-261.

48. Th. de Hemptinne, « Mathilde (alias Theresia) van Portugal, gravin van Vlaanderen en hertogin van Bourgondië », dans *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*, Bruxelles, 1987, vol. 12, col. 513, et W. Prevenier, *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, Bruxelles, 1964 (Commission royale d'Histoire), t. II, p. 111-112, n° 48.

49. Th. de Hemptinne, A. Verhulst, *De oorkonden, op. cit* , p. 193-194, n° 118.

50 Th. de Hemptinne, A. Verhulst, *De oorkonden, op. cit.*, p. 180, n° 111.

51. Elle reçoit l'hommage d'un vassal de son époux en 1149, cf. *Lamberti Ardensis Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, éd. J. Heller, Hanovre, 1879 (MGH, SS, XXIV), p. 634-635.

52. Th. de Hemptinne, « Thierry d'Alsace ». *op cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 7, p. 96-97 et n 70.

53. Th de Hemptinne, « Thierry d'Alsace », *op. cit.*, p. 98-99 et n 78.

54. A. Verhulst, « Note sur une charte de Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre, pour l'abbaye de Fontevrault (21 avril 1157) », dans *Mélanges E.R. Labande. Etudes de Civilisation médiévale (IXe-XIIe siècles)*, Poitiers, 1974, p. 714, n. 17.

sait à elle en des termes fort élogieux, vantant sa prudence et sa discrétion, et pour obtenir une nouvelle médiation de sa part lui rappelait que *Mulier ditigens corona est viri sui* [55]. Sibylle semble bien avoir été la conscience de son époux en affaires religieuses [56], mais une des plus touchantes manifestations de l'admiration qu'elle suscitait autour d'elle, nous vient de son fils Philippe, qui bien des années après sa mort fait écrire dans l'une de ses chartes : *Cum a primeva puericie mee prudentiola pie matris mee pia erudicione edoctus, precibusque exoratus, cenobium Sancti Nicolai de Furnes diligere ceperim ac manutenere...* [57].

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, Sibylle décida d'accompagner son époux à Jérusalem en 1157. Elle estimait sans doute avoir rempli son contrat en Flandre, puisqu'elle décida de ne plus y retourner. Elle se retira à Saint-Lazare de Béthanie où elle passa les dernières années de sa vie [58]. Cette décision fit grand bruit à l'époque, la plupart des chroniqueurs en parlent. La tradition veut qu'elle y soigna les pauvres et les malades. Voilà bien ce qu'on attendait d'une femme de croisé ; qu'elle soigne, désaltère et réconforte les combattants du Christ [59]. N'était-ce pas la seule présence féminine autorisée auprès d'un templier, celle de la soignante du corps meurtri [60] ? Des femmes qui accompagnaient leurs hommes en Orient, on n'attendait pas d'actes héroïques, sinon de les suivre jusqu'à l'épuisement, et si elles eurent des gestes de bravoure, les chroniqueurs en parlent très peu. Il faut se référer aux oeuvres littéraires, comme par exemple la « Chanson d'Antioche », pour en trouver l'écho [61]. Le comte Thierry, rentré seul en 1159, revit son épouse une dernière fois en 1164. Il retourna en Flandre pour y mourir.

Si je me suis surtout attachée à ces deux femmes, les comtesses de Flandre Clémence et Sibylle, c'est parce qu'elles sont exemplaires. Mes recherches sur les documents diplomatiques « belges » du XIIe siècle portant mention de croisés et de pèlerins en partance, m'ont toutefois apporté de très nombreux exemples de femmes : mères, épouses et filles de chevaliers, mais

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55. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 180, Turnhout, Brepols, s.d., col. 1582, n° DLXIV.

56. Th. de Hemptinne, A. Verhulst, *De oorkonden*, *op. cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 44, p. 168-170, n° 104 et p. 216-217, n° 133.

57. F. Van De Putte, C. Carton, *Chronicon et cartularium abbatiae Sancti Nicolai Furnensis, Ordinis Premonstratensis*, Bruges, 1849 (Collection Société Emulation), p. 93-94.

58. N. Huyghebaert, « Une comtesse de Flandre à Béthanie », *Les cahiers de Saint-André*, 21/2 (1964), p. 1-13.

59. Cf. *« La geste des Francs ». Chronique anonyme de la première croisade*, trad. A. Matignon, Paris, Arléa, 1992, p. 57.

60. M. Barber, *The new Knighthood*, *op. cit.*, cf. *supra*, n. 47, p. 213.

61. Cf. J.F. Verbruggen, « Vrouwen in de Eerste Kruistocht en in de heldenliederen », *Revue belge d'Histoire militaire*, 25/3 (sept. 1983), p. 185-186.

aussi de bourgeois, soutenant moralement et matériellement le départ d'un combattant. En donnant leur accord pour vendre ou pour engager des biens, en se défaisant de biens propres, en offrant de l'argent, en se privant de rentes et d'autres revenus, elles s'impliquent dans l'effort fourni par ceux qui partent. On voit même des moniales et des chanoinesses adopter cette attitude. Les hospitaliers et les templiers sont traités de façon particulièrement généreuse, ce qui indique bien que c'est l'idée de défense de la Terre sainte et leur propre salut qui préoccupe ces femmes. Il me paraît évident qu'elles se sont senties tout aussi concernées que les hommes par le phénomène des croisades. En revanche, tout me porte à croire qu'elles ont jeté un poids important dans la balance quand il s'agissait pour le croisé ou le pèlerin de faire un choix : rester en Orient ou rentrer. Comme l'a bien montré Jean Richard « le postulat du mirage de l'Orient auquel les Occidentaux ne sauraient résister se trouve plus d'une fois pris en défaut... » [62]. L'exemple des comtesses de Flandre me fait penser qu'il serait utile de mettre en lumière la part des femmes et surtout de leur action pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine occidental des croisés pour mieux comprendre les choix de ces derniers.

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62. J. Richard, « Les états féodaux et les conséquences de la croisade », dans M. Balard (sous la direction de), *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, Lyon, La Manufacture, 1989, p. 186.

LA DÉCOUVERTE DE L'AUTRE

S. LOUTCHITSKAJA

BARBARAE NATIONES : les peuples musulmans dans les chroniques de la Première Croisade

L'une des conséquences des plus importantes de la Première croisade était la découverte de la diversité des moeurs et des usages des peuples de l'Orient, la découverte de l'autre monde et la prise de conscience de sa propre culture. A partir de l'époque de la Première croisade les contacts avec l'Orient musulman sont devenus plus directs et plus fréquents. Donc certaines attitudes ecclésiastiques en face de l'islam et des musulmans qui se sont formées dans la littérature ecclésiastique se sont heurtées à la réalité. Une question d'abord se pose : dans quelle mesure les contacts directs avec l'Orient musulman pouvaient-ils influencer leur vision du monde ? Comment les peuples du Proche-Orient se sont représentés dans les chroniques de la Première croisade ? Est-ce que les chroniqueurs s'appuient sur la tradition antécédente et sur leurs connaissances anciennes ou est-ce qu'ils s'inspirent de leur expérience directe et de la connaissance directe avec l'Orient ? Je m'envisage d'étudier les représentations des peuples orientaux à partir de l'analyse d'un seul terme — *barbarae nationes*. C'est le terme que les chroniqueurs de la Première croisade emploient assez souvent en parlant des peuples orientaux. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple : chez Pierre le Tudebode — *Turci, et Arabes, et Sarracenici, et Agulani, et omnes barbarae nationes* ou bien chez Anonyme : *Turci et Arabes et Sarraceni omnesque barbarae nationes* [1]. Le terme *natio* qui est employé par les chroniqueurs n'est que l'ana-

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1. Pierre Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, éd. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1977, p. 54 ; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, éd. R. Hill, London, Nelson, Cop. 1962, p. 20.

chronisme. De toute façon on entendait par les *barbarae nationes* les peuples non-chrétiens du Proche-Orient que les chroniqueurs pouvaient rencontrer pendant la croisade. Chaque chroniqueur donne sa propre énumération des peuples orientaux. Par exemple, Raoul de Caen énumère parmi les *barbarae nationes* les Assyriens, les Perses, les Indiens, les Parthes, les Phéniciens, les Mèdes [2]. Anonyme mentionne les Turcs, les Arabes, les Saracènes, mais aussi les noms bizarres des peuples inconnus comme les Publicains, les Azymites, les Agulans, etc. [3]. La plupart de ces ethnonymes est inventée, ce n'est que le produit de la haute fantaisie des chroniqueurs, c'est l'ethnographie fictive qui ne renvoie pas à la réalité. Mais il serait intéressant de savoir d'où les chroniqueurs pouvaient-ils puiser leur information concernant les peuples orientaux, d'une part ; et si ce fonds d'information était la conséquence des contacts avec l'Orient qui s'élargissaient pendant la Première croisade, d'autre part. Et enfin on pourrait répondre à la question : qu'est-ce qu'on entendait par le terme *natio* à l'époque de la Première croisade.

Les peuples orientaux sont appelés les peuples barbares. C'est le stéréotype ethnoculturel assez général. Le terme existe depuis l'Antiquité. C'est la dénomination très générale de l'Autre. Les Grecs entendaient par les « barbares » les peuples qui ne pratiquaient pas de l'agriculture et qui n'avaient pas de villes. Le terme a été emprunté par l'historiographie médiévale [4]. Les chroniqueurs emploient assez souvent ce terme quand ils parlent des peuples orientaux. Il est le plus souvent employé dans l'opposition « barbare—latin » [5]. On confère le sens plus précis à ce terme — pour les chroniqueurs les barbares, les *nations barbares* sont ceux qui se distinguent des Francs, des Latins par leur langue ainsi que par leurs usages [6]. On emploie ce terme dans le sens que Pierre le Vénérable a donné à ce mot dans son traité *Contra Sectam Sarracenorum* : *alieni sunt, barbari sun, non solum moribus, sed et lingua sua, nisi sibi Latinisque commune esse fatentur* [7].

Parmi les nations barbares les chroniqueurs mentionnent le plus souvent les « Saracènes », *Saraceni*. C'est le terme qui est le plus répandu dans les

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2. *Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana Radulpho Cadomensis*, Paris, 1866 (RHC, Hist. Occ., 3), cap. LXXXVI.

3. *Gesta Francorum..., op. cit.*, p. 49.

4. W.R. Jones, « The Image of the Barbarian in the Medieval Europe », *Comparative Studies in Society and History. An International Quartely*, vol. 13, 4 (1971), p 376-407.

5. *Gesta Tancredi ..., op. cit.*, cap. XVI, XXI.

6. « ... quos barbarica illa lingua... », Guibert de Nogent, *Historia qui dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, Paris, 1879 (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), p. 189.

7. *Prologus*, Paris, Migne (PL, 189), cap. 16.

chroniques [8]. Quel sens les chroniqueurs donnaient-ils à cette dénomination ? Il est connu qu'à l'époque du Moyen Age on liait l'origine de ce terme à la tradition biblique. Bède le Vénérable nous informe dans ses commentaires de la Bible que les Saracènes sont les descendants d'Agar qui était la concubine égyptienne d'Abraham [9]. Les Saracènes ont adopté le nom de Sara pour dissimuler leur origine illégale. Dans son traité *De Haeresibus* l'écrivain byzantin Jean le Damascène déduisait l'origine de ce terme des paroles prétendues d'Agar qui a dit : *Sara vacuam me demisit...* [10]. La même interprétation a été donnée dans la littérature byzantine [11]. C'est la dénomination assez ancienne des musulmans. Le terme même « les Saracènes » est plutôt confessionnel que l'ethnonyme au sens strict. Les descendants de Sara sont considérés comme les Chrétiens, les fils d'Isaac ; tandis que les musulmans sont considérés comme les descendants d'Agar, les enfants d'Ismail (« les Agarènes ») [12].

Les autres termes qui sont aussi très souvent employés dans les chroniques sont les termes « les Turcs » et « les Arabes ». Selon Moravscik le même ethnonyme « Turcs » est employé dans les sources byzantines pour désigner les Turcs-seldjukes. Il se peut que ce terme a été emprunté de la tradition byzantine [13]. Par les « Turcs » les chroniqueurs entendaient aussi les Turcs-seldjukes qui ont envahi l'Asie Mineure et la Palestine, mais aussi les Arabes en général. Guibert de Nogent nous apprend à leur sujet :« Les peuples des pays que j'ai déjà nommés envahirent la Palestine, Jérusalem et le Sépulcre du Seigneur et s'emparèrent aussi de l'Arménie, de la Syrie et d'une partie de la Grèce, presque jusqu'à la mer que l'on appelle le bras de St. George » [14]. Les termes *Turci* et « Arabes » se confondent parfois dans les chroniques de la Première croisade, et on désigne les Arabes par le terme *Turci* [15].

Le terme « Perses » est très souvent employé dans les chroniques. Par ce terme on désigne d'habitude les musulmans — les Turcs ainsi que les Arabes. Dans les chroniques de la Première croisade les Turcs et les Perses

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8. Pierre Tudebode, *op. cit.*, p. 54, 13 ; *Gesta Francorum...*, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 49.

9. R.N. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge-Mass., Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 16.

10. Migne (PG, 94), col. 763.

11. V. Christides, « The Names *Arabes*, *Sarakhnoi*, etc. & their false etymologies », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 65, 2 (1972), p. 329-333.

12. Baudry de Dol, *Historia Hieosolymitana* (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), L. III, cap. XXIV : *multis Agarenorum nationibus*.

13. Gy Moravscik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ed. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1983, t. 2, p. 320-327.

14. Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

15. Robert le Moine, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (RHC, Hist. occ., 3), cap. XVIII, XIX.

sont nommés souvent ensemble et ils se confondent. Chez Foucher de Chartres le pape dans son discours de Clermont dit : *Turci, gens Persica* [16]. Dans les sources byzantines des XIe-XVe siècle, selon Moravscik, par le terme *Persai* sont désignés d'habitude les turcs-seldjoukes et osmans [17]. On pourrait supposer que l'usage de ce terme dans les chroniques est du à la tradition byzantine. Mais on emploie assez souvent ce terme afin de désigner les musulmans du sultanat perse de Bagdad. Par exemple, quand on parle du sultan Barquyaruq, on dit : *rex Persidis de Babilonio* (le roi perse de Bagdad) [18]. Donc, quand on dit « Perses », on entend assez souvent les habitants du sultanat perse de Bagdad, l'un des royaumes qui s'est formé après l'éclatement de l'empire de Malik-chach. Mais on les appelle souvent « les Parthes », et on emploie dans ce cas cette ancienne dénomination. Par exemple, Guibert de Nogent dit dans sa chronique : « Parmi tous les royaumes de l'Orient, l'empire de Babylone était le plus puissant depuis une haute antiquité, et avait subjugué un grand nombre d'autres empires. Celui de Parthes cependant, que nous appelons Turcs par corruption de langage [*attamen Parthorum regnum quos Turcos corrupto nomine vocitamus*], lui est supérieur, non par l'étendue du territoire, (car il est le plus petit), mais par le talent militaire, le caractère chevaleresque et la force d'âme qui distinguait ces habitants » [19]. Quelle tradition se reflète-t-elle dans la dénomination « Parthes » ? On dirait que c'est la tradition archaïque qui existe depuis l'antiquité. On entend par là les royaumes antiques des Parthes, des Sassanides des IIIe-Ve siècles, ensuite envahis par les Arabes Omejades. Les Turcs, les musulmans sont identifiés avec les Parthes anciens qui habitaient dans les territoires du Proche-Orient (de l'Iran). Tous ces faits étaient empruntés par Guibert de Nogent de l'oeuvre de Justin représentant des extraits de l'histoire de Trogue-Pompée sur l'origine des Parthes [20]. Guibert de Nogent dit dans sa chronique : « Si quelqu'un conserve des doutes au sujet des Parthes que nous avons appelés Turcs... qu'il consulte [...] Trogue-Pompée... » [21]. On pourrait voir dans ces dénominations des peuples orientaux le reflet de la tradition antécédente. C'est la réminiscence de l'histoire ancienne, une sorte de la réactualisation de la carte ethnique de l'antiquité. Parmi les dénominations anciennes des peuples orientaux on peut rencontrer tels comme « les Lybiens », « les Assyriens », « les Indiens », « les Phéniciens » et même les

16. Foucher de Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchandlung, 1913, L. I, cap. III, 5.

17. *Supra*, n. 13, p. 252-254.

18. Albert d'Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), L. VII, cap. II, p. 224.

19. Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

20. Justin, *Epitoma historiairum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi*, ed. O. Sael, Stuttgart, A. Hieresmann, 1972.

21. Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

« Elamites » [22]. C'est toujours la même tendance archaïque. On entendait par ces dénominations les royaumes anciens qui existaient dans l'antiquité. C'est-à-dire que toutes ces dénominations ne fonctionnent pas en tant que des catégories ethniques, mais ce sont les représentations anciennes qui se fondent sur les témoignages autoritaires des historiens anciens (i.e. Pompée-Trogue.).

Dans son excursion ethnographique Guibert de Nogent nous parle non seulement des Turcs, des Saracènes et des Perses, mais aussi des autres peuples. Il parle, par exemple, des peuples que le prince de Mosoul Karboga a convoqués pour la bataille : « Les nations que ce prince infidèle avait convoquées, indépendamment des Turcs, des Sarrasins, des Arabes et des Perses, plus connus dans l'histoire, portaient des noms tout nouveaux : c'étaient les Publicains, les Curdes, les Azimites, les Agulans et d'autres encore, qu'il ne serait nullement impossible d'énumérer, mais dont les noms étaient fort bizarres » [23].

Qu'est-ce- que signifie le terme *Agulani* ? Selon l'hypothèse presque incontestable d'Henri Grégoire ce terme tire son origine d'un mot arabe : *al-ghoulam* (« garçon » en arabe) et qui désigne tantôt un roi ou un chef musulman, tantôt un peuple païen. Le nom *al-ghoulam* était donné à des corps des troupes, et c'était un terme générique signifiant à peu près « recrue » [24]. Dans la tradition byzantine le terme de « ghoulamos », simple grécisation du mot arabe, servait à désigner les troupes qu'un émir arabe de la frontière levait en vue d'une expédition en territoire byzantin [25]. Je voudrais ajouter que les chansons de geste françaises mentionnent assez souvent le peuple païen « Agolant » ou bien le roi sarrasin « Agolant » [26]. En ce qui concerne la tradition arabe, dans les pays musulmans on nommait ainsi les soldats-esclaves des régents orientaux. Selon les renseignements de D. Pipes qui étudiait le système militaire des Arabes c'étaient les cavaliers lourdement armés à l'instar des catafractes macédoniens [27]. A en juger d'après les chroniques c'est le même sens que les chroniqueurs donnaient à ce terme. Baudri de

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22. *Gesta Tancredi...*, *op. cit.*, cap. LXXXVI.

23. Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

24. H. Grégoire, « De Marsile à Andernas ou l'islam et Byzance dans l'épopée française », *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 5 (1946), p. 456.

25. *Supra*, n. 24, p. 458.

26. E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de geste imprimés*, Genève, Slatkine Reprints, 1974, p. 8-9 ; W. Schober, *Die Geographie der altfranzosischen Chansons de geste*, Marburg, Inaugural-Dis. zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der hohen Philol. Fak., 1902, p. 26.

27. D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam : The Genesis of the Military System*, Yale, University Press, 1981.

Bourgueil nous informe des « Agulans » : « vêtus en cuirasses, ils ne redoutaient ni flèches, ni épées » [28]. C'est la même chose que dit Guibert de Nogent à leur sujet : « les Agulans... qui ne redoutaient ni glaives, ni lances, étant eux- mêmes ainsi que leurs chevaux entièrement recouverts de fer » [29]. Donc c'est le terme militaire qui est employé dans la même rangée que les termes « Azimiti », « Publicani », « Athenasi », etc.

Qu'est-ce que sont les Azimites ? Le mot tire son origine du mot arabe *al-ajam*, c'est à dire « perse ». Selon H. Grégoire [30], le terme signifiait dans les sources byzantines « recruté », « conscrit ». C'est peut-être le même sens qui est entendu dans les chroniques de la Première croisade [31].

Il ne me reste que de mentionner encore quelques termes par lesquels les peuples de l'Orient sont désignés dans les chroniques, par exemple « les Athenasi » [32]. D'après Ch. D. Du Cange [33], ce sont les « Athanates » (*athanatoi*) ou « immortels » (en grec). Dans l'armée perse c'était une troupe spéciale des meilleurs guerriers. Le nom d'Immortels avait été sans doute emprunté aux Perses. L'empereur byzantin Michel Dukas ou plutôt son ministre Nicéphore de Logothète a fondé ce nouveau régiment à l'instar de la troupe perse. Cette troupe privilégiée était recrutée parmi les réfugiés de l'Asie Mineure [34]. Michel Attaliate nous informe que l'empereur Nicéphore Bothaniate a envoyé en 1097 l'expédition des « Athenates » contre les Turcs. Il dit que les « Athenates » étaient très nombreux et qu'ils savaient bien tirer de l'arc [35]. Donc les « Athenates » étaient les soldats de l'armée byzantine. Le terme qui est employé par les chroniqueurs de la Première croisade était sans doute emprunté des sources byzantines.

Parmi les *barbarae nationes* les chroniqueurs de la Première croisade mentionnent assez souvent les ainsi dits « Azopati ». Aussi trouve-t-on ce mot dans les sources byzantines. A Byzance on désignait par ce mot les huissiers sarrasins chargés de veiller aux portes du palais (selon les renseignements de Continuateur de Theophane, Roman Lacapène, etc.). Ce mot s'appliquait aussi aux chambellans d'origine orientale, à la peau noire. H.

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28. Baudry de Dol, *op. cit.*, L. III, cap. I, p. 60.

29. Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, L. V, cap., p. 190.

30. *Supra*, n. 24, p. 455.

31. *Gesta Francorum...*, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Pierre Tudebode, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

32. Pierre Tudebode, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

33. Ch.D. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimiae latinitatis*, Paris, Firmin Didot, 1840, t. 1, p. 462.

34. N. Skabalanovič, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov v XI veke*, Saint-Petersbourg, typ. F.Eleonskogo, 1884, p. 327-328 (en russe).

35. *RHC, Hist. Grecs*, Paris, 1875, p. 153.

Grégoire supposait que cet usage a été emprunté, comme tant d'usages auliques des IXe-Xe siècles, au cérémonial des Abbassides de Bagdad. Il supposait aussi un certain rapport entre le terme « Azopati » et le mot *aitiops* (éthiopien) [36]. Est-ce que c'est le même sens que les chroniqueurs donnent à ce terme dans les chroniques ? Chez Albert d'Aix, on lit : *gens nigerrima... de terra Aethiopiae... dicta vulgariter Azopart, et omnes barbarae nationes quae erant de regno Babyloniae.* Chez lui les « Azopati » ne sont pas les serviteurs comme dans les sources byzantines, mais ce sont plutôt des guerriers éthiopiens. Il dit que les « Azopati » jettent des flèches, qu'ils trompettent, qu'ils sont recouverts de fer et qu'ils sont munis par les fouets horribles [37]. Donc les « Azopati » sont les guerriers d'origine éthiopienne.

Enfin, le terme qui nous reste encore — « Publicani ». Selon Ch. D. Du Cange [38], « Publicani » sont les Pauliciens, on appelait ainsi les hérétiques byzantins de la secte manichéenne du VIIIe siècle. Donc, « Publicani », c'est plutôt la dénomination de la communauté confessionnelle, des adeptes de l'hérésie qui était répandue dans la Syrie et l'Egypte, dans la Mésopotamie et les autres pays du Proche-Orient appelés d'après le fondateur de cette secte, Paul de Samosate. Les chroniqueurs de la Première croisade appellent ainsi les peuples qui étaient identifiés avec les Perses et les Sarrasins.

Toutes ces nations barbares, *barbarae nationes*, sont énumérées dans une autre série. On les appelle assez souvent *gentes paganorum*, *nationes gentilium*, donc les peuples païens. C'est aussi le terme qui est très souvent employé dans les chroniques de la Première croisade [39]. Quel sens les chroniqueurs donnaient-ils à ce mot ? Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire — *paganus* ? Depuis l'époque antique, si l'on juge d'après les oeuvres d'Isidore de Séville, « pagani » sont les paysans qui habitaient dans les régions militaires — *pagi*, mais qui étaient civils et villageois et faisaient de l'idolâtrie [40]. Le même sens a été conféré au mot *gentilis* — ce sont ceux qui n'ont pas de religion.

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36. *Supra*, n. 24, p. 454-455.

37. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

38. Ch.D. Du Cange, *op. cit.*, t. 5, p. 350.

39. ... *gentes paganorum, videlicet Turcos, Arabes, Saracenos, Publicanos et alias multas gentes innumerabiles*, *Gesta Francorum...*, *op. cit.*, p. 49 ; *ex omni parte paganorum innumeras gentes, videlicet Turcos et Arabes, et Sarracenos et Publicanos etc.*, Pierre Tudebode , *op. cit.*, p. 89.

40. *Ibi enim in locis agrestibus in pagis gentiles lucos statuerunt, et a tali initio vocabulum pagani sortiti sunt*, Isidori Hispalensis episcopi, *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W.M.Lindsay, Oxford, 1911, L. VIII, cap. X ; sur l'étymologie de ce terme voir : B.Altaner, « *Paganus* : Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 58 (1939), p. 130-141.

Comme dit Isidore de Séville, « ils sont restés comme ils sont nés »[41]. L'usage de ces mots — *nationes gentilium, nationes paganorum* — par les chroniqueurs nous révèle le même sens. Je ne prendrai que quelques exemples. Tudebode dit dans sa chronique : *pagani, qui Christiani voluissent fieri* (« les païens qui voulaient être Chrétiens »)[42] ; ou bien : *apprehenderunt igitur omnes paganos illos qui Christum recognoscere volebant et sanctum baptismum desiderabant* (« les païens qui ne voulaient pas reconnaître le Christ et se baptiser »)[43]. On entend par *nationes gentlium, barbarae nationes*, les peuples païens qui n'ont aucune religion. Les expressions *barbarae nationes* et *nationes gentilium* se confondent parfois, et on entend par « les nations barbares » les peuples païens qui font de l'idolâtrie[44].

Nous avons énuméré successivement d'après leur ordre les dénominations des peuples orientaux. Après avoir fait cette analyse rapide des usages de mots, on pourrait faire plusieurs observations. Une première observation s'impose.

— On a vu que toutes ces dénominations que les chroniqueurs emploient ne sont pas les ethnonymes, mais pour la plupart des termes confessionnels comme « Publicani », « Sarraceni », etc. Donc, *barbarae nationes* sont pour les chroniqueurs des communautés confessionnelles ou bien des païens, *gentilium nationes*. La religion joue le rôle prépondérant dans les représentations des peuples orientaux.

— L'autre observation. La carte ethnique que les chroniqueurs tracent est une sorte de la réactualisation de la carte ethnique antique. On emploie les dénominations archaïques (e.g. les Parthes) qui ont perdu leur signification ethnique. Ils superposent les renseignements de l'histoire antique sur la carte ethnique. En décrivant les peuples musulmans du Proche-Orient, ils décrivent en effet l'histoire antique de l'Orient et ils manifestent un certain conservatisme.

— On pourrait dire que cet usage de mots archaïques doit à la tradition littéraire. Mais il serait trop simple d'expliquer cela seulement par la tradition littéraire. C'est un des traits spécifiques de la vision du monde des médiévaux qui se manifeste de cette manière. Les chroniqueurs tournent

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41. ... *gentiles sunt qui sine lege sunt, et nondum crediderunt. Dicti autem gentiles, quia ita sunt ut fuerunt gentiles, ibid.*

42. Pierre Tudebode, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

43. *Supra*, n. 42, p. 115.

44. Baudry de Dol, *op. cit.*, L. I, cap. IV : *Templum Solomonis, in quo simulacra sua barbarae nationes contra jus et fas modo collocata venerabtur.*

toujours dans le cercle des connaissances traditionnelles. Ils se servent des stéréotypes bibliques ou antiques, des clichés communs.

— Ensuite, nous pouvons répondre à la question qui était posée au début de cette communication. Les contacts directs n'ont pas influencé les représentations des chroniqueurs. Ils continuent de s'appuyer sur la tradition antécédente et sur les connaissances, pour ainsi dire, livresques.

— Enfin, on voit que chaque chroniqueur élaborait sa propre nomenclature des peuples, des nations barbares (*barbarae nationes*), en partant des critères différents. On énumérait ou bien des communautés confessionnelles, ou des unités militaires ou les dénominations des peuples anciens. Bref, en somme, *barbarae nationes* selon les chroniqueurs de la Première croisade est la notion compliquée qui variait d'une chronique à l'autre et qui n'a rien à voir avec la nation. Mais l'analyse de ce terme, *barbarae nationes*, a permis, comme il me semble, de relever certains traits spécifiques de la vision du monde à l'époque de la Première croisade.

Annetta ILIEVA, Mitko DELEV *

LA CONSCIENCE DES CROISÉS ET L'ALTÉRITÉ CHRÉTIENNE
Essai typologique sur les conflits pendant la Première Croisade

Il est un fait qui, tout étrange qu'il soit, demeure incontestable : la grandeur historique de Byzance millénaire non seulement éblouit les yeux de l'homme ordinaire qui s'est aventuré dans ce domaine, mais elle brouille encore le regard de chercheurs modernes confirmés. En 1965 Zoé Oldenburg, commençant son livre sur les Croisades par une réflexion sur le rôle de Byzance dans ce drame épique, se laissa tenter par cet éclat. La Croisade n'aurait pas été une guerre menée par la Chrétienté contre l'Islam, mais bien plus un choc fatal entre la Chrétienté Occidentale et celle de l'Orient [1]. Ce jugement n'est pas sans raison dans la perspective historique, mais sa manière catégorique passe sous silence ce qui est, probablement, la circonstance décisive. Le conflit entre chrétiens de l'Occident et de l'Orient s'est développé dans les proportions que l'on connaît parce que, s'il est né en dehors de cet événement, il évolue, néanmoins, vers sa maturité précisément dans le contexte idéologique de la Croisade qui fut avant tout, rappelons-le, un geste chevaleresque de défense militaire sacralisée de la Cité Divine, Jérusalem, contre la présence de l'Infidèle. C'est le concept qui sert de point de départ à la présente étude dont l'objectif est d'éclaircir quelques-uns des mécanismes à l'aide desquels ce qu'on appelle l'idéologie de croisade agit dans le sens

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1. Z. Oldenburg, *The Crusades*, trad. A. Carter, New York, 1966, p. 55.

d'un conflit entre Byzance et l'Occident. La citation de Z. Oldenburg y figure en guise d'introduction parce qu'elle reprend les auteurs latins du début de XIIe siècle et transmet leur perception des choses presque intacte. La conscience intuitive de la naissance d'un nouveau monde se révéla par le triomphe spirituel sur Byzance — le successeur de la grandeur antique [2].

Actuellement, à la fin du XXe siècle, on peut difficilement prétendre découvrir ou lancer de nouveaux problèmes dans le champ de *Crusading Studies*. Au moins, une tradition historiographique longue de près de deux siècles empêche de manifester de telles ambitions. Néanmoins, si nous voulons tracer la possibilité de dire du nouveau dans ce domaine, il s'impose de faire une revue des opinions existant sur le problème examiné.

Il est peu probable que Gibbon se rendit compte du challenge qu'il lança aux historiens des générations futures en écrivant, à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, que l'empereur Alexis Ier Comnène suivait les Croisés sur les pas, pareil à un vautour, pour prendre, le moment venu, sa part de leur victoire sur les Turcs [3]. Le parti-pris de ces paroles découle d'une lecture à la lettre, sans critique, des sources latines ainsi que de la réception romantique du phénomène de la Croisade. Le XIXe siècle tardif voit les premières tentatives d'y répondre, présentant le point de vue byzantin [4]. Dans la réhabilitation de ce dernier, la rigueur scientifique rivalise avec le désir de démontrer le caractère tendancieux des historiographes latins du XIIe siècle. Le conflit entre Byzance et les Croisés y est généralement traité sous l'influence du fait que non seulement la Croisade permit la coexistence de l'intérêt économique à côté des idéaux religieux, mais que celui-ci prit le dessus. C'est ce qui justifierait la retenue manifestée par les Occidentaux vis-à-vis de Byzance ; qui expliquerait l'attention plus grande à l'égard des Croisés, « se conduisant comme des bandits » [5] ; qui prouverait le bien-fondé du serment, exigé par Alexis Ier ; enfin, ce fait soulignerait l'incompatibilité entre la demande de mercenaires, lancée par Byzance, et les nombreuses troupes des Croisées, chacune ayant son commandant. Somme toute, l'historiographie du siècle dernier crée la tradition d'étudier en priorité les dimensions politiques du conflit entre Byzance et les Croisés.

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2. P. Rousset, *Les Origines et les caractères de la première Croisade*, Neuchâtel, 1945, p. 7 et suiv. Cf. B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen*, Assen, 1971, *passim* ; Eadem, « Some remarks on the Thesis of the "Growing Animosity" », dans V. D. Van Allast and K. Ciggaar (eds.), *The Latin Empire, Some Contributions*, Hernen, 1990, p. 28-9.

3 E. Gibbon, *Histoire de la décadence et la chute de l'empire romain*, trad. Buchon, Paris, 1848, p. 676.

4 B Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1880 ; H. von Sybel, *Geschichte der Ersten Kreuzzuges*, 2e éd., Leipzig, 1881 ; Bikélas, *La Grèce byzantine et moderne*, Paris, 1882 ; F Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène*, Paris, 1900.

5. H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremite*, Berlin, 1879, p. 142.

Les auteurs modernes, œuvrant pendant la première moitié du XXe siècle, suivent cette tradition tout en la faisant dévier dans deux directions. Selon R. Grousset, le conflit avec Byzance est dû à la création même, en Syrie et en Palestine, de petits Etats de croisés ; il s'agit de territoires considérés comme byzantins depuis le fond des siècles — un concept que les succès militaires de Nicéphore Phocas et de ses successeurs confirmèrent au point d'en parler comme d'une « hypothèque byzantine ». Pour cet auteur de renom, le retrait du pouvoir constantinopolitain de Syrie et de Palestine peu avant l'arrivée des Francs est d'une importance primordiale[6]. Pour sa part, St. Runciman considère que les démarches politiques de l'Empire se laissent aisément expliquer, dans le sens inverse, par un autre facteur. Byzance n'aurait pas été contre la création d'Etats francs dans le Proche Orient, fidèle à sa tradition de protéger ses confins orientaux par de petits Etats chrétiens dont l'existence autonome serait impensable à cette époque-là[7]. (Faute de place, on ne peut traiter ici des investigations novatrices de plusieurs chercheurs, parues pendant ces dernières années.)

Ces acquis sont incontestables mais on ne peut ne pas observer que ce type de recherche ne recouvre qu'une partie du vaste phénomène de la Croisade. Le conflit entre Byzance et les croisés est traité essentiellement comme une rencontre, presque fortuite, entre intérêts politiques opposés, conçus indépendamment par l'Occident et par l'Orient byzantin. L'Historiographie moderne s'attela donc à la tache de reconstituer en détail, et dans une perspective positiviste, la narration historique du conflit, et d'exploiter à fond la capacité des faits historiques de s'expliquer [par] eux-mêmes. L'exemple des manières contradictoires de traiter de ce problème par les deux auteurs de renommée, cités ci-dessus montre le besoin, ressenti par l'historiographie moderne, de généralisation. Et St. Runciman, et R. Grousset y répondirent en essayant de révéler la causalité profonde sur le plan proprement historique, avant et après 1096. Cette démarche indique le sens du changement, mais l'approche reste la même ; le problème était trop politisé pour qu'une position modérée soit adoptée en dépit des jugements polarisés, prononcés ouvertement ou tacitement impliqués. Pour se maintenir dans ce cadre, les chercheurs furent contraints soit de considérer la Croisade comme une agression militaire à peine voilée par sa piété, soit de juger Alexis Ier comme une nullité sur le plan politique. Excessivement enveloppé de passion politique au goût du jour, le traitement du conflit s'avère amoindrie dans la perspective historique, ce qui crée une image disproportionnée entre ses causes plutôt insignifiantes et les effets durables.

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6. R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1934, t. I, p. 108-115.

7. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, 1952 (réimpr. 1981), t. I, p. 145.

Mesurer l'événement historique par sa dimension d'actualité politique déforme sensiblement la lecture des sources. Celles-ci sont examinées uniquement à la lumière des critères de la véracité (ou non) des faits rapportés ce qui, de son côté rétrécit démesurément la notion du véridique. On a ici une méthode efficace quant à la reconstitution fidèle du devenir historique dans tous ses détails, mais il pose un obstacle devant l'effort d'expliquer, de déchiffrer les mécanismes de ce devenir. Pour dire de façon un peu simpliste, cette méthode implique une réception unilatérale de l'auteur médiéval, en faisant — bon gré mal gré — un menteur qu'il faut mettre à la barre des accusés, faisant ainsi fi de sa personnalité, de ses propres pensées, sentiments, voire de ses préjugés.

C'est l'analyse de ce dernier aspect que se propose de faire la présente étude, essayant de retracer les grandes lignes des échos idéologiques du conflit entre les croisés et Byzance. Dans ce sens, elle prétend se situer dans la postérité d'auteurs comme C. Erdmann, P. Rousset, P. Alphandéry, R.-J. Zilie et J. Riley-Smith [8]. L'examen porte sur les textes latins sur la Première Croisade, produits avant 1146 qui décrivent les chocs et les conflits survenus lors du passage des croisés par les provinces balkaniques de l'Empire byzantin et qui se prêtent à la typologie selon des critères suivants :

- la réception des conflits sur le plan psychologique : de leur cause, de leurs effets et leurs rapport mutuels ;
- les châtiments appliqués aux croisés ou de simples chrétiens qui se sont rendus coupables à l'égard de leurs confrères ou de chrétiens généralement parlant ;
- solutions modèles pour résoudre les conflits ;
- la représentation idéale du rapport entre Croisés et chrétiens.

Les écrivains en question ont des comportements fort différents à l'égard de ce sujet, ce qui nous conduit à considérer davantage certains textes et à prêter une attention beaucoup moins grande à d'autres. Il faut indiquer d'emblée la place marginale de l'ouvrage de Raoul de Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*. L'auteur y traite du passage d'un détachement normand à travers Byzance comme d'une simple répétition des événements de 1081-85, ce qui, malgré sa description détaillée, le prive d'intérêt pour notre analyse.

Dès maintenant, justifions le choix de textes des auteurs latins qu'on constatera par la suite. A présent il demeure établi que, en réalité, les échauffourées entre, d'une part, les détachements de croisés et, de l'autre, le gouvernement byzantin et la population de l'Empire furent beaucoup moins nombreuses et sans la portée que l'on pourrait penser à la lecture de l'histo-

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8. Ecrire *une histoire intérieure* de la Croisade.

riographie du début du siècle. Et pourtant, leur description tient une place assez importante dans les textes latins. Naturellement, on pourrait attribuer cet effet au « vide » entre le fait et l'écrit, un vide qui se laisse facilement combler par diverses influences idéologiques, d'autant plus que des descriptions de ce genre font l'intermède à souhait, utilisée par les auteurs de l'époque pour introduire le conflit avec Byzance. Il faut également dire qu'un sujet pareil n'a pas ses racines dans la tradition littéraire de l'Antiquité, ni dans celle du Moyen Age. La campagne des croisés est trop spécifique pour se mouler dans des modèles antiques connus comme, par exemple, le récit de Tite-Live sur le passage des Alpes et des Gaules par Hannibale, l'*Anabase* de Xénophon ou encore les récits concernant Alexandre de Macédoine. Une comparaison entre tous ces récits pourrait aboutir à des résultats fort intéressants mais pour l'instant, on va se contenter d'observer que l'absence de *locus* littéraire ouvre le texte aux considérations personnelles, originales de l'auteur. De règle, le nouveau apparaît dans l'espace laissé vide par la tradition. [...]

Dans les textes sur lesquels nous nous appuyons, le Grec est traité essentiellement comme l'Autre Chrétien : il n'est ni le schismatique, ni l'adversaire têtu de la Papauté, pas plus que le rival de l'empire de l'Occident. Il paraît donc que le souvenir du Schisme du 1054 ne fut pas le facteur décisif, ce qui serait tout à fait naturel si l'on évoque la phrase ailée de L. Bréhier, à savoir que les Eglises se séparent quand elles souhaitent se réunir. Anticipons encore une fois le résultat pour affirmer que cette généralisation est historiquement valable longtemps avant la crise de 1204.

Anne Comnène nous fait croire que le gouvernement de Constantinople fut frappé par la multitude innombrable de Celtes dont les poitrines furent décorées de croix rouges. Cependant il ne fut pas surpris que « le manque de discipline des Barbares » fût un sujet de conflits permanents avec la population indigène. Sur ce point, la position de l'écrivain s'avère différente de celle de ces collègues latins qui, en décrivant les mêmes conflits, font ressortir la surprise douloureuse éprouvée par les croisés au moment des hostilités avec les Grecs. Une autre différence, aussi importante, se fait sentir entre les textes occidentaux et orientaux. Tandis que, selon Anne Comnène, les *milites Christi* sont avant tout les Barbares, complètement assimilés à ceux des époques anciennes, les auteurs latins considèrent les Grecs seulement comme d'*autres chrétiens*[9].

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9. Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, X.V, éd. B. Leib, t. 2, Paris, 1943, p. 205 ; Albert d'Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitanæ Expeditionis*, dans PL, t. 166, coll. 392-3 (l'édition de RHC Hist. occ, t. 4 inaccessible) ; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, éd. L. Bréhier, Paris, 1924, p. 22-4 (l'édition de R. Hill inaccessible) ; Raimond d'Aguilèrs, *Historia Francorum qui ceperun Jerusalem*, dans PL, t. 155, col. 592 (l'édition de J.H. & L.L. Hill

En expliquant l'origine de cette différence nous pourrions profiter de certains considérations récentes. L'image de la Première Croisade, présentée par Anne Comnène, est, selon R. D. Thomas, fortement influencée par son regard critique sur de la politique « occidentalisante » de l'empereur Manuel Ier [10]. En ce qui concerne les textes latins, il faudrait immédiatement rappeler qu'ils se laissent influencer par la joie de l'Occident du succès de la Croisade qui jette une nouvelle lumière sur la perception des conflits avec les Grecs. Rappelons aussi l'attachement de ces auteurs à l'héritage idéologique du Pape Grégoire VII qui transparaît dans les textes latins ; il s'agit d'un nouveau concept de l'Eglise qui attache une importance primordiale au principe de l'universalisme [11].

Ainsi replacée dans son contexte historique, la surprise éprouvée par les Croisés lors de leur premier contact avec les Grecs ne nous laisse voir que ses « causes extérieures ». Cependant, si nous voulons pousser plus loin nos connaissances sur ce climat spirituel particulier, il ne nous reste plus qu'à le reposer dans le contexte [textuel] des chroniques. Cette méthode de recherche nous permet d'établir les *causes intérieures* et surtout la diversité des leurs implications.

En suivant la logique humaine quotidienne, on peut considérer la déception initiale des croisés comme un début d'opposition consciente entre conception idéale et réalité. C'est pourquoi il est à la fois nécessaire et intéressant de rechercher, dans les sources, toute information qui pourrait jeter une lumière sur la représentation idéale des rapports entre Croisés et les autres chrétiens. La nature des sources nous oblige à diriger notre attention exclusivement vers le récit d'Albert d'Aix qui est presque le seul à représenter la relation idéale — une relation sans conflits. Il s'agit, d'un coté, du passage de Godefroi de Bouillon à travers la Hongrie et de ses rapports avec Coloman Ier et, de l'autre, des rapports qui s'établissent entre Pierre l'Ermite et les autorités byzantines après l'accord conclu à Sofia [12].

D'après cet auteur, les croisés et les autres chrétiens ne seraient arrivés à la communion idéale qu'en surmontant le souvenir des échauffourées san-

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inaccessible) ; Robert le Moine, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, dans PL, t. 155, col. 681 (l'édition de RHC Hist. occ, t. 3 inaccessible).

10. R. D. Thomas, « Anna Comnena's Account of the First Crusade », *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), p. 273.

11. H. E. J. Cowdrey, « Pope Gregory VII's Crusading Plans of 1074 », dans B. Z. Kedar et al. (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, p. 27-40 ; H. E. J. Cowdrey, « The Gregorian Papecy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade », *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 13 (1988), p. 145-69

12. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit*., coll. 394-400.

glantes survenues au début. Godefroi de Bouillon et Coloman Ier se seraient sentis obligés de prévenir les malheurs comme celui arrivé au prêtre allemand Godescalc. Le conflit ne serait aplani qu'après le pardon mutuel d'Alexis Comnène et Pierre l'Ermite des pertes qu'ils se sont infligées près de Nich. C'est la conscience de la communauté chrétienne qui, d'après l'auteur, peut surmonter tous les facteurs de mésentente, accumulés au cours de l'histoire. Une juxtaposition entre ce récit et le texte d'Anna Comnène montre que ce n'est pas un cliché historiographique. D'après cette dernière, le passage sans peine des croisés à travers l'empire serait dû, avant tout, aux capacités politiques de son père. Plus encore, ce récit est en rapport direct avec les valeurs fondamentales de l'idée de Croisade. Il nous rappelle, une fois de plus, l'assertion que la Croisade est la démonstration de l'unité chrétienne.

L'idée de l'unité chrétienne apparaît comme le noyau autour duquel se concentrent les éléments de l'une tradition littéraire liée aux croisades, en train de se constituer. Elle est également le point de départ d'une vision intime de l'homme contemporain lui fournissant les repères, donnant un sens aussi bien aux causes profondes qu'aux objectifs de cette expédition à la fois religieuse et militaire. L'occupation de Jérusalem est interprétée comme une destruction de cette unité, et la Croisade comme un moyen de sa reconstitution. La captivité de La Terre Sainte a privé les peuples chrétiens du symbole sacré des valeurs religieuses qui les unissent en une communauté. D'après Robert le Moine, le Pape Urbain Deux aurait argumenté son discours en rappelant à la foule rassemblée le principe de la fraternité chrétienne qui obligeait les Occidentaux à prêter secours aux Grecs et aux autres Orientaux [13]. Foucher de Chartres fait ressortir une vue différente sur unité chrétienne [14]. Les croisés auraient dû, avant tout, emmener la guerre au-delà des frontières géographiques et culturelles de la communauté et rétablir la paix entre tous les chrétiens [15].

Les trois interprétations rapportées ci-dessus présentent l'unité chrétienne comme une exigence de premier ordre et c'est un fait qui mérite notre attention. Dans la mesure que l'unité se présente comme la délivrance des Lieux Saints, cette exigence est posée devant et incombe surtout aux croisés — aux élus. Mais aussi loin que cette même unité représente une purification morale, l'exigence est posée devant tous les chrétiens. La totalité des contacts immédiats entre les croisés et le reste des chrétiens rend évidente cette parti-

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13. Robert le Moine, *op. cit.*, coll. 670-4.

14. Foucher de Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, dans PL, t 155, col 825 (l'édition de Hagenmayer inaccessible).

15. Cf l'étude classique de W. Daly, « Christian Fraternity, the Crusades, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204 : The Precarious Survival of an Idea », *Medieval Studies*, 22 (1960), p. 43-91.

cularité. Ce n'est pas au hasard que les rôles d'Alexis Comnène et Coloman Ier d'un côté, de Pierre L'Ermite et Godefroi de Bouillon – de l'autre, sont mis à l'égalité dans la réalisation de communication idéale.

Un autre fait souligné par les récits d'Albert d'Aix, c'est l'obligation qui incombe aux Hongrois et aux Grecs de ravitailler les croisés. Une contradiction existe à ce sujet dans les sources. Les versions du discours d'Urbain II montre le malheur et la faiblesse de Byzance comme la cause principale de l'expédition. Dans le texte d'Albert d'Aix les victimes de l'agression musulmane se transforment d'objets de la Croisade en sujets de cette même entreprise, qui ont des tâches déterminées. Il n'est pas un hasard que la proposition faite à Alexis Comnène de participer à la Croisade ne scandalise pas la conscience des croisés bien qu'ils se considèrent comme les élus de Dieu. Le conflit n'éclate que lorsque l'exigence est avancée d'un serment prêté par les barons. Le modèle de communion idéale entre les croisés et les chrétiens est motivé par idée que la Croisade est, d'une coté, une manifestation imposante de l'unité chrétienne et – de l'autre, une entreprise engageant les efforts de tous les autres chrétiens. Cette particularité détermine la vue des auteurs latins sur les Grecs et sur la façon dont l'identité culturelle de Byzance en est décrite. En d'autres termes, la Croisade crée non seulement un thème nouveau dans le dialogue séculaire entre Byzance et l'Occident, mais encore un nouveau langage que les Byzantins sont contraints d'apprendre pour pouvoir contacter avec les Latins.

Le fonds idéologique qu'on peut déceler dans les textes latins qui traitent des conflits historiques réels entre croisés et Byzantins a l'objectif de résoudre la contradiction entre l'idée que la Croisade est une unité d'action de tous les chrétiens et celle que les Croisés sont les élus de Dieu. Cette contradiction prend ses racines dans les débuts de la religion chrétienne qui a besoin de coordonner le messianisme des Juifs et ses tendances à l'universalisme. On peut pourtant dire que la Croisade la surmonte, en établissante une espèce de hiérarchie dans la perception de la communauté chrétienne. Les degrés fondamentaux de sa structure sont occupés par le croisé et le chrétien ordinaire. Les justifications idéologiques de son existence se laissent décrypter lors de l'analyse des textes faisant ressortir les réflexions des auteurs sur les causes et les conséquences des conflits, sur ceux qui en sont coupables et des châtiments attendant ces derniers.

Ce type de conflit a toujours à sa base un événement quelconque, apparemment sans importance idéologique (*propter contentionem vilissimam*). Une fois, c'est l'action criminelle des quelques Hongrois à Maleville à l'égard des croisés restés en arrière. Une autre fois, c'est l'ivresse des Allemans de la troupe de Godescalc ; il est possible encore que ce soit une

querelle accidentelle au marché comme celle qui mena à l'échauffourée sanglante entre les compagnons de Pierre l'Ermite et les habitants de Nich [16]. C'est cependant les conséquences qui sont dotées d'une valeur idéologique très claire. Elles sont considérées comme des dérogations du principe d'unité et de fraternité chrétiennes, et ceci même lorsque la Croisade bat son plein.

Formulé comme une culpabilité, la faute reçoit un traitement qui montre, par extension, l'importance attachée au problème du coupable et de son châtiment. D'après la plupart des auteurs latins, ce sont les causes d'ordre secondaire qui engendrent les conflits, ce qui les rend inadmissibles. Ce qui leur permet, pourtant, après avoir admis en principe les conflits, de se désintéresser de leurs causes premières (ce qui serait du domaine de l'historien). Leur explication suppose uniquement la mise à jour du coupable et de son châtiment.

Les auteurs latins se servent de deux solutions modèles pour résoudre, sur un plan idéologique, ces conflits qualifiés d'*impies*. Quand le coupable est un croisé, la situation textuelle est simple et logique : le contrevenant des normes idéologiques est porté à sa perte inévitable grâce à la volonté divine. Habituellement, l'auteur renforce ce schéma par le constat que le coupable d'une effusion de sang chrétien ne peut guère être croisé.

L'apparition de « l'autre chrétien » comme coupable dans les textes latins complique la situation. Les auteurs sont fort embarrassés de prescrire le type de châtiment à lui faire subir. Dans un nombre limité de cas, on reconnaît au pèlerin/croisé le droit de faire appel aux armes pour se faire justice. Tout en paraissant normale, cette démarche n'est pourtant pas acceptable car elle demeure en contradiction avec les normes de conduite de la Croisade. Dans les mêmes cas, il est sans doute préférable d'aplanir le conflit par des moyens diplomatiques. La façon pathétique dont Godefroi de Bouillon décline la proposition de Bohémond d'une attaque contre Constantinople rappelle fortement le refus de Raymond de Saint-Gilles de prêter serment à Alexis Comnène [17]. Bohémond avance le même argument pour étouffer le désir de ses compagnons de se venger « avec justice » des Grecs [18]. La présomption de la supériorité morale des croisés leur enlève toute possibilité de punir les malfaiteurs byzantins. De son côté, le châtiment non-réalisé influence la représentation du Grec comme de l'« autre chrétien ». Il est donc naturel que le verdict non-réalisé se relie logiquement à l'opinion d'après laquelle les obligations des Byzantins vis-à-vis des croisés ont leurs racines idéologiques dans leur appartenance au monde chrétien. Ainsi donc, si le croisé ayant

16. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit*., coll. 409-14 ; Robert le Moine, *op. cit*., coll. 674, 677-80.

17. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit*., col. 418 ; Raimond d'Aguilers, *op. cit*., col. 596.

18. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, p. 26 et suiv.

admis le crime de nuire aux autres chrétiens est puni en étant privé de sa position honorable, il existe toujours un doute si le chrétien ordinaire ayant commis le même crime soit un vrai chrétien. Cette idée est développée depuis les textes consacrés à la Première croisade — où l'on peut l'observer sous une forme primitive, jusque dans les textes consacrés à la Quatrième Croisade, où elle se présente sous son aspect définitif.

Le passage des Provençaux d'abord à travers un pays païen et ensuite à travers Byzance inspire Raimond d'Aguilers de dépeindre deux tableaux que le lecteur se met, instinctivement, à juxtaposer. L'auteur est frappé : les barbares font face aux croisés de la même manière que les Byzantins. En Sclavonie aussi bien qu'en Byzance, les croisés sont victimes à des assauts injustifiés. A peine conclus, les armistices sont transgressés partout et par tous. La perfidie se substitue à la fraternité chrétienne et, bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'un discours directement prononcé, le texte de Raimond d'Aguilers recèle des jugements catégoriques [19]. Les Grecs ne mériteraient pas être nommés « de vrais chrétiens ». A cet égard, il suffit de rappeler, parmi les épithètes dont les Grecs sont constamment accablés, celles d'*infelix* et de *perfidus*.

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Ce n'est que le début d'une vaste tradition littéraire qui traverse l'épopée des Croisades toute entière. Il est difficile de clore notre étude ; cependant, on peut déjà proposer quelques suggestions en guise de conclusion. Il existe une ressemblance profonde entre, d'une part — la représentation des croisés sur la communauté chrétienne qui réunit le messianisme et l'universalisme par la création d'une hiérarchie presque sacrale, et — de l'autre — la soi-disant *suprématie byzantine*. A côté, cette typologie des conflits nous permet de saisir l'atmosphère spirituelle dans laquelle ressuscitera le souvenir du Schisme de 1054. Une fois de plus, elle fournit une explication possible à la grande question, à savoir pourquoi la Croisade, débutant avec l'objectif de réunir le monde chrétien, se termine sur le commencement de sa division définitive.

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19. Raimond d'Aguilers, *op. cit.*, coll. 591-4.

Sylvia SCHEIN

JÉRUSALEM
Objectif originel de la Première Croisade ?

Dernièrement, ceux-là même qui parmi les historiens se montraient indécis sur le sujet, s'accordent dorénavant à voir en Jérusalem l'objectif originel et ultime de la première croisade [1]. Nous nous proposons, dans cette étude, de démontrer que la plupart des contemporains de la première croisade, croisés et Européens confondus, ne visaient pas un but perçu en terme d'entité urbaine à caractère simplement topographo-géographique mais bien en termes liminaires. De fait leur but était nettement spécifique puisqu'il s'agissait du Saint Sépulcre. Ceci s'explique fort bien par la perception qu'on avait, avant la Première Croisade, des lieux saints et du caractère sacré de Jérusalem.

Dès le départ, le pèlerinage chrétien vers les lieux sacrés s'est dirigé principalement vers les tombeaux de saints. Peter Brown a décrit ces tombeaux comme « les endroits privilégiés où les pôles contraires du Ciel et de la Terre se rejoignent » [2]. Le saint monté au ciel est cependant supposé rési-

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1. H.E.J. Cowdrey, « Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade », *History*, 55 (1970), p. 177-188. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London, 1986, p. 13-60 ; P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land 1095-1270*, Cambridge-Mas., 1991, p. 1-36 ; *Id.*, « "O God, The Heathen Have Come into Your Inheritance" (Ps.78.1). The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188 », in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria*, Leiden, 1993, p. 86-101. Et comparer les deux éditions de *The Crusades* de H.E. Mayer, London, 1965 (nouvelle édition, 1987), p. 8-13.

2. P. Brown, *The Cults of the Saints : Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1981, p. 3.

der corporellement dans sa tombe ainsi que l'indique l'inscription gravée sur la stèle de St Martin de Tours : « Ici repose Martin l'évêque, de sainte mémoire, dont l'âme est dans la main de Dieu ; mais est entièrement ci-présent, comme il est démontré par des miracles de toutes sortes » [3]. Ceci était le résultat de pratiques païennes et juives qui influeront sur les origines des pratiques chrétiennes [4]. Par conséquent, le pèlerinage à Jérusalem ainsi d'ailleurs qu'à tout autre centre sacré était *ad limina*, à savoir une église renfermant le tombeau d'un saint. Les pèlerinages à Tours sont décrits comme *limina b. Martini*, ceux vers Poitiers portent le nom de *limina S. Hilarii* et on nomme les pèlerinages vers Rome *limina apostolorum* [5]. Le pèlerinage vers Jérusalem est décrit depuis le milieu du VIIe siècle (c'est à dire après la conquête musulmane de la Palestine, en 638), comme *ad sanctum sepulcrum, invisere sepulcrum Domini ou ad adorandum sepulcrum domini* [6]. Non seulement les pèlerins volontaires [7], mais encore les pèlerins pénitentiels, comme le duc Robert Ier de Normandie en 1035 et le comte Foulques

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3. *Ibid*, p. 4.

4. A savoir, premièrement, la vénération par les païens, dans l'Antiquité reculée, de tombes comme les « maisons des morts » et comme les temples passés à un emploi laïque par les procédures officielles et juridiques de *dedicatio* et *concecratio* ; deuxièmement, l'influence des pratiques religieuses juives prônant l'adoration et le pèlerinage aux tombeaux des patriarches à Hébron aussi bien qu'aux sépultures des rois et prophètes. Voir S. MacCormack, « *Loca Sancta* : The Organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity », in R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessing of Pilgrimage*, Urbana and Chicago, 1990, p. 7-40, (ci-après : *The Blessing*) ; J. Wilkinson, « Jewish Holy Places and the Origins of Christian Pilgrimage », *ibid*, p. 41-53.

5. E.R. Lalande, « *Ad limina* : le pèlerin médieval au terme de sa démarche », dans P. Gallais *et al*. (éds.), *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. I, Poitiers, 1966, p. 283-291 (réimpression *Id*., *Spiritualité et vie littéraire de l'Occident Xe-XIVe siècle*, London, 1974, n° 14).

6. *Vita Altmanni Episcopi Pataviensis*, *MGH.SS*., 12, p. 230. Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, éd. J. Chavanon, Paris 1867, p. 189-190. Raoul Glaber, *Historianum sui temporis libri V*, éd. M. Prou, Paris, 1885, p. 109. *Lettres de Gerbert* (983-997) [Silvester II], éd. J. Havet, Paris, 1889. *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, *MGH.SS*, 20, p. 815. *Gesta Episcorum Tullensium*, *ibid*, 8, p. 647. L. Lalanne, « Des pèlerinages en Terre Sainte avant les croisades », *BEC*, 7 (1845/6), p. 1-30. Pour l'influence de la conquête musulmane sur l'attitude adoptée par l'Occident chrétien en ce qui concerne la sainteté de Jérusalem, voir J. Prawer, « Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages », dans *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo. XXVI. Gli Ebrei nell' Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1980, p. 739-812, spécialement p. 774-782.

7. *Breviarus de Hierosolyma*, éd. R. Weber, *CCSL*, 175, p. 109-112. Antonimus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, éd. P. Geyer, *ibid*, p. 137-139. Arculfus, *De Locis Sanctis*, éd. L. Brèler, *ibid*, p. 185-203. Bernardus Monachus, *Itinerarium*, éd. T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 91-93.

III Nerra d'Anjou, en 1002-1003, 1027-1029 et 1039-1040 définiront le but de leur rituel pénitenciel en terme de Saint Sépulcre [8].

A cette époque le Saint Sépulcre éclipse une Jérusalem faite d'un ensemble de lieux saints, *loca sancta*, déjà sur les principales voies des pèlerins. Désormais, sur ces voies, les monastères et hospices, fondés à cette époque, sont consacrés au Saint Sépulcre. Tel était le monastère de Bobbio (établi en 950) et le monastère de Borgo San Sepulcro au sud-ouest de Florence (établi en 934). En outre, depuis les débuts du IXe siècle, églises et chapelles dont la structure architecturale imite celle de l'Eglise Constantinienne de la Résurrection (*Anastasis*), font leur apparition. La plus ancienne est la chapelle de St Michel à Fulda, bâtie par l'abbé Eigil, probablement sur les conseils de Rabanus Maurus, entre les années 820-822, et reconstruite à la fin du XIe siècle [9]. La chapelle de St Maurice à Constance, fut élevée par les soins de l'évêque Conrad entre les années 934 et 976. Semblable à celle de St Michel à Fulda, elle contient un modèle réduit de l'*aedicula* du Tombeau [10]. Près de cent ans plus tard, en 1033, St Meinwerk, évêque de Padeborn, mande à Jérusalem l'abbé de Helmershansen, afin qu'il prenne les mesures de l'église et du monument du Saint Sépulcre pour en faire une réplique. L'église située en dehors de Padeborn (maintenant le couvent de Busdorf) fut consacrée en 1036 [11]. Au XIe siècle on éleva une autre copie de l'Eglise du Saint Sépulcre. Il s'agit de la grande église du Saint Sépulcre de Neuvy, placée au centre de la France. Elle contenait à l'origine la réplique du tombeau du Christ. Construite au milieu du siècle, elle fut reconstruite plus

8. Lalanne, *op. cit.*, p. 29. C. Vogel, « Le pèlerinage pénitentiel », *Revue de Sciences religieuses*, 38 (1964), p. 128-129 (réimpression *Id.*, *En rémission des péchés. Recherches sur les systèmes pénitentiels dans l'Eglise latine*, éd. A. Faivre, London, 1994, n° VII). L. Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1906, p. 213-218. M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony c. 970-c.1130*, Oxford, 1993, p. 207-209.

9. R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New-York, 1969, p. 117 R.B. Ousterhout, « The Church of Santo Stefano : A "Jerusalem" in Bologna », *Gesta*. 20 (1981), p. 311. *Id.*, « *Loca Sancta* and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage », in *The Blessings*, p. 110. B. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, Rome, 1987 (Römiche Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 42. Supplementheft), p. 202-219. En 801 déjà, la chapelle du palais de Charlemagne à Aix-la-Chapelle représentait le Saint Sépulcre, mais il était entendu qu'elle symbolisait la Jérusalem céleste. R. Konrad, « Das himmlishe und das erdische Jerusalem in mittelalterlichen Denken », dans C. Bauer *et al.* (éd.), *Speculum historiale. Festchrift J. Spörl*, Munich, 1965, p. 528-530. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 116-119, 131-132.

10. F. Oswald, L. Schaefer, H.R. Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten*, Munich, 1971, p. 158-160.

11. *Vita Meinwerci*, *MGH.SS*, 11, p. 158-159. Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

tard [12]. Onze autres églises renferment une imitation du tombeau du Christ, sans pour autant copier elles-mêmes l'Eglise du Saint Sépulcre. L'une d'elles est l'église de St Hubert en Ardenne. Consacrée en 1076 par l'évêque Herman de Metz [13], elle comporte un monument de marbre représentant le sépulcre du Christ. Ces copies ont pour le croyant valeur iconographique. Elles furent considérées comme porteuse de force, du don de vie que l'on prêtait au Tombeau, capables de faire des miracles, d'effectuer des guérisons et contribuant au salut éternel. Selon la *Vita* de Meinwerk, l'achèvement de la chapelle du Saint Sépulcre à Padeborn fut accélérée afin qu'il puisse y être lui-même inhumé. En outre il a fait construire la chapelle « afin de pouvoir rejoindre la Jérusalem céleste » [14].

Iter / via Sancti Sepulcri était l'un des termes les plus communément employés pour désigner la première croisade tout au long des quatre années de sa durée. Saint Sépulcre fut la devise des croisés mais il fut également le but central de leur expédition. Une chanson populaire allemande, probablement datée du XIe siècle, fut chantée comme suit pendant la première croisade : « Au nom de Dieu nous faisons notre chemin / Et voyageons en Sa Grâce / La puissance de Dieu nous assiste aujourd'hui / Et le Saint Sépulcre / Où Dieu lui-même gît / Kyrie Eleison » [15]. Les participants au pèlerinage se voyaient eux-mêmes comme les pèlerins du Saint Sépulcre (*peregrinatores S. Sepulcri*). L'un d'eux a déclaré en 1096, au moment de son départ : « Considérant que Dieu m'a épargné, imprégné [que je suis] de nombreux et grands péchés et m'a donné le temps de faire pénitence, et craignant que le poids de mes péchés ne me prive de ma part au royaume des cieux, moi, Ingelbard, je souhaite chercher ce sépulcre où notre rédemption, après avoir triomphé de la mort, surgira » [16]. Un autre participant à ce pèlerinage, Raymond de St Gilles, comte de Toulouse, dans sa charte de donation à la cathédrale de [St Marie] du Puy définit le but de sa croisade comme : *ad*

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12. Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Ousterhout, « The Architectural Response », *op. cit.*, p. 111.

13. *La Chronique de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium*, éd. K. Hanquet, Bruxelles, 1906, p. 50, 94-95 Voir aussi G. Bresc-Bautier, « Les imitations du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem (IXe-XVIe siècles) : Archéologie d'une dévotion », *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité*, 50 (1974), p. 319-342. Ousterhout, « The Architectural Response », *op. cit.*, p. 111-119 et note 20.

14. Voir ci-dessus note 11. Ousterhout, « Architectural Response », *op. cit.*, p. 115-116.

15 U Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, Tübingen, 1979, p. 9. C. Morris, « Propaganda for War . The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century », *Studies in Church History*, 20 (1983), p. 93-94.

16. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, éd. C.R. Charles, S.M. d'Elbenne, Le Mans, 1886, t. I, col. 69. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

dominici sepulcri liberationem [17]. En septembre 1098, les dirigeants de la croisade écrivirent d'Antioche, au pape, l'invitant à les rejoindre à la tête de celle-ci pour l'amener à ses fins, à savoir, la libération du Saint Sépulcre [18]. Selon l'un des participants, l'auteur de la *Gesta Francorum*, les croisés souffrirent au cours de la croisade « pour le Christ et la libération de la voie au Saint Sépulcre » [19]. Cette manière de voir se reflétera également dans le fait que la première seigneurie établie par les croisés en Asie Mineure, sera donnée à Pierre d'Aups en fidélité à Dieu et au Saint Sépulcre, aux princes et à l'Empereur [byzantin] [20].

De même, durant le siège de Jérusalem, sa conquête était vue et décrite en terme de Saint Sépulcre. D'après la *Gesta Francorum*, décision avait été prise d'attaquer les murailles de la cité à l'aide de machines de guerre afin de permettre aux croisés « de pénétrer dans la cité et de prier sur le sépulcre de Notre Sauveur » [21]. Un autre témoin oculaire de la conquête de Jérusalem, Raimond d'Aguilers, témoigne que le spectacle des croisés adorant le Saint Sépulcre justifiait toutes les épreuves et souffrances engendrées par la croisade [22].

Non seulement les croisés, mais les Européens en général, percevaient la croisade en terme de Saint Sépulcre [23]. Une chronique de l'abbaye de St

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17. C. Devic, J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, t. V, Toulouse, 1875, p. 747-748. R. Somerville, « The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade », dans *Mélanges G. Fransen*, t. II, Rome, 1976 (Studia Gratiana, 20), p. 326-327, note 9.

18. *Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, éd. H. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck, 1901, n° 12, p. 154.

19. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanum*, éd. R. Hill, London, 1961, p. 62.

20. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

21. *Gesta Francorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 89-92.

22. Raimond d'Aguilers, *Le « Liber »*, éd. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Paris, 1969, (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 9), p. 151.

23. Ceci est relaté *inter alia* par les chroniques européennes écrites durant la période allant de 1095 à ca.1120. Pour la première croisade se donnant comme objectif la délivrance du Saint Sépulcre , voir : *Chronicon S. Petri Amiciensis*, *RHGF*, 12, p. 377 ; Hugo de S. Maria, *Itineris Hierosolimitani Compondium*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 5, p. 365 ; Lupus Prostospatarius, *Annales Barenses*, *MGH.SS.*, 5, p. 62 ; *Chronicon Malleacense, Chronique des Eglises d'Anjou*, éd. P. Marchegay *et al.*, Paris, 1869, p. 418 ; *Annales Reicherspergenses*, *MGH.SS.*, 17, p. 449 ; Caffaro de Caschifelone, *De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis Liber*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 5, p. 48-49 ; Radulfus Cadomensis, *Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 3, p. 664. Hugo Floriacensis, *Modernorum Regum Francorum Actus*, *MGH.SS.*, 9, p. 394. *Chroniques de Zimmern*, éd. H. Hagenmeyer, *AOL*, 2 (1884), p. 92. *Gesta Adhemari episcopi Podiensis*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 5, p. 354. *Chronicon S. Andrea Castri Cameracensii*, *MGH.SS.*, 7, p. 544-545. Gaufredus Grossus, *Vita B. Bernardi de Tironio*, *RHGF*, 9, p. 167. *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, *MGH.SS.*, 34, p. 475, 478. Petrus Diaconus, *Chronica Casinensis*, *MGH.SS.*,7, p. 755, 765.

Maixent en Poitou où Urbain II résida en mars 1096, prêchant la croisade, rapporte que « sur l'ordre du pape, beaucoup d'hommes, nobles et humbles, riches et pauvres, de tous pays [...] partirent pour le Saint Sépulcre » [24]. *L'encyclique* du Pape Serge IV, un faux émanant de l'abbaye de Saint Pierre de Moissac et probablement fabriqué en mai 1096, au cours du séjour qu'y fit Urbain II, fait également référence à la croisade comme destinée à libérer le Saint Sépulcre [25].

Les historiens de la première croisade qui écrivirent pendant la décade qui suivra la délivrance de Jérusalem (15 juillet 1099), présentèrent une interprétation nettement plus complexe des buts de la croisade, ce que J. Riley-Smith définit comme « raffinement théologique » [26]. Cependant, ces historiens attachent aussi une importance particulière à la libération du Saint Sépulcre. Guibert de Nogent rappelle que l'objectif de la croisade était de délivrer « la croix, le sang et le Saint Sépulcre » ; ou bien dans sa version des paroles du pape à Clermont : « si vous considérez que vous devez souffrir de grandes peines pour faire un pèlerinage aux tombeaux (*limina*) des apôtres [à Rome] ou aux tombeaux des autres saints, quelle étendue de l'esprit pouvez-vous refuser pour la délivrance, et pour faire un pèlerinage, à la Croix, au Sang et au Sépulcre » [27] ? Il fait ici allusion à la gloire de Son Sépulcre et à la nécessité de s'assurer qu'il sera purifié de la présence des Gentils [28]. Baudric de Dol cite le pape décrivant le lieu du sépulcre du Seigneur comme précieux et désirable, « un lieu au-delà de toute comparaison » [29]. De même d'autres chroniqueurs de la première croisade, comme Albert d'Aix et l'auteur anonyme de l'*Historia peregrinorum* font référence au but de celle-ci en terme de Saint Sépulcre [30].

La centralité du Saint Sépulcre pour les contemporains de la première croisade était clairement exprimée dans le voeu croisé. Dans une version

24. *Chronicon S. Maxentii Pictavensis, Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou*, éd. P. Marchegay *et al.*, Paris, 1869, p. 412. Cowdrey, « Pope Urban II's Preaching », *op. cit.*, p. 181. Pour l'itinéraire du pape Urbain II en 1095-1096, voir : Bull, *Knightly Pity*, *op. cit.*, p. 256-258.

25. A. Gieysztor, « The Genesis of the Crusades : the encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012) », *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 6 (1950), p. 33-34. Bull, *Knightly Piety*, *op. cit.*, p. 64-66.

26. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 135-152.

27. Guibert de Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur gesta Dei per Francos*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 138.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 138. Pour l'idée de la présence musulmane à Jérusalem comme facteur de pollution des lieux saints chrétiens au moment de la première croisade, voir : Cole, « "O God" », *op. cit.*, p. 84-101.

29. Baudry de Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 13.

30. Albert d'Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 274. *Historia peregrinorum*, *ibid.*, 3, p. 173, 175.

formulée à la veille de la première croisade, le croisé s'efforce de « faire le voyage et de visiter le sépulcre du Seigneur à Jérusalem » [31]. Dans une version plus tardive du XIIe siècle, celle du Bari Pontifical, l'oraison des croisés se mettant en route décrit leur but comme « le lieu où le Seigneur Christ... est né d'une vierge, est mort, a ressuscité et est monté au ciel..."pour adorer l'endroit que ses pieds ont foulé" (Psaumes 132:7) » [32]. Ceci est tout à fait symptomatique de la tendance générale quant au développement du concept de la sainteté de Jérusalem au cours du XIIe siècle, puisqu'elle a été marquée d'un déclin considérable de l'importance accordée au Saint Sépulcre. Durant le XIIe siècle la sainteté de la cité qui, au cours des siècles a totalement dérivé et dépend du Saint Sépulcre, subit une transformation significative. En effet, une nouvelle attitude se développe qui présente le Saint Sépulcre comme le lieu de la Résurrection, au lieu d'être uniquement le lieu du tombeau du Christ. Ensuite, le concept même de la sainteté de Jérusalem se trouve dorénavant considérablement élargi. En cherchant à faire une identification topographique à large échelle des traditions sacrées, ce qui pourrait être appelé la « Géographie Sainte »de la ville sainte s'est enrichie de manière proprement extraordinaire. Jérusalem apparaît désormais dans une perspective nouvelle et entièrement différente, à savoir « la Cité de la Vie du Christ ». Ainsi le rapport pratiquement exclusif de la cité avec le Saint Sépulcre, en tant que site d'inhumation du Christ, est remplacé par un nouveau concept collectif, selon lequel Jérusalem était présentée comme la scène de la vie et la passion du Christ. Le lieu du Saint Sépulcre se transforme principalement en lieu de la résurrection du Christ et l'Eglise du Saint Sépulcre devient « l'Eglise de la Résurrection » [33].

Conclusion

A la suite de la conquête de Jérusalem par les croisés, le concept entier de sa sainteté a subi une transformation significative. Pèlerins et croisés se rendant a Jérusalem à la veille de la première croisade, vinrent *ad limina*, leur

31. J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison, 1969, p. 116-118 et n° 2.

32. K. Pennington, « The Rite for taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century », *Traditio*, 30 (1974), p. 431.

33. Voir Pierre le Vénérable, *Sermo in Laudem Sepulcri Domini*, éd. G. Constable, « Petri Venerabilis Sermones Tres », *Revue bénédictine*, 64 (1954), p. 248-250, 253. Bernardus Claraevalensis, *Opera*, éd. J. Leclercq *et al.*, Rome, 1957-1977, n° 363, p. 311-337 ; n° 458, p. 439 ; n° 521, p. 483. Henry de Strasbourg dans *Historia Peregrinorum*, éd. A. Chroust, *MGH.SS. rer. Germ. N.S.*, 5, p. 123-124. Petrus Blesensis, *Opuscula, PL*, 207, cols. 1058-1070, spécialement cols. 1063, 1070. S. Schein, « Jerusalem in Christian Spirituality in the Crusader Period », dans J. Prawer *et al.* (éds.), *The History of Jerusalem. Crusades and Ayybids (1099-1250)*, Jérusalem, 1991, p. 213-261, (hébreu).

voyage était dirigé vers un lieu saint dont les dimensions étaient liminaires et non géographiques. Les pèlerins et croisés du XIIe siècle, dans leurs pérégrinations vers la ville sainte se rendent à une Jérusalem qui est au centre du monde [34] comme elle est au centre de la *Terra Sancta*, un terme qui, au XIIe siècle remplacera celui de *Loca Sancta* [35]. Pour ces hommes le but était déjà perçu en termes géographiques, comme il l'est démontré *inter alia* par les cartes de Jérusalem datant de cette époque [36]. Ainsi, alors que le Saint Sépulcre, but de la première croisade, éclipse de son éclat la ville même de Jérusalem, celle-ci resurgit désormais, éclipsant le Saint Sépulcre. Pleurant la Jérusalem croisée, Jacques de Vitry la décrit comme suit :

> « La cité des cités, le saint des saints, grande parmi les nations, princesse entre les provinces, dénommée par prérogative spéciale la cité du Grand Roi [*Civitas Dei*]. Elle se tient ainsi qu'au milieu de la terre, au centre du monde, pour que toutes les nations puissent s'écouler en elle (Psaumes 74,12 ; Ezéchiel, 5,5). Elle est la possession des patriarches, la mère nourricière des prophètes, le maître des apôtres, le berceau de notre salut, le pays natal du Seigneur, la mère de la foi alors que Rome est la mère des croyants, elle a été choisie et sanctifiée par Dieu, foulée par Ses Pieds (Psaumes 132,7 ; Zacharie 14,4), elle est honorée par les anges et fréquentée par toutes les nations sous les cieux » [37].

34. Pour Jérusalem comme centre du monde dans la tradition chrétienne voir D. R. French, « Journeys to the Center of the Earth : Medieval and Renaissance Pilgrimages to Mount Calvary », dans B.N. Sargent-Baur (éd.), *Journeys toward God. Pilgrimage and Crusade*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1992, p. 45-81.

35. Ceci a déjà été signalé par C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trad. M.W. Baldwin, W. Goffart, Princeton-N.Y., 1977, p. 300-301.

36. R. Röhricht, « Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert », *ZDPV*, 14 (1891), p. 8-11, 87-92, 137-141 ; 15 (1892), p. 34-39 ; 18 (1895), p. 173-182. Kühnel, *From the Earthly*, *op. cit.*, p. 141-165. M. Levy, « Medieval Maps of Jerusalem », dans *The History of Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 418-506 (hébreu).

37. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, éd. F. Moschus, Douai, 1597, chap. 55, p. 92-93.

James M. POWELL

MYTH, LEGEND, PROPAGANDA, HISTORY : THE FIRST CRUSADE, 1140—ca. 1300

Historical writing was not one of the most popular literary forms in the middle ages. Indeed, despite the impression left by much recent scholarship, the evidence is overwhelming that history was regarded as a minor art [1]. Even the best known and most highly regarded historians are preserved in a

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1. There is a very large and growing literature on medieval historical writing. For the most part, it never addresses the question of the place of history in formal educational programs of the medieval schools. Moreover, it assumes the existence of a significant audience without further investigation. But it is clear from such treatises as the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St. Victor and the *Metalogicon* of John of Salisbury that the modern view of history played little role in contemporary thinking about the past. John has virtually nothing to say about the place of history in the medieval program of studies. Ioannis Saresberiensis, *Metalogicon*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1991 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis, 98), 1, 22, 20, p. 49 ; also, *Metalogicon of John of Salisbury*. ed. D. McGarry, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, p. 63. Hugh of St. Victor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961, is concerned with the place of history in the study of the Bible. Even the very perceptive work of J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories : Studies in the reconstruction of the past*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, seems to take its « point de départ » from the position that links historical writing in the middle ages to modern historical studies. G. Spiegel's position on historical knowledge is not so evident, though she seems to recognize the importance of audience. Cf. her *Romancing the Past : The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in XIII[th] Century France*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993, p. 6, but note her reference to popular demand for historical works on p. 12. At present, there is considerable focus on historiography. The degree to which contemporary historical thought has become inner-directed and disconnected from the « mainstream » is illustrated in a recent article by R. Chartier, « L'histoire entre récit et connaissance », *MLN*, 109 (1994), p. 583-600. Some of his remarks suggest that our assumptions about the place of history in modern culture would benefit from a closer look at the reasons for medieval attitudes toward history.

small number of manuscripts, often no more than five or ten, while moral treatises, theological works, textbooks of grammar and rhetoric, sermons, and legal collections have come down to us in dozens if not, on occasion, hundreds of manuscripts [2]. Among crusade chronicles, those of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre are among the most important and best known, but neither survives in more than fifteen manuscripts, while the sermons of Pope Innocent III are preserved in over sixty.

Our view of the place of historical writing in medieval society has too often ignored the relationships between content and audience in the explanation of these texts. Perhaps the great popularity of historical writing in the modern period, induced in part by the rise of romanticism in the XVIII[th] and XIX[th] centuries and the consequent development of a popular audience for history, quite often anchored in patriotic myth or partisan polemic, has misled scholars concerning the place of history in the pre-modern era. Though the middle ages and the renaissance certainly generated major events and controversies that stimulated historical discussion, efforts to use historical evidence to increase understanding of these issues only gradually assumed

2. I have recently addressed this issue in my essay on « Albertanus of Brescia and his Audience », to be published with *acta* of the conference on Albertanus of Brescia, « Progetto Radici », 1995. The question of the number of surviving manuscripts of a work is a somewhat elusive criterion for the size of the audience, but combined with other factors, such as the dedication of the work, its citation by other authors, and the degree of its influence in its own times, it is useful. Among historians of the crusades, one of the most popular works was certainly that of Fulcher of Chartres. The edition in RHC. Occ., 3, lists eleven manuscripts. In his edition, H. Hagenmeyer listed eight manuscripts of the first recension of Fulcher's history, and seven of the second : *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1913, p. 91-104. It should be noted that quite often Fulcher's text was found with other crusade narratives. The *Liber* de Raimond d'Aguilers, ed. J. and L. Hill, Paris, Geuthner, 1969, lists seven manuscripts. For the chronicle of Albert of Aix, Peter Knoch lists fourteen manuscripts, not all complete. P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen : Der erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik*, Stuttgart, Klett, 1966, p. 14-28. Perhaps the most important crusade source from the XII[th] century is the chronicle of William of Tyre. It is certainly worth noting that R. Huygens was able to find only ten manuscripts on which to base his recent critical edition of Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, 63), 63, 3-31. We should also note that William addressed his work to the members of the upper clergy : *venerabilibus in Christo fratribus*..., *ibid*., 32. There are only seven manuscripts used in R. Hill's edition of the *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. XXXVIII-XLII, just two more than Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1890, p. 92-96, located for his edition. Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos*, seems to have come down in at least seven manuscripts (*AOL*, 1, 72). Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* is found in seven. There are only three manuscripts of Gunther of Pairis's *Historia*. These figures do not begin to compare with the sixty plus manuscripts of Pope Innocent III's Sermons or the several hundred manuscripts of his *De miseria humanae Conditionis*, the more than four hundred manuscripts of the various treatises of Albertanus of Brescia, or the myriad copies of legal and theological texts, not to mention the works of such Fathers as St. Augustine.

limited prominence, a point illustrated in the political and religious debates of the XVI[th] century.

In the pre-reformation period, historical evidence played a less significant role in the lengthy debates over the reform of the church, for example, than arguments drawn from theology and the Bible. This does not mean that educated people in the middle ages, as some specialists in the early modern period have been prone to suggest, did not possess a sense of the difference between past and present [3]. This line of thought seems to be based exclusively on a comparison of formal historical writings from the middle ages with those of more recent periods rather than a broadly-conceived examination of medieval attitudes toward the past [4]. The present paper seeks to remedy this neglect by showing through a study of the references to the First Crusade found in various kinds of writing in the second half of the XII[th] and the XIII[th] centuries that the uses of the past varied to some degree depending on the audience for whom they were intended.

Much formal historical writing was the work of ecclesiastics and was aimed at members of the hierarchy or the lay aristocracy. These writers had a deep regard for the past grounded in salvation history, as well as an understanding of the works of ancient writers both Classical and Biblical [5]. It was, in fact, this regard that made them reluctant to alter the record of the past as they had received it. Otto of Freising expressed their understanding of the way in which the historical record was composed when he said in the *Gesta Friderici I* : « For it is said to have been the custom of the ancients that those who had perceived with their senses the actual events as they took place should be the ones to write about them » [6]. Thus, it was not failure to under-

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3. See P. Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, London, Edward Arnold, 1969, p. 1-20. For a very good discussion of this view, see J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, *op. cit.*, p. 562-7.

4 *Ibid*, p. 288-290. A.H. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages : The Relations Between Religion, Church, and Society*, Grand Rapids-Michigan, Eerdmans, 1987, p. 57-60.

5. J. Riley-Smith has written extensively on the theological view of the crusades in *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986, p. 135-155, esp. p. 154, where he says in part : « Urban's message had been distorted and popularized, and also greatly developed, in the traumas of the crusade, but the result was too rough to be of much use to the Church without some theological restatement, especially when one remembers that most churchmen were probably more conservative in their views on Christian violence than the extreme reformers ». On the distinction of ecclesiastical and aristocratic historians, see W.J. Brandt, *The Shape of Medieval History*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966. Brandt, it seems to me, did not place sufficient emphasis on the theology of history.

6. *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, 3[rd] ed., Hannover, Hahn, 1913 (Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum, 46), 2:41, 9-18 ; the

stand the past, but a profound regard for the past that shaped the construction of medieval historical narratives. These writers often incorporated the narratives of past epochs *verbatim* into their own work. We should note, however, that, where they possessed conflicting accounts, in the absence of research libraries, they acted on the basis of limited knowledge and access, often making use of manuscripts in which several crusade narratives were collected [7]. This obstacle has been one factor that has caused modern scholars to label them as uncritical. This view has also ignored their importance as interpreters of history, perceived as the working out of the divine plan for humankind, in the context of their own age. While this approach had the effect of subordinating historical events to theological interpretations, it still left considerable room for the study of human actions in themselves. In this the Bible carried more weight than the Classics, but despite this subordination, they did recognize the past as different from the present and the future [8]. This led them to preserve the available record of the past, increasingly harmonising conflicting accounts where these were known and available, but chiefly making a record of their own times as a didactic model for the future.

Their purpose was entirely consistent with their understanding of history. Their audience was, and would remain for a long time in the future, rather small. They dedicated their historical works, to the extent that we can determine, to secular rulers, bishops, abbots, and other members of the ruling aristocracy [9]. These writings were not intended for the general circulation

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translation is from *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C. Mierow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 159.

7. For a number of examples, cf. the descriptions of manuscripts in *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia*, *op. cit.*, p. 92-104.

8. The relationship between history and Sacred Scripture is quite evident in the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St. Victor. He singles out those books of the Old Testament and the New Testament that are important for history, Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, op. cit.*, p. 137. And, further, « The foundation and principle of sacred learning, however, is history. from which, like honey from the honeycomb, the truth of allegory is extracted », *ibid.*, p. 138. The basis for the theology of history lay, therefore, in this relationship. Here, however, we may suggest that allegory refers also to interpretation in a sense closer to our own meaning than we have tended to recognize. See also the crusade sermon of John of Abbeville : *Et ita anima mea pre dolore, scilicet, ad mentis similitudinem cere que liquescit ad ignem, sic et deceret ut nos non solum memores sed memoria memores essemus, memorantes non solum hystoriam sed allegoriam, sicut dicitur: **Qui audit audiat.** Qui audit sensum litteralem audiat et misticum. Sicut enim cum populus oblitus esset legis nature Dominus ut eam revocaret ad memoriam legem scripsit in tabulis, sic hodie Dominus captiri permisit terrenam Ierusalem ut nobis insinuarit captivitatem Ierusalem spiritualis, scilicet, ecclesie...* ». The subordination of history is here made very clear. P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, Cambridge-Massachusetts, The Medieval Academy of America, 1991, p. 224.

9. The letter which Willelmus Grassegals wrote in presenting a copy of Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana* to King Louis VII of France contains the following : *Ego Willelmus Grassegals nomine, Vallavensis patria, miles officio, ecclesiae Beatae Mariae*

that characterized those genres whose manuscripts now fill our great libraries. This limitation of audience affected the mode of address and the didactic aims of the works. But it also ensured that their chief emphasis was on their own times .[10].

Historical writing on the crusades offers a valuable opportunity to study the place of the past in medieval culture. Study of the manner in which contemporaries at various levels of society learned about the crusade and an examination of what these different groups knew provides an insight into various uses of the past, as well as suggesting ways in which our own analysis of these sources might profit from a better understanding of their contemporary meaning and context.

In the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade, not only were several eye-witness narratives written, but other authors, caught up in the fever of the moment, were inspired to prepare accounts based on those of eye-witnesses or on personal testimony of participants. The period for the production of such histories was, however, rather short. By the mid XII[th] century, the historical image of the First Crusade was beginning to resonate in a broader audience that had little access to the genre of formal historical writings. The creation of a vernacular and poetic genre based on this historical tradition is evident in the appearance of the earliest version of the *Chanson d'Antioche* around 1140 [11]. Thus, by the time of the second crusade, an historical image of the First Crusade was beginning to take shape in both formal historical writing and in other kinds of sources. The way in which the crusade entered public consciousness is illustrated by the following example from this period. Bishop Henry of Winchester, in a plea to Brian Fitzcount, an important supporter of Queen Matilda of England, to switch his allegiance from her to King Stephen, charged that : « Because you always look back to these matters which are in the past, you are less likely to avoid the obstacle that you have in front of you ». Brian responded by reminding the bishop that he himself and the other bishops had earlier supported Matilda and that

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Aniciensis devotus aedificio, et supradictae victoria in Domino glorians adfuissse beneficio, domine Lodovice, rex Francorum gloriosissime, nec non Aquitaniae dux victoriosissime, tibi presentare proposui: quatenus in eo, velut in speculo, tuorum majorum imagines, Ugonis videlicet Magni atque Rotberti Flandrensis comitis et aliorum, rationis oculis intuearis, eorumque vestigia passibus virtutum sequaris, RHC. Occ., 3, 317. This manuscript, formerly in the abbey of St. Victor in Paris, now Paris. BN, Lat. 14378, has been discussed by Hagenmeyer, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia, op. cit.*, p. 92-3, where he points out that, in addition to Fulcher's *Historia* (f. 5-113b), it also contains Walter the Chancellor's *Historia Antiochena* (114a-160b), and Raimond d'Aguilers, *Historia* (160b-233b). Obviously, these were meant to inform King Louis VII regarding the past history of the crusades.

10. A. Bredero, *Christendom, op. cit.*, p. 60.

11. *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Dupard-Quioc, Paris, Geuthner, 1977-1978, 2 vols. The earliest version seems to date from the period around 1145.

Brian was following their advice just as those, including Henry's own father, Count Stephen of Blois, who had ventured on the First Crusade had « acted on the command of the pope », and established Godfrey of Bouillon as a « good and legal king » [12]. The precedent for support of Matilda thus found an historical basis in the First Crusade.

12. The letter of Brian Fitzcount was written to Bishop Henry of Winchester ca. 1142-3. He responds to Henry's accusation that he has disobeyed the bishops in not switching his allegiance from Matilda to Stephen and that he has been too mindful of the past, that is, his obligations to Henry I and his daughter : « ... be mindful of the wife of Lot, who looking back was turned to a pillar of salt. Because you always look back to these matters which are in the past, you are less likely to avoid the obstacle you have in front of you, and for this reason you can fall more quickly » [... *memorem esse uxoris Loth que respiciens in statuam salis conversa est. Dum semper ad ea que retro sunt respicitis, offendiculum quod pre oculis habetis minus cavetis, eoque corruere potestis*]. Brian responds : « You mention the first man who sinned because he did not obey. About this, I have responded to you. Now again you raise the story of Lot and his wife. I have never seen them and I have not known their city, and we have not been contemporaries. But I have heard it said that an angel ordered them to leave the city in which they lived and not look back, and because his wife looked back she was changed to a statue. But I have never been commanded not to look back. And, in fact, I ought to look back to the commands of Holy Church so that, by remembering these matters which are commanded to me, I may avoid the opposites. For, you also, who are a prelate of the Holy Church, have ordered me to adhere to the daughter of King Henry, your uncle, and to help her to acquire her right, which was taken from her by force, and to keep what she now has. I look back not only to your command, but I take to myself also the worthy acts of our illustrious ancestors. For when Pope Urban came to Tours with the council of clergy from this side of the Alps and by God's command spoke to the people about the city of Jerusalem, which the pagans [*allophili*] possessed, and at her gates, they secretly beat, despoiled, and killed the arriving Christian pilgrims. Whoever might undertake what had been deliberated and from what reason they might be motivated, he promised them, as the pope has the right, indulgence and absolution of all their crimes. Therefore, many nobles and powerful men were persuaded by the Apostolic edict, they changed their castles, cities, wives and children and their great honors for the pilgrimage. Just as Count Stephen, your father, Count Robert of Normandy, Raimond, Count of St. Gilles, Bohemond, Count Robert of Flanders, Count Eustace of Boulogne, Duke Godfrey, and other rich and excellent knights. And you know that those counts were not like the Count of Moyon. For because I look back to such men, who acted on the command of the pope, who left so much, who also conquered Jerusalem by armed attack like good knights, and established there a good and legal king, by name Godfrey ; and because I look back to your command to aid the daughter of Henry as I could ; I do not there fear any obstacle when the command of holy church sustains me » [*Mentionem facitis de primo homine qui peccavit eo quod obedientiam non tenuit. De hoc respondi vobis. Modo iterum de Loth et uxore sua mecum agitis. Quos nunquam vidi neque novi civitatem eorum, nec in uno tempore fuimus. Audivi tamen dicere quod Angelus precepit eis egredi civitatem qua manserant ne respicerent, et quia mulier respexit in statuam salis mutata fuit. Michi autem nunquam preceptum fuit quod [non] respicerem. Debeoque bene respicere ad precepta Sancte Ecclesie ut, recordando ea que michi sunt precepta, evitem contraria. Nam et vosmet, qui estis prelatus Sancte Ecclesie, precepistis mihi filie Regis Henrici avunculi vestri adherere et eam auxiliari rectum suum acquirere, quod vi aufertur ei, et hoc quod modo habet retinere. Nec solum ad preceptum vestrum respicio sed antecessorum nostrorum illustrium dignos actus ad exemplum etiam mihi sumo. Cum enim Papa Urbanus venisset Turonem cum clero citroalpino concilio et precepto Dei populum affatus est de civitate*

Following the failure of the Second Crusade, we might have expected historians to attempt a re-assessment of the movement in which they would reflect on the reasons for the success of the First Crusade. But such was not the case. That task was left mostly to others, the outstanding example being St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose re-assessment was drawn entirely in theological terms [13]. The principal crusade historian of the later XIIth century, William of Tyre, does indeed provide an account of the First Crusade as well as its successor [14]. But, in the case of the former, he revealed his commitment to established tradition as modified by his XIIth century contemporaries, editing eye-witness and earlier accounts for his purpose, while for the second crusade, he clearly reflected the line taken by Bernard and others that explained its failure in terms of Christian moral inadequacy [15]. He did not attempt to explain it in the context of past experience. For him, as for most

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Ierusalem, quam allophili possidebant ; ad cuius ianuas Christianos peregrinos latenter advenientes verberabant, dispoliabant, occidebant. Ad quod deliberandum quicumque movissent, et ex quo movissent, veniam et absolucionem omnium criminum suorum, sicut pape licet, eis spondebat. Multi igitur nobiles et strenui viri edicto Apostolica commoti sunt, castraque sua et civitates et uxores et liberos et magnos honores peregrinatione [commu]taverunt. Sicut Stephanus comes, pater vester, Comes Robertus Normannie, Comes Sancti Egidii Remmundus, Boamundus, Robertus Comes Flandrie, Comes Eustachius Boleniensis, Dux Godefridus, et plures alii optimi milites et divites. Et sciatis quod isti comites non fuerunt similes Comiti de Moyon. Dum enim ad tales et tantos respicio, qui preceptum Pape fecerunt, qui sua tot et tanta reliquerunt, qui etiam Ierusolimam armis et assultu sicut boni milites conquisierunt, regemque bonum et legalem, nomine Godefridum, ibidem statuerunt ; dumque ad preceptum vestrum respicio filiam Henrici ad posse meum auxiliando ; non illic timeo offendiculum ubi me sustinet Sancte Ecclesie mandatum], H.W.C. Davis, « Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count », *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), p. 297-303. This clever response incidentally sheds important light on the way in which the First Crusade was perceived in the 1140s. I am very grateful to Paul Hyams for this citation.

13. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five Books on Consideration*, tr. J. Anderson, E. Kennan, Kalamazoo-Michigan, Cistercian Publications, 1976, p. 47-52. See also his letter, number 399, in *The Letters of Bernard of Clairvaux*, tr. B. Scott James, Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953, p. 470-472. Also, Otto of Freising, *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, *op. cit.*, 1, 65, p. 91-3 ; also, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, *op. cit.*, p. 103-6. Otto writes : « And yet, if we say that the holy abbot was inspired by the spirit of God to arouse us, but that we, by reason of our pride and arrogance not observing the salutary commandments, have deservedly suffered loss of property and persons, it would not be at variance with logical processes or with ancient examples ; although it is also true that the spirit of the prophets does not always accompany the prophets ».

14. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, vol. 1, p. 28-37, esp. p. 29. « For the First Crusade he clearly used the written accounts of the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, as well as Raimond d'Aguilers, Walter the Chancellor, Fulcher of Chartres, and Albert of Aix ». The fact that he had so many accounts on which to draw underscores the need to examine carefully his principle of selection in their use. See below, n. 18, for the discussion of his account of the Holy Lance.

15. On Bernard, cf. n. 13. P. Edbury, J. Rowe, *William of Tyre*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 159.

historians of the crusade, the theology of history possessed an essential meaning, while readers in search of practical advice could draw on the distilled product of earlier narratives, whose lessons were evident from the description of the events themselves [16].

Does this then mean that the relation of past experience to the meaning of the crusade was not discussed and argued over in any serious way ? We know that this was not the case. Such discussions went on all the time. They are reflected in historical narratives as well as in letters, sermons, poems, and treatises of various sorts, such as Ranulf Niger's *De Re Militari*, composed around 1187 or 1188 [17]. When, however, these views intruded on contemporary narratives of the crusades, there was seldom an appeal to the past beyond the experience of the narrator [18]. The limits of historical experience were defined by the direct knowledge of the author, very often cast against the backdrop of salvation history. An exception is found in the chronicle of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, who, in discussing the election of a Latin Emperor of Constantinople in 1204, puts these words in the mouth of one of the barons [19] :

> « Lords, if we elect one of these two great men, the other will be so filled with envy that he will take away with him all of his people. And then the land that we have won may be lost, just as the land of Jerusalem came nigh to be lost when, after it had been conquered, Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king, and the Count of St. Giles became so fulfilled with envy that he enticed the other barons, and whomsoever he could, to abandon the host ».

On the whole, however, formal historical writing occupied a distinctive and very different place in the formation of opinion regarding the crusade from that which modern scholarship has been led by its own view of history to expect.

But there was also a place for arguments based on historical evidence outside of the formal historical narratives. The literary genre that may well provide the best evidence for this development as a tool in the shaping of policy by the ruling class was the letter, especially letters which served as crusade propaganda, aimed at royalty and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. One important example furnishes important insights for the understanding of the

16. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

17. Radulphus Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimatane*, ed. L. Schmugge, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1977, p. 68-74.

18. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, *op. cit.*, p. 294-300.

19. Geoffrey Villehardouin and Jean de Joinville, *Memoirs of the Crusades*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1958, p. 67.

historical meaning of the First Crusade [20]. In *Quantum predecessores*, composed by Pope Eugenius III and reissued by Pope Alexander III, we meet a conscious effort to present in the *arenga* a brief outline of the history of the First Crusade [21].

> « How our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, worked for the liberation of the Eastern Church, we have learned in the account of the ancients as we have found it written in their *gesta*. For our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Urban, sounded out like a horn and took care to solicit the sons of the Roman Church for the deliberation of this affair from diverse parts of the world. At his summons, Ultramontane warriors, and especially the brave and doughty men of the Frankish kingdom, as well as those of Italy, consumed by the ardor of charity, came together, so that, after a very large army had been gathered, with divine help as their companion, they could free that city, in which our Savior desired to suffer for us, and left behind for us his glorious sepulcher as a memorial, as well as several others, which we refrain from mentioning in order to avoid prolixity. And by God's grace and the desire of your fathers, who wanted to defend them through the intervening time and to spread the Christian name in those parts by their efforts, they were held even up to our day by Christians, and other cities were manfully conquered by them ».

In the version sent by Eugenius to King Louis VII of France, the pope continued with an account of the loss of Edessa. Alexander's version provides a similar account, revised to take into consideration the failure of the Second Crusade and of the efforts of Eugenius. He then proceeds to describe the most recent emergency. The enemy is at the very gates of Antioch. Here, historical context, shaped by salvation history, provides an explanation of the necessity for the crusade summons. *Quantum predecessores* makes specific allusion to earlier *gesta*, suggesting that papal historiography preserved an interpretation of the crusade. It therefore supports the view that such writings did have a direct impact on the shaping of an historical vision of the crusade movement among the elites and on the formulation of papal crusade policy.

The result is a well-developed historical rationale for the crusades. Moreover, the view of the crusade presented by Eugenius suggests that a process of historical criticism has taken place in which certain elements,

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20. U. Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV*, Berlin, Ebering, 1937, p. 38-49 ; p. 74-5 and 76-80.

21. For the text of *Quantum Predecessores* issued by Pope Eugenius III (December 1, 1145), see also *PL*, 180, 1064-6 ; for the version issued by Pope Alexander III on July 14, 1165, see *PL*, 200, 384-6.

such as the liberation of the Eastern Church, have been given an especialy visible role. While this argument had figured prominently in the message delivered by Pope Urban II at Clermont, it now has an even more central role in the mind of Eugenius. It helps to link the crusade to the fulfilment of the biblical account of salvation. There can be little doubt, moreover, that policy considerations arising from papal goals to improve relations with the eastern churches were significant in this shift in emphasis. The past thereby served to support a developing crusade agenda[22].

If modern historians have been guilty of seeking answers in the histories of the crusades that they cannot give, they have usually ignored the ways in which the diverse audiences to which various kinds of sources were directed influenced each group's vision of the crusade. To put the matter simply, historical narratives operated on a different level than did the making of popular images of the past, which occupied not merely a topography of history but one populated by myth and legend as well. These latter elements were only introduced into formal narratives as alien intrusions, which sometimes even evoked a certain skepticism from the authors themselves[23]. Other genres, such as sermons, were more receptive to them. By the late

22 There is a sketch of Eugenius's efforts in H.K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, London, Kegan Paul, 1902-1932, vol. 9, p. 139-47. W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, Berlin: Behr, 1903, p. 91 discusses the efforts of the Comneni to promote ecce-siastical unity.

23. Perhaps one of the most detailed and moving examples of this attitude is found in the story of the finding of the Holy Lance as described by Fulcher of Chartres. He tells us that the finding of the lance, shortly after the capture of Antioch was received with disbelief by Bishop Adhemar of LePuy. It was this refusal on the part of many to accept the lance as genuine that led to the trial of the man who found it by ordeal by fire. He failed, and Fulcher concludes : *Et quia ob honorem et amorem Dei omnes lanceam illam venerati fuerant, hoc iudicio sic peracto, contristati valde remanserunt increduli, qui prius extiterant huius rei creduli. comes tamen Raimundus diu eam postea servavit* [« And since everyone had venerated the lance for the honor and love of God, when the ordeal was over those who formerly believed in it were incredulous and very sad. Nevertheless, Count Raymond preserved it for a long time afterward »], *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia, op. cit.*, I, 18, 5, p. 240-1 ; English translation : Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, tr. F.R. Ryan, ed. H. Fink, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1969, I, 18, 5. The account found in Raimond of Aguilers, differs from that of Fulcher in several respects, but perhaps most notably, in naming Arnulf of Choques as the person responsible for challenging the authenticity of the lance and claiming that he did so because Duke Robert of Normandy was jealous of Count Raymond, and in maintaining that Peter Bartholmew, the man who found the lance, came through the fire of the ordeal « to all appearances » unscathed, only to die of unknown causes a few days later. What seems evident is that the theology of history that informed the account by Raimond of Aguilers played an important role in shaping his interpretation of the finding of the Holy Lance. *Liber* de Raimond d'Aguilers, *op. cit.*, p. 120-124. It is interesting that William of Tyre follows Raimond's account, although he was familiar with that of Fulcher of Chartres. Willielmus Tyrensis, I, 23. Was this a conscious preference for an account that accorded better with the view of the crusade as part of salvation history ?

XII[th] and early XIII[th] centuries, there existed a view of the First Crusade embodied in the original narratives and a few later adaptations, most notably in William of Tyre and Roger of Wendover, that was directed to potential leaders of the crusade movement, and a more flexible body of images living in poetry, sermons, letters, and treatises that could be molded to contemporary arguments aimed at a broader range of audiences than the narratives. Much of this writing has justly been classified as propaganda, since it stems from sources aimed directly at influencing opinion, but use of that term only with reference to these writings tends to obscure the very real role that propaganda also played in formal historical writings, which in this period were aimed at influencing the views of the elites [24]. The propaganda contained in historical accounts generally differed in form from that contained in other sources that were aimed at a non-literate audience.

A few examples will illustrate this argument. The first is from Ambroise, who has preserved a description how Hugh of Burgundy had a nasty little song critical of Richard Lionheart's failure to regain Jerusalem composed. And Richard in turn had a song written about those who « vilify him in their spite and perfidy... » [25]. Ambroise continues :

> « No good song ever shall acclaim
> People so false and lost to shame ;
> Nor shall their efforts please the Lord,
> As it had once before occurred,
> When Antioch was besieged, and when
> By force t'was entered by our men,
> To whom God gave the victory—
> 'Tis still retold in history—
> By Bohemond and Tancred, too,
> Both pilgrims excellent and true,
> Along with Godfrey de Bouillon,
> And high princes of great renown,
> And other folk who went and served
> The Lord and from this task ne'er swerved,
> And for this service diligent
> God gave reward to their content :
> He lifted up their works on high

24. P. Edbury, J. Rowe, *William of Tyre*, *op. cit.*, p. 130-150. See, also, N. Freeman Regaldo, *Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf ; A Study in Non-courtly Poetic Modes of the Thirteenth Century*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970, p. 39-54.

25. Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, p. 393. Also translated into English prose by E. Noble Stone, *Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades*, Seattle, University of Washington, 1939 (University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, 10), p. 141.

And oft was pleased to magnify
Them and the children of their race,
Who still hold great and lofty place ».

Rutebeuf's « La nouvelle complainte d'Outremer », written about 1273, takes a somewhat similar approach to the First Crusade in the following lines [26]:

> « Master of the Holy Land and of France, Master of the Temple by the power of God, Brother William of Beaujeu, now you are going to see the fine game to which the world is devoted. Men do not care to serve God in order to conquer Paradise like the upright men of the past, Godfrey, Bohemond, and Tancred ».

This invocation of the heroes of the First Crusade reflects the type of historical appeal that was made to the knightly classes, one that stemmed ultimately from the epic tradition and found a historical meaning when applied to the crusade. This use of the past is closely related to arguments found in other kinds of sources. Such appeals reveal the intimate relationship that existed between historical interpretation and the concept of a heroic age found in the epics and romances [27]. In sermon literature, such historical allusions were often the stuff of exempla. Penny Cole provides an interesting example from a sermon of Martin of Pairis, who preached the Fourth Crusade [28]. Martin, she tells us, uses the example of Godfrey of Bouillon and his companions to persuade his audience to go on crusade. The linkage with similar usage in poetry is obvious. What is interesting, however, is the man-

26. Rutebeuf, *Onze poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant la croisade*, ed. J. Bastin, E. Faral, Paris, Geuthner, 1946, p. 129 .

Maistre, d'outremeir et de France,
Dou Temple, par la Dieu poissance,
Frere Guilaume de Biaugeu,
Or poeiz veioir le biau geu
De quoi li siecle seit servir.
Il n'ont cure d'eaus asservir
Pour conquerre saint paradis,
Com li preudome de jadiz,
Godefroiz, Buemons, et Tancreiz.

For a translation into modern French, see Rutebeuf, *Poésies*, ed. J. Dufournet, Paris, H. Champion, 1977, p. 57.

27. W T.H. Jackson, *The Literature of the Middle Ages*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1960, p. 80-159. For a more extensive discussion, see Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, *op. cit.*, p 152-159. I do not, however, concur in all of her views.

28. P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, *op. cit.*, p. 93-96, esp. p. 95 ; also, J.M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986, p. 58-63.

ner in which this argument takes on a more fully-developed historical character :

> « In those days, Martin explains, the infidel had occupied all of the Holy Land unopposed for forty years. Yet unmoved by this and strengthened by God's favor, Godfrey quickly won a stunning victory, which brought the return of Nicaea, Iconium, Antioch, Tripolis, Jerusalem, and other cities to Christian authority ».

Sermons, in fact, lent themselves particularly well to certain types of historical arguments, appealing to popular memory of heroic figures and enshrouding them with legend. In this way, the historical image that emerged provided a link between popular epic tradition and the theological interpretation of salvation history. It is especially interesting to note the manner in which the figure of Godfrey, often in conjunction with Bohemond, emerges in heroic proportions in this writing, reflecting the epic character that has been attached to the heroes of the First Crusade [29]. Later in the XIIIth century, the Dominican, Humbert of Romans, recognized the importance of such images and advised crusade preachers to make effective use of them [30]. Sermons and poems were aimed not merely at the lay aristocracy but also at those of lower rank, who looked to the elites for inspiration, as is very evident from what we know about the Peasants' Crusade. In addition, the kind of problems dealt with in the sermons suggests the obstacles to crusading raised by the circumstances of ordinary knights and members of the small urban aristocracies. The view of the crusades presented to them is very much tailored to their viewpoint. Emphasis is on rewards for participation and on the overcoming of obstacles. Martyrdom and sacrifice form motives for going. History serves to point up the success of the First Crusade and to list its heroes, thus providing a link to the heroic past. Such an approach, which exists even today among those who stress the ties between history and patriotism, demonstrates the very basic appeal of such motivation.

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29. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, it is evident that the figure of Godfrey is beginning to emerge as one of the leading crusaders along with Bohemond. This trend continues throughout the XIIth century and is also evident in the *Chronicle of Reims*, in *Three Old French Chronicles*, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

30. P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, *op. cit.*, p. 205, 209. Again, in the sermons, it is interesting to note how Godfrey of Bouillon emerges as one of the principal heroes of the crusade, while the figure of Raymond of St. Gilles recedes. The historical foundation would seem most likely to be based on Godfrey's role as first ruler of the Jerusalem, but that does not account for the tendency to link him with Bohemond and Tancred, rather than other leaders. This linkage suggests the impact of later forces in the making of legendary heroes.

The practical applications of previous historical experience are often subordinated to the theology of history, which had an appeal to all levels of society since it is found in sources directed to all kinds of audiences. Jonathan Riley-Smith has demonstrated that theological interpretations of the First Crusade were formulated in its immediate aftermath. These same arguments continued to appear in later writings, though the disaster of the Second Crusade ushered in refinements of the theme that God was the author of victory that were aimed at showing how failure resulted when Christians did not measure up to divine expectations. Quite obviously, the kind of historical argumentation that informs modern definitions of history did not occupy the same place in the thought of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries that it came to hold in the lay historiography of the XVIth century [31]. For earlier writers, especially those composing accounts after the events, the crusade had to be integrated into a coherent vision of the past provided by salvation history. The priorities of the clerics who were most involved in writing about the crusades were formed within this vision of history and it was against this backdrop that they saw its meaning. This does not mean, however, that they had no understanding of human forces, of causality, accident, and the differing circumstances of different periods. Clearly, they did.

But these elements were for them subordinate to their theological vision. The two views were not, however, in direct competition. The content of the histories of the crusades and the manner in which they were subsequently used confirms the view that they were written for a very small audience, composed of those who would assume leading roles in the crusade. The types of arguments presented in these sources were those that represented the viewpoints of this group, at least as perceived by the authors of these works. They were not aimed at a larger audience with a view to stimulating mass participation in the crusades. That role was left to other kinds of works that presented popular heroic images for historical motivation.

There is, however, evidence of a development in the manner in which history was being written, which, while not unique to the crusade narratives, suggests the increasing appeal of historical arguments in the XIIth century. It is evident that use made by elite groups of the *gesta* stimulated interest in historical writing. At the same time, some efforts were made to incorporate relevant narratives of previous crusades. In William of Tyre's history, the process of harmonization of earlier accounts that was fashionable in secular

31. I have discussed the development of lay culture in « Crisis and Culture in Renaissance Europe », *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 12 (1984), p. 201-224. In that essay, I suggested that too much emphasis had been given to « ideological » explanations of the development of secular culture and insufficient attention paid to the impact of broad structural changes in society, views which owed much to the work of the late David Herlihy.

histories such as that of William of Newburgh influenced his writing. It may be that the harmonizing influence of scholasticism that was so important in reshaping theology and law was also having an impact on historical writing. But clearly the result was far from satisfactory, given the lack of access to the sources needed to carry out such a task. Crusade historiography thus illustrates the difficulties that impeded the development of formal historical narratives based on a critical reading of earlier texts even as it illumines the complexity of medieval thinking about the past.

A.T. JOTISCHKY

ST GERARD OF CSANÁD AND THE CARMELITES : Apocryphal Sidelights on the First Crusade

The contemporary narratives of the First Crusade are so rich in detail and have been so comprehensively studied that it might be considered otiose to introduce to the field a further source that is neither contemporary nor even ostensibly about crusading at all. The life of Gerard, a Venetian who became bishop of Csanád in Hungary and was martyred in an anti-Christian riot in 1046, has attracted periodic attention because of the exoticism of the subject and the complexities of dating the composite accounts of his career [1]. Crusader historians have until now found little to interest them in this account of evangelism, monastic practice and pagan reaction in Central Europe in the first half of the XI[th] century. Some elements in the narrative of Gerard's life,

1. R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, p. 52-53, saw Gerard as a link between the west and the frontiers of Christendom. Most discussions of Gerard have been based on an appraisal of the worth of the two narrative sources of his life, the *vita minor* and *vita major* : see C.A. Macartney, « Studies on the Earliest Hungarian Historical Sources », *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis*, 4 (1938), p. 456-507 ; *Id.*, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1953, p. 152-161 ; F. Banfi, « Vita di S. Gerardo da Venezia nel codice 1622 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova », *Benedictina*, 2 (1948), p. 262-330, with an edition of the *vita maior* ; E. Pasztor, « Problemi di datazione della *Legenda maior S. Gerhardi episcopa* », *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano per il medio evo*, 73 (1961), p. 113-140 ; Z.J. Kostztolnyik, « The Importance of Gerard of Csanád as the First Author in Hungary », *Traditio*, 25 (1969), p. 376-386 ; J. Leclercq, « Saint Gerard de Csanád et le monachisme », *Studia Monastica*, 13 (1971), p. 13-30 ; Z.J. Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings : Their Policies and Their Relations with Rome*, Boulder, 1981 (East European Monographs, 79), p. 14-72. For literature in Hungarian, see Kosztolnyik, « The Importance of Gerard », *op. cit.*, p. 377, n. 2.

however, clearly relate to crusading concerns : the question of monastic participation in crusading and pilgrimage, the relations between Latins and Greeks and the wider definition of crusading.

Even so, Gerard would merit no more than a footnote to the history of the first crusade, were it not for the fortuitous rediscovery of Gerard by the Carmelites in the later Middle Ages. Carmelite historians, developing a legendary of saints as part of the reconstruction of their supposed antiquity, found Gerard's *vita* a vehicle for extending the history of their order. Gerard's career was thus retrospectively transformed, but more rigidly tied to the narrative of the crusade.

The date of the accounts of Gerard's life has been thoroughly examined, and although no consensus has been reached, sufficient arguments have been advanced to show that the *vita minor* dates from around the time of the first crusade, but only summarises an earlier lost account, while the *vita maior*, though in its present form a XIVth-century compilation, includes elements that may be contemporary with Gerard's life and others that were probably composed in the first quarter of the XIIth century [2]. The following discussion is based largely on the *vita maior*, because its composite nature raises the very issues of the construction of historical narrative that were to attract the Carmelites to the figure of Gerard at the end of the Middle Ages.

The story of Gerard in the *vita maior* runs something like this. Gerard was placed as an oblate in the monastery of St George in Venice, probably around the year 1000 [3]. As a professed monk, he was dissuaded by his abbot, Rasina, from making the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Rasina argued that pilgrimages to Jerusalem were inappropriate for monks, and that he would do better to go to preach to the Jews and Saracens – or, indeed, to a country like Hungary, where a Christian king was making strenuous attempts to convert his people [4]. Gerard set off overland on an evangelizing mission to the Holy Land, but never reached it. Rasina's words about Hun-

2. Macartney, « Studies », *op. cit.*, p. 456-507. Pasztor, following this thesis, noted elements of the vita maior that related to issues thrown up by the first crusade ; Kosztolnyik and Leclercq, however, regard the *vita minor*, of which a XIIth-century manuscript survives, as the more important source. The Bollandist I. Stilting printed the *vita minor* in *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept VI, 722-27. The *vita maior*, printed from a XVth-century manuscript, was edited by E. Madzsar in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. Szentpetery, 2 vols, Budapest, 1937-1938, II, p. 480-506. Banfi's edition of the *vita maior*, « Vita di S. Gerardo », *op. cit.*, p. 288-318, is based on a XVth-century manuscript that differs in few essentials from the SRH. My discussion is based on Banfi's edition.

3. Banfi, « Vita di S. Gerardo » [henceforth = VG], *op. cit.*, p. 288. See also Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings*, *op. cit.*, p. 14-55.

4. VG, p. 289-93.

gary proved to be prophetic, for Gerard was detained here by order of King Stephen, and appointed tutor to his son. After the boy's death Gerard retired to a hermitage in the woods for seven years [5]. At this point the narrative breaks off to recount the war between Stephen and an enemy in the east of Hungary, Acthum of Morisena. After the defeat of Acthum, Gerard was appointed bishop of Morisena, now renamed Csanád [6]. The critical phase of Gerard's career was spent in evangelizing eastern Hungary, largely by the foundation of new Latin monasteries [7]. After King Stephen's death, Gerard preached against his usurping successor Samuel Aba, and in the course of the dynastic struggles of the 1040s in which the house of Arpad was temporarily displaced, was martyred in a general massacre of Christians [8]. Gerard was canonized in 1083, and this is taken as the earliest possible date for the *vita minor* [9].

The initial link to the theme of crusading is expressed by the device of making his father, anachronistically, a participant on the crusade [10]. It is impossible to tell whether the expedition alluded to was to be associated with the actual events of the crusade of 1096-1099, or whether an earlier, spurious expedition is being proposed. The terminology, however, demands a date after the narrative accounts of the first crusade [11].

Gerard's desire to go on pilgrimage was inspired by his father's eventual death on the crusade. The Holy Land was the burial place of his earthly as well as his heavenly father. When Gerard expressed this desire to his abbot, he received an ambivalent response, and here the *vita maior* begins to engage with the issue of monastic involvement in crusading. The abbot tells Gerard :

> We have never heard of any cloistered monk going to Jerusalem for such a purpose, except perhaps for gyrovagues. That path is designated for laymen to go to the Holy Land so that they can fight... There, crossbearers are made to fight. There, the Jews will insult the mother of the Saviour in your presence, which will hardly be useful for you to hear. Do not imagine that I want to

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5. VG, p. 293-97.

6. VG, p. 297-301.

7. VG, p. 301-308.

8. VG, p. 308-317. Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings*, *op. cit.*, p. 68-71, argues that Gerard's murder was the result of his involvement in the dynastic politics of the years 1044-46, in which he supported the return of the Arpad regime.

9. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

10. VG, p. 289.

11. The *vita minor*, AASS, Sept VI, 722, does not include the crusade of Gerard's father at all.

> forbid you, but I advise you to reconsider and ask yourself whether you will be doing good or not [12].

This curious speech conforms to the general principles laid down by Urban II against monastic participation, but is at the same time highly individual in its reasoning. Monks did sometimes have to be explicitly forbidden from going on crusade, and monastic pilgrimages were regarded with some suspicion [13]. As Edith Pasztor pointed out, the situation described in the *vita maior* of Gerard has close parallels in a letter of Geoffrey of Vendôme to an abbot who had proposed to go on a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem [14]. It ought to be enough, Geoffrey remarked, to have gone once ; and in any case, far from doing any good to the monk, it was harmful because it required him to violate a papal command :

> Just as it is a duty for laymen to go to Jerusalem, so it is forbidden to monks by the apostolic see. I know this as one who heard it with my own ears from the mouth of the lord pope Urban ; when he exhorted the laity to go to Jerusalem, he also forbad monks from making this same journey [15].

Even if Geoffrey were reporting Urban's exact words, the letter might not have been written until considerably later ; Geoffrey did not die until 1132 [16]. The problem of monastic pilgrimages had not dissipated by the 1120s. Indeed, the greater ease with which the journey could be made after the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem must have made it more attractive. In 1124 Bernard of Clairvaux launched a fierce attack against Arnold, abbot of Morimond, who had set out for Jerusalem on pilgrimage with some of his monks. He accused Arnold of deserting his flock to the hungry wolf and of threatening the unity of the order by acting without having consulted his fellow-abbots [17]. For a monk to leave the cloister was unpardonable, for it implied a reckless disregard for the principles of the monastic life. The benefits to be obtained from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem were rendered unnecessary by entry into the cloister, which was the type of

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12. VG, p. 292.

13. See A.T. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude : Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States*, University Park, Penn State Press, 1995, p. 2-16.

14. Pasztor, « Problemi di datazione », *op. cit.*, p. 126-127.

15. Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Epistolae*, 4.21, PL 157, cols 162-163.

16. E. Sackur, « Zur Chronologie der Streitschriften des Gotfried von Vendôme », *Neues Archiv*, 17 (1891), p. 336, argued that the letter dated to 1122-1124.

17. *S. Bernardi Opera*, Ep.4, 6, ed. J. Leclercq, H. Rochais, C.H. Talbot, Rome, 1957, t. 7, p. 24-27, 30, t. 8, p. 305. For another case, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, « Abbot Pontius of Cluny », *Studi Gregoriani*, 11 (1978), p. 177-276.

the heavenly Jerusalem [18]. The recognition that the pilgrimage was useful for the laity but inappropriate for monks was not in itself a result of the crusade ; Peter Damian had, a generation before the crusade, already expressed the same principle in a letter to a lay magnate [19].

The sentiments expressed by Abbot Rasina in the *vita maior* thus fit into a recognizable context in western monastic culture. This demonstrates the author's familiarity with the views of influential monastic figures, and with Urban II's instructions in 1095. The reasoning used by Rasina against going to Jerusalem is, however, different from that of Geoffrey of Vendôme or Bernard of Clairvaux. Going to Jerusalem inevitably entails fighting because, to Rasina, pilgrimage and crusade were intimately linked, and fighting was forbidden to monks. Rasina's admonition against monastic pilgrimages has nothing to do with the theology of monasticism. He does not forbid Gerard to leave the cloister, but fears that the pilgrimage will involve him in unpleasantness with which he will be ill-equipped to deal. It is Gerard's purpose in leaving that Rasina believes is flawed. The abbot proposes an alternative plan of action :

> So you want to go to Jerusalem and preach to the Saracens and Jews. How will they, who did not receive the apostles, receive you ? If you are shipwrecked en route, you and all your knowledge will perish in the deep ; you are no Jonah, who can live three days in the belly of a whale. But I hope you will take my advice to convert the souls of the infidel who suffer in the grip of demons, in imitation of the holy apostles. The Hungarian people stand in great need of such help, and you could find no beter place in the world at this moment to win souls for God [20].

Rasina's advice is inconsistent : he encourages Gerard to imitate the apostles, but doubts whether he could be successful ; he does not want to expose him to the risk of hearing insults from Jews, but gladly sends him off to convert pagans. This is simply part of a literary device to deflect Gerard from the Holy Land to Hungary. Gerard finds himself in Hungary by design, because it has been presented to him as a valid, indeed a preferable alternative to his original plan [21]. The intent was to show that preaching the faith in

18. *S. Bernardi opera*, Ep. 64, 7.157-8 ; *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, Ep. 53, 86, ed. G. Constable, Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press, 1967, t. 1, p. 161, 227.

19. Peter Damian, *Epistolae*, 7.17, PL 144, cols. 455-58.

20. VG, p. 293.

21. This is not to suggest, however, that Gerard accepted it wholeheartedly. Although he agreed to travel through Hungary, he was virtually kidnapped by a bishop delighted to find such a prize in his diocese. When he was brought before King Stephen, Gerard told him he was a pilgrim on his way to Jerusalem, VG, p. 294-296.

Hungary was no less useful a form of devotion than making the pilgrimage to, even preaching in the Holy Land. Hungary becomes a crusading frontier, a place that can give the Christian the same benefits as the Holy Land.

The account of the campaign against Acthum of Morisena is told in the language of crusading. But here we encounter a more complex strand of the crusading theme in the *vita maior* ; for Acthum is not a pagan, like most of Stephen's adversaries, but Greek Orthodox. Evidently, he had not mastered the full extent of Christian morality, for he had seven wives ; but he had been converted by the Byzantines and had built an orthodox monastery dedicated to St John the Baptist in Morisena [22]. Acthum's independent wealth and military might in the east obstructed Stephen's unification of Hungary. After Achtum's defeat at the hands of Chanadinus, a follower who went over to Stephen's side, Morisena was renamed Csanád and given as its new bishop Gerard, plucked by the king from the obscurity of his hermitage [23]. Chanadinus, appointed count of the province, founded a monastery dedicated to St George at Oroszlam [Maroszvar], on the spot where the saint had answered his prayer for victory [24]. Until then, the only monastery had been Acthum's Orthodox foundation of St John [25].

The defeat of Acthum was a vital step in the conversion of Hungary to Latin Christianity. More territory and a new episcopal see were established. No closer parallel to the activity of crusading in the east need be sought. If,

22. VG, p. 297-298. For the identification of Acthum, see Macartney, « Studies », *op. cit.*, p. 472-483, who tries to reconcile the *vita maior* account with the wars attributed to Stephen in other chronicles, against Cupan of Somogy, « Gyula » and Kean. Kean can be identified with Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria, against whom Stephen fought in c.1018, and « Gyula » with a Transylvanian tribal leader known by the ancestral title. A Gyula had visited Constantinople in 948 and taken back to Transylvania a monk to serve as bishop. Since Stephen defeated the Gyula in 1003 and transported him from eastern to western Hungary, the campaign against Achtum, which must have taken place in the late 1020s or early 1030s, can hardly be the same. Macartney, « Studies », *op. cit.*, p. 482-483, suggests that Achtum may have been a non-Magyar chief of the Kevar people.

23. In his *Institutio Morum*, 6, PL 151, col. 1235, supposedly written for his son Emery, Stephen advised the use of foreigners in colonizing Hungary : *In hospitibus et adventitiis viris tanta inest utilitas... Nam unius linguae, uniusque moris regnum, imbecille et fragile est*. See also J. Balogh, « The Political Testament of St Stephen, King of Hungary », *Hungarian Quarterly*, 4 (1938), p. 393.

24. VG, p. 301-302. For King Stephen's right to appoint bishops, see Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings*, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

25. VG, p. 300. After the battle of Morisena, the bodies of the Christians slain were buried in St John, *quia in eadem provincia aliud monasterium tunc non erat.* See also F. Dölger, « Ungarn in der byzantinischen Reichspolitik », *Archivum Europae Centro-orientalis*, 8 (1942), p. 315-316.

as Macartney argued [26], the chapters of the *vita maior* describing the campaign against Acthum are based on a contemporary source, the nature of their incorporation into the context already described gives them a XIIth-century accent. The epic qualities of the original story, based on the personal dynamics between Acthum and Chanadinus, are subsumed into a whole that is given a clearly Christian, evangelizing flavour. The war against Acthum, as described in the *vita maior*, bears similarities to the crusade launched against the pagan Wends of northwest Europe, at the same time as the second crusade [27]. Legitimation had already been given to Stephen's campaign by Rasina's suggestion that Hungary was a worthy field for conversion.

Stephen's aim was not merely the conversion of his people to Christianity, but to Latin catholicism. His election in 997 to the title held by his father, duke of the Magyars, had been supplemented by a coronation sponsored by the papacy in 1000. This papal approval, according to Hungarian tradition given concrete shape in the bestowal of a crown, further extends the crusading accent of Stephen's subsequent wars [28]. A newly-conquered frontier territory, where existing conditions might more easily be swept aside, was the ideal place in which to realise Stephen's vision of a Christian Hungarian society. Gerard tried to integrate aristocratic and clerical *élites* by establishing schools for the sons of the nobility, thereby creating a literate Christian ruling class [29].

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26. Macartney,« Studies », *op. cit.*, p. 466-469.

27. *S. Bernardi opera*, Ep.457, 8.432 ; E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*, London, Macmillan, 1980, p. 51-70. The papal bulls *Divina dispensatione* of 1147 and *Non parum animus noster* of 1171-1172 authorised the Saxons and Danes to wage war for conversion against the Wends, Slavs and Finns.

28. P. Jaffé,W. Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* I, Leipzig, 1885, 497. For the Hungarian crown : P.J. Kelleher, *The Holy Crown of Hungary*, Rome, 1951 (American Academy in Rome, 13) ; M. Barany-Oberschall, *Die heilige ungarische Krone*, Vienna, 1961 ; J. Déer, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns*, Vienna, 1966. In 1074 Gregory VII claimed that Stephen had given the kingdom of Hungary to St Peter, *Das Register Gregors VII*, 2.13, MGH Epist. Select. 2, p. 144-146, but made no mention of a gift of a crown from Pope Sylvester to Stephen. The earliest reference to the coronation of Stephen is the XIth-century *Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon*, 4.38, MGH SS 9.198 : in which it is implied that the crown was sent by Otto III, not by the pope. In contrast, the XIIth-century Hungarian *Vita Stephani* of Hartvic, *SRH* 2.412-4, describes the donation of the crown by the pope. The question of whether the crown, a symbol for Hungarian nationalist sentiment, was given by the pope or by Otto III, and whether it thus represented a form of dependency on the German empire, became historiographically entrenched in the politics of the XXth century : A. Brackmann, « Kaiser Otto III und die staatliche Ungestaltung Polens und Ungarns », *Abhandlung Preuss Akademie*, (1939) and « Zur Entstehung des ungarischen Staates », *ibid.* (1940), and J. Déer, *A Magyar Királyság Megalakulása* [The Emergence of the Hungarian Kingdom] (Budapest, 1942) and « III Ottó császár és Magyarország az újabb történetírásban » [Emperor Otto III and Hungary in Recent Historiography] *Századok*, 1-3 (1944).

29. Kosztolnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

As bishop of Csanád, Gerard came up against an existing Greek Orthodox population. We can reasonably expect that Gerard, a Venetian born c.990, would not have been unfamiliar with orthodox influences [30]. He faced a situation analogous to that encountered by the founders of the crusader states in the early years of the XII[th] century : the infidel could easily be dealt with by eradication or conversion, but what was to be done with the Orthodox [31] ? In one case at least, Orthodox monks were temporarily thrown out of their monastery :

> Then they came to Morisena, where there were Greek monks who celebrated divine office according to the Greek rite. The bishop [Gerard], after first taking advice from Count Chanadinus, transferred the Greek abbot and his monks to Oraszlam, and assigned their monastery to himself and the brethren he had with him, until the monastery of St George could be completed [32].

The treatment of the Greek monks of St John the Baptist is an indication of their new status relative to Gerard's Latin monks. Little is known about ecclesiastical organization in XI[th]-century Hungary, but the *vita maior* indicates that the foundation of new monasteries and the missionary activity of the monks were key elements [33]. The *vita maior* has little else to say about orthodox monks or laity in Csanád, however, and Stephen doubtless appreciated the dangers of antagonizing the Byzantine Empire by a policy of suppressing Orthodoxy [34]. After the completion of the new monastery of St George, the Orthodox monks of St John the Baptist were presumably permitted to return to their property and left in peace ; just so, after the crusader conquest of the Holy Land, the existing Orthodox monasteries were recon-

30. Gerard's surviving theological work, the *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium Puerorum*, ed. G. Silagi, CCCM, 49, shows a degree of familiarity with Greek patristic thought. G. Morin, « Un théologien ignoré du XI[e] siècle : l'évêque martyr, Gérard de Csanad, OSB », *Revue Bénédictine*, 27 (1910), p. 517, found pseudo-Dionysian echoes.

31. Much of the population was Bulgarian, and thus Orthodox. See E. Patzelt, « Der Mission Cyrillus und Methodius in verfassungsrechlicher Schau », *Studi medievali*, 5 (1964), p. 241-243.

32. VG, p. 302.

33. VG, p. 302-306. On Hungarian ecclesiastical organization in general,G. Gyorffy, « Zu den Anfangen der ungarischen Kirchenorganisation », *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 7 (1969), p. 79-113. The use of new monastic foundations in newly conquered territories is analogous to the spread of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians in the wake of the Wendish crusades in the second half of the XII[th] century, Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

34. Stephen had been an ally of Emperor Basil II in his campaign against the Bulgars in 1019, and, according to the *Legenda maior S.Stephani regis*, 2.26, *SRH* 2, 386, founded a church in Constantinople.

firmed in their possessions and, in many cases, experienced a revival in the XIIth century under crusader rule [35].

The strong crusading themes in the *vita maior*, notably the problem of monastic participation and the inclusion of earlier material on the war against Acthum, suggest a date for the compilation of those portions in the XIIth century, when such issues once again appeared contemporary in the Christian world. The author of the *vita maior* realised that this episode from the history of his own people could be read with profit as an examplar of precisely the kind of virtues celebrated by the narratives of the crusades against the Muslims or pagans.

The late XIVth-century epilogue to the *vita maior*, recounting the foundation of the monastery of St Gerard by Elizabeth, queen of Louis the Great, in 1371 [36], seems to have inspired a new interest in Gerard in the Carmelite Order. In a manuscript notebook of the Carmelite historian John Bale, consisting of transcriptions of material copied on a study tour in France, Flanders and Holland in the 1520s, we find scattered references to Gerard's martyrdom, his role as a missionary and hermit, and a short *vita* copied from a lost work by the Flemish Carmelite Julian Hassart, who died in 1523 [37].

From this *vita* a very different picture of Gerard's career emerges. A hermit on Mt Carmel, Gerard was elected patriarch of Antioch, but went to Rome in c.1040, and was sent on to Hungary on papal orders, to supervise the Hungarian church in the difficult period after the death of King Stephen, and was martyred in 1046 [38]. Gerard also adopted as a « protegé » a knight called Guy, whom he tried to persuade to retire to follow an eremitical life on Mount Carmel. Guy instead had a vision commanding him to return to his own country and to marry ; this was confirmed in a separate vision granted to Gerard. Guy eventually married, in 1041, the daughter of the king of

35. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, Variorum, 1980, p. 162-168.

36. VG, p. 317-318.

37. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 73, f. 63v, f. 107r, f. 110r, f. 132r, f. 165r, f. 169v. See A.T. Jotischky, « Gerard of Nazareth, John Bale and the origins of the Carmelite Order », *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), p. 214-36.

38. Oxford, Bodley MS 73, fols. 140r-41v. Gerard appears as a Carmelite hermit, disciple of Symeon of Trier and subsequently martyr in Hungary in Bale's *Cronica seu fasciculus temporum ordinis Carmelitarum* (1527-1533), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 41, f. 145r. In his later collection of 1537-1539, *Perpaucorum Carmeli scriptorum ab Helia Thesbite ad Bertoldum primum eorum magistrum generalem catalogus*, London, British Library, Harley MS 3838 fols.118r-55r, Bale repeated the same essentials (fols. 152v-53r).

Hungary, and his sons were called Aimery and Berthold[39]. Aimery was eventually consecrated bishop of Le Puy by Urban II and sent to the Holy Land as a legate : he is of course better known as Adhdémar. With his brother Berthold, he participated in the siege of Antioch by the crusading army. After the successful capture of the city Aimery was elected patriarch. The Franks were, however, themselves besieged by the relieving army of Karbuqa, and amid the privations Berthold vowed, should he survive, to join the hermits of Mount Carmel. When a priest had a vision of Jesus in righteous anger against the immorality of the Frankish pilgrims, it was Berthold who told the army that they must expel the prostitutes from their midst[40].

After the fall of Jerusalem, Berthold (and, incidentally, Peter the Hermit) joined the community on Mount Carmel. Until the crusade, the eremitical community had, naturally enough, comprised indigenous Christians who were Greek Orthodox. The influx of Frankish hermits represented by Berthold and Peter had to be absorbed into an existing community with its own traditions, language and history, without losing their Latin catholic identity. Berthold's brother Aimery had died after the siege of Antioch, and was succeeded as patriarch by Aimery of Limoges, who in 1121 gathered together the hermits of Mount Carmel under the rule of a single head, Berthold[41]. From this moment the Carmelites became a recognizable order within the Latin Church.

How can this story, so full of fantasy and so dependent on an utter disregard for narrative chronology, be related to what we know of the life of Gerard of Csanád ?

It is important, first of all, to be clear about the ideological purpose for which such an elaborate fiction was constructed. By the beginning of the XV[th] century, Carmelite history-writing had developed from the roughly-sketched chronology of monasticism on Mount Carmel into a self-perpetua-

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39. According to the *vita*, Solon, king of Hungary gave his daughter in marriage to Guy after Henry III's successful campaign against Duke Orderic of Bohemia in 1041, Oxford Bodley, MS 73, f. 140r. Orderic, however, died in 1037 ; the duke who was defeated by Henry was Bratislav I. Solon must refer to Peter Orseolo, Stephen's designated successor, son of the doge of Venice and Stephen's sister Maria, who in 1041 was deposed in favour of Samuel Aba, who had married another sister of Stephen.

40. Oxford, Bodley MS 7 3, f. 141v : *Lupanar et prostibulum et omnem a vobis abusum removete : et optimum vobis auxilium providebo infra quinque dies* : these words are taken from Baldric of Dol's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 3.7, RHC Occ 4, 66.

41. Aimery of Limoges was actually patriarch of Antioch from 1140-1193, but the author of the *vita* is following established XIII[th]-century tradition in making him responsible for the reorganization of the Carmelite hermits. See Stephen of Salagnac, *De quatuor in quibus Deus praedicatorum ordinem insignavit*, ed. T. Kaeppeli, Rome, 1949 (Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historia, 12), p. 179-81.

ting and expanding process of appropriation, in which the history of the Order came increasingly to resemble the history of the institution of monasticism itself. Behind all such efforts lay the assumption that the order had been founded by Elijah, had maintained an unbroken existence on Mount Carmel until 1291 and now continued its mission in Europe[42].

The appearance of Gerard as a Carmelite hermit in XV[th]-century Flemish and Dutch *vitae*[43] is an example of the process of appropriating sacred history. There could be no reason for assuming that Gerard of Csanád had any connection with Mount Carmel, even if the Carmelite assertion of continuous organized eremitical activity there were credible. The sole link between the historical Gerard and the Gerard of the Carmelite *vita* is his activity as a hermit before becoming bishop of Csanád[44]. From the essential fact of eremitism is the rest of the farrago born : Gerard was a hermit ; he must therefore have been a Carmelite hermit. An eremitical career came to mean, in Carmelite historiography, a Carmelite past[45].

Structurally, however, Gerard's role in Carmelite historiography was more complex than this. He provides a bridge across the chasm in Carmelite history opened up by the crusade. The literary device by which he is made to foretell the birth of Guy's sons enables the author to create a link between the native Orthodox and the Frankish periods of dominance on Mount Carmel. In his capacity as spiritual father to Guy, Gerard gives birth to the first Latin Carmelite Berthold. As a Venetian, Gerard stood on the cultural

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42. A. Staring ed. *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, Rome, Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989, includes most Carmelite historical accounts written from c. 1280 to c. 1380 ; see also E. Boaga, « La storiographica carmelitana nei secoli XIII e XIV », in P. Chandler, K.G. Egan (eds.), *The Land of Carmel : essays in honour of Joachim Smet, O. Carm.*, Rome, Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991, p. 125-154.

43. Bale's information about Gerard came largely from Hassart and Giles Faber (d.1506), prior of the Carmelite house in Brussels. Gerard's Carmelite identity was also known in France, for the notebook for Bale's research trip to French Carmelite libraries in 1527 yielded an *Oracio de sancto Gerardo episcopo et martire* found in Toulouse, London British Library, Harley, MS 1819, f. 99v.

44. VG, p. 296-297 ; AASS, Sept VI, 722.

45. A further example of the same kind of appropriation is found in Bale's *Cronica*, Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 41, f. 145v, where, an entry for a German hermit called Gunther follows that for Gerard. Gunther, a Thuringian noble, gave up his lands to retire to a monastery, as described by Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH (Leipzig- Hanover, 1894), 50 and then told in greater detail by Wolferius, *Vita Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis* (*Vita posterior*), MGH (SS) 11. 2 01-2. The only conceivable reason for connecting Gunther with Mt Carmel is that in the XII[th]-century *Vita Stephani Regis Ungariae*, MGH (SS) 11.236 he is summoned by King Stephen, who has heard of his fame as a hermit, to live in Hungary. Here Gerard is mentioned as a monk already recruited by Stephen. Any Carmelite reading the *Vita Stephani* would thus see Gunther next to Gerard ; the temptation to take him over as a Carmelite, like Gerard, was evidently too strong for Bale.

frontier between eastern and western Christianity. He had been bishop of both Latins and Greek orthodox in Hungary.

It may be argued that any number of more plausible figures could have been chosen for this role. But Gerard was important for another reason. In the *vita maior*, Gerard is portrayed as a crusader in spirit. He was a pioneer in a new mission field, a precursor of his spiritual heirs Berthold and Aimery of Le Puy. If he did not himself participate in a crusade, he was, like Aimery/Adhémar, a papal legate to a frontier territory newly conquered from the infidel, where he had to deal with the problem of a new ecclesiastical settlement in an area with a native population of Greek Orthodox.

Gerard thus performs a particularly subtle service for Carmelite historiography. Through him, the Carmelites were able to establish a connection with crusading itself that otherwise eluded them. It is ironic that the Carmelites, the only contemplative order produced by the crusader states, could claim — unlike the Templars or Hospitallers — no vital link to the crusading ideal itself, no contribution to the business of the crusade. Rather, it was thanks to returning crusaders that the Carmelites had been enabled to settle in the west in the 1240s [46]. Gerard, with his proto-crusading credentials, provided a means by which the author of the Carmelite *vita* could endow the order with a crusading past. The debate in the *vita maior* between Gerard and Abbot Rasina over the merits of monastic pilgrimage make it clear, through Rasina's eccentric views on what such a pilgrimage would involve, that it was inappropriate for monks to participate. Gerard therefore subsumed his pilgrimage aspirations in the conversion of pagans and the spread of Latin catholicism in orthodox areas. Aimery and Berthold, in the Carmelite *vita*, were neither crusaders nor pilgrims, but, as Gerard had been, papal legates. Nevertheless, their participation in the siege of Antioch gave the author the opportunity to establish a Carmelite presence, however anachronistic and implausible, on the first crusade.

The links between Gerard of Csanád and the first crusade are, of course, fantastic. But when read in the context of Carmelite historiography they become at least comprehensible. The Hospitallers had begun developing traditions of their own antiquity before the end of the XII[th] century, in order to bolster their prestige across the Christian world [47]. Lay aristocratic families

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46. John de Cheminot, *Speculum fratrum ordinis beate Marie de Monte Carmeli* (1337) and William of Coventry, *De adventu Carmelitarum ad Angliam* (1340-1360), in Staring, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, *op. cit.*, p. 137-140, 282-286, relate the emigration of the Carmelites to France and England respectively.

47. K.V. Sinclair, « The Anglo-Norman miracles of the foundation of the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem », *Medium Aevum*, 55 (1986), p. 102-108.

had seen the need, as early as the XII[th] century, to give their ancestors spurious crusading careers [48]. Just as the *vita maior* of Gerard gave him a crusading father quite anachronistically, so, in the Carmelite *vita* of Gerard, the entire order is given, in the persons of Gerard and Berthold and by the appropriation of Peter the Hermit and Aimery/Adhémar, a role in the planning and execution of the crusade. In an age when religious orders were increasingly concerned with displaying their origins, the crusading antecedents of the Carmelites reminded rivals and prospective patrons of their identification with the Holy Land.

48. E. Mason, « Legends of the Beauchamps' ancestors : the use of baronial propaganda in medieval England », and « Fact and fiction in crusading tradition : the earls of Warwick in the XII[th] century », *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), p. 25-40, and 14 (1988), p. 81-95.

ASPECTS MILITAIRES

Charles R. BOWLUS

TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC WEAKNESSES OF HORSE ARCHERS ON THE EVE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

For historians of early medieval Europe steppe peoples, Huns, Avars, Magyars, and their ilk, serve as a kind of *Deus ex machina* that periodically appeared on the horizon to set in motion Germanic and Slavic peoples who, in their turn, migrated into the crumbling edifice of the Roman empire bringing the world of classical antiquity to an end and ushering in the middle ages. Armies of mounted archers from the Eurasian steppe are, more often than not, represented in the historical literature as irresistible forces sweeping out of inner Asia, ineluctably crushing any resistance that sedentary powers managed to put up against them [1]. Unfamiliar with the strategy and tactics of steppe peoples, the armies of agrarian based societies are portrayed as helpless against them. Whenever « civilized » powers managed to achieve victories, which they always did in the long run, historians have tended to attribute those successes to the « fortunes of the battlefield » [2].

Of course, the views of modern scholars are based on written sources compiled by ecclesiastics who saw no need to apologize for divine intervention in human affairs. Whenever Christian societies managed to gain a victory, they attributed it to divine protection. When the barbarians won, it was because they came as the *flagellum Dei*. Twentieth-century historians, un-

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1. Classics along these lines are J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903 and R. Lüttich, *Die Ungarnzüge in Europa im 10. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1910.

2. For a recent example of an exaggerated evaluation of the tactical capabilities of steppe warriors, see J. Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte*. Berlin, 1994, especially p. 513.

willing to concede that the outcome of battles was due to divine providence, have written that steppe warriors possessed « miracle weapons » in their composite recurve bows [3]. Such simplistic technological determinism is, however, an exaggeration that makes the ultimate defeats of steppe peoples even more inexplicable, for it perpetuates the notion of their invincibility. Thus, the reasons for the cession of mounted incursions into western Europe at the turn of the millennium remain unexplained [4]. In the minds of some historians at least, miraculous weapons have simply replaced both the wonders and the vengeance of God.

Accounts of the first crusade in the medieval West also attributed Christian successes against Turkish archers to God's will. Frankish victories do indeed seem somewhat miraculous, since Fulcher of Chartres did in fact write that western armies had no experience in dealing with mounted archers. Fortunately, historians of crusading warfare, from R. C. Smail to, most recently, John France have not been deceived by their sources ; they have demonstrated how armies from the Latin West coped militarily with the tactics of mounted archers [5]. France must be commended for his excellent chapter on warfare in Europe before the first crusade, which does much to remove the mysteries concerning Latin successes by stressing that western Europeans prior to the crusade were much more effective and disciplined warriors than earlier historians have led us to believe. Nevertheless, the rapidity with which the crusaders adapted to the style of warfare practiced by mounted archers suggests that Turkish armies must have had certain fundamental strategic and tactical limitations of their own. This essay explores some technical aspects of the type of warfare practiced by steppe archers prior to the first crusade, concluding that their limited operational capabilities made it possible to defeat them.

To some extent the vulnerabilities of steppe archers were meteorological and ecological. The Byzantine emperor Maurice went to the heart of the matter in his *Strategikon*, written at the end of the VIth century, insisting that Avars, who had recently settled in the Carpathian basin, had two major weaknesses : 1). their horses required immense grazing lands, and 2). their chief weapon, the composite recurve bow, did not hold up in damp wea-

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3. H. Wolfram, *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas*, Berlin, 1987, p. 314.

4. The fact that the West, alone among the great Eurasian civilizations, remained relatively immune from the incursions of steppe peoples during the high middle ages requires an explanation. Cf. A. R. Lewis, *Nomads and Crusaders*, London/Indianapolis, 1988.

5. R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)*, Cambridge, 1956 and J. France, *Victory in the East*, Cambridge, 1994.

ther [6]. Thus, he prescribed two formulae for defeating them : 1). deny them adequate pasture, and 2). whenever possible attack them in rainy weather.

Though more durable than the grain-fed horses of sedentary armies, the mounts of steppe archers had nutritional requirements of their own, ones that could best be provided by mineral rich grasses from rather special pastures, steppe heathers, which were abundant in certain parts of Eurasia, but which were totally lacking in others [7]. Because each steppe warrior utilized several mounts, the land needed to meet their army's grazing requirements increased markedly with the addition of each new archer to an invasion force. Armies of steppe archers also needed home-bases where grazing land was even more abundant. It has been estimated that a herd of thirty horses was necessary to maintain a horse archer with five battle-ready mounts [8]. If it is true, as some sources report, that the Hungarians were able to send 20,000 warriors off on campaign in the first half of the Xth century, the pastures of the Carpathian basin would have had to have sustained 600,000 horses to support their predatory raids.

As for the emperor Maurice's second observation that the archery of steppe warriors was less effective in wet weather, it is important to note that the composite recurve bow, though a deadly weapon, was an extremely delicate and expensive instrument of war, requiring at least a year for highly skilled craftsmen, working with just the right materials under rigidly prescribed conditions, to construct. For this weapon to function optimally it had to be handled with great care. Although archers were able to practice routine maintenance on their bows while on campaign, they were unable to undertake extensive repairs, much less to rebuild them. Constructed from horn and sinew, then bonded with special glues to a hard wood stave, composite recurve bows tended to fall apart in damp weather. While specially designed cases protected bows from rain, mounted archers obviously could not leave their bows encased during combat. Under assault in rainy weather, archers had three choices : 1). to risk damaging their expensive weapons, 2). to attempt to fight at a disadvantage with spears, swords, and clubs against more heavily armed and armored opponents, or 3). to flee, leaving the field to the enemy.

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6. *Maurice' Strategikon. Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, tr. G. T. Dennis, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 116-17.

7. For what follows, cf. D. Sinor, « The Historical Attila », in F. H. Bäuml and M. D. Birnbaum (eds.), *Attila. The Man and His Image*, Budapest, 1993, p. 3-15 ; R. P. Linder, « Nomadism, Horses, and Huns », *Past and Present*, 92 (1981), p. 3-19 ; C. R. Bowlus, « Die Reitervölker im Osten des Abendlandes im frühen Mittelalter. Ökologisch-militärische Gründe für ihr Versagen », *Ungarn Jahrbuch*, 22 (1995), p. 1-26.

8. Bowlus, *op. cit. supra*, p. 10-11.

In the pre-crusading era the sources provide ample documentation for the vulnerability of mounted archers under adverse weather conditions. In 938, for example, the Hungarians were driven off by the *urbani* in the fort of Steterburg (near Braunschweig), when they launched a vigorous attack against their mounted archers under rainy conditions [9]. It is unlikely that the garrison of Steterburg had read the *Strategikon*, written in Greek by the emperor Maurice ; nevertheless, three decades of intermittent Magyar raids had taught them that, under certain conditions, Magyar horsemen were far from invincible. A similar event occurred in 954 when the garrison (*milites*) of the lightly defended Lothringian monastery of Lobbes, where the fortifications had actually been torn down the previous year, attacked a Hungarian force during a storm [10]. Once again, the Magyars were routed. A century earlier at the battle of Dazimon in Anatolia, Turkish archers repulsed an ill-advised Byzantine attack by heavy horsemen and surrounded the Emperor Theophilus, who was protected by only a small body guard. Torrential rains, however, permitted this ruler and his men to fight their way out of the encirclement [11].

It would be a mistake, however, to attribute the strategic and tactical limitations of steppe armies solely to ecological and climatic factors, for forces that relied too heavily upon horse archery were frequently defeated by commanders who understood their other vulnerabilities and how to take advantage of them. In examining battles between horse archers and the forces of settled military powers in the pre-crusading era, it is, in fact, difficult to uncover a single instance in which mounted archers were victorious simply because of firepower and mobility [12]. Almost universally their triumphs resulted from the mistakes of opposing forces, not from the innate superiority of their weaponry. When, for example, Armenian swordsmen charged Turkish archers in 1021, they suffered heavy casualties. As Matthew of Edessa observed, however, they launched their assault without bothering to put on their armor ; even at that, many Armenians managed to penetrate the hail of arrows, closing with the enemy and « massacring a large number of Turks ».

During the reign of Constantine IX (1042-1055) Pecheneg archers continually threatened the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire. On one

9. *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, ed. P. Hirsch and H. E. Lohmann (MGH SS in usum scholarum, 60).

10. Folcuin, *Gesta Abbatum Lobiensium*. (MGH SS, 4), p. 66-67.

11. W. E. Kaegi, « The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish Conquest of Anatolia », *Speculum*, 39 (1964), p. 100.

12. Kaegi, *ibid.*, p. 96-108, tried — unsuccessfully in my view — to prove the tactical and strategic superiority of mounted archers over other units. The following two examples are from his article.

occasion an elite Anatolian unit of heavy horse that had been transferred to the western frontier was badly mauled by the archers of the Pechenegs, who fought from behind a screen of wagons drawn up like a wall in front of them. When the Byzantine charge reached the barrier, the horses halted, while, simultaneously, the archers unleashed a volley of arrows that panicked those beasts and forced their riders to flee ignominiously. This encounter, however, is an example of bad tactics against mounted archers, not a demonstration of the innate superiority of mounted archery. A precipitous cavalry charge under conditions such as these was doomed to fail. An advance by compact formations of heavy infantry, on the other hand, would have succeeded. Once footmen had reached the barrier they could have removed the wagons, while using them for their own protection against enemy missiles. An unimpeded charge of heavy cavalry could then have been launched.

While mounted archers were capable of routing a charge of heavy cavalry that was poorly conceived, they inevitably turned tail when assaults were properly timed and well executed. To ensure victory heavy horse had to be positioned so that its charge could begin approximately 100 m. from the enemy archers. It is not at all unreasonable to suppose that a cavalry assault could be launched within this distance, for a screen of infantry, properly trained and equipped with loricas and shields could advance against mounted bowmen without suffering prohibitively heavy casualties. During the crusading era there are reports of foot soldiers who looked like porcupines following battles, but whose armor was, nevertheless, adequate to stop enemy missiles. Unfortunately the role of infantry in early medieval war is still ignored by many scholars, despite the fact that evidence of its effectiveness has been demonstrated [13].

The killing range of composite recurve bows is a matter of some controversy [14]. It is possible to read in modern handbooks that such bows were capable of casting arrows for distances of 600 m. or more. While such ranges can be achieved by expert bowmen using so-called « flight bows », we can be sure that no such devices were ever employed by steppe warriors in combat. Although they have great range, bolts launched from flight bows are virtually ineffective even against rudimentary armor. An archer's killing-range depends partially on the weight and design of his bow, as well as upon

13. For the role of infantry, sample the works of B. S. Bachrach, in *Armies and Politics in the Early Medieval West*, Aldershot (UK), 1993 (Variorum reprints).

14. In the following discussion I rely on H. C. Coulston, « Roman Archery Equipment », in M. C. Bishop (ed.), *The Production and Distribution of Roman Military Equipment*, 1985 (British Archaeological Reports International Series, 275), and W. F. Paterson, « The Archers of Islam », *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 9 (1966), p. 69-87.

the materials from which it is made ; the weight of the arrows and the shape of arrowheads are also crucial. Stout bows can propel heavy arrows that penetrate targets more deeply. The weight of bow and arrow, however, affects adversely the distance that the arrow can be cast.

Ultimately, the killing range depends upon the arrow's momentum at the instant of impact, which is equal to its velocity multiplied by its weight (M=vw). The velocity of an arrow when it strikes its target is equal to the speed of the arrow plus that of the target, whose weight must also be factored into the equation. From this formula it is easy to understand that the momentum of an arrow striking an oncoming equestrian is greater than one hitting a stationary or slowly moving target. Thus, a heavy horseman (total weight of horse and rider, approximately 700 kg.) charging at 11 m./sec. is more likely to be killed by a direct hit than is a footman advancing slowly. A heavy missile discharged from a sturdy bow might pass through the shield and armor of a charging lancer at 50 m., penetrating his vital organs and mortally wounding him, yet be totally harmless against the protective equipment of a foot soldier at 100 m. Moreover, infantry makes smaller targets than do horsemen, whose mounts were generally even more vulnerable and more easily panicked than their riders.

The accuracy of archers also varies with circumstances. W. F. Paterson, who has carefully studied late medieval Islamic treaties on warfare and archery, concluded that consistent accuracy by well trained archers *on foot* was only possible under combat conditions from approximately 60 m. For a mounted archer, « the ranges at which accurate shooting is possible is very much shorter ». With this in mind it seems fair to say that trained, well equipped infantry could easily advance to within 100 m. of horse archers, which would allow heavy cavalry to position itself behind an infantry screen, to await the moment when the foot would open its ranks to allow the cavalry to charge. A charge at a comfortable pace (roughly 11 m./sec.) would have an excellent chance of success from this distance. Chargers advancing at this rate would be on top of their opponents in less than ten seconds. Experiments have demonstrated that even the most skillful archers on horseback require seven seconds between shots under the relaxed conditions of a practice field. Perhaps steppe warriors were more adept ; nevertheless, it is unlikely that even the very best of them could have released more than one volley under the pressure of a heavy cavalry charge from a distance of 100 m. To risk a second volley, when the charging horsemen were 30 m. away (assuming seven seconds between volleys), would invite disaster. In the ensuing mêlée, the advantage would clearly be with the heavier weapons of the charging force. Thus, under the circumstances of a charge from 100 m., the best tactic for mounted archers would be to launch one volley and flee immediately, hoping that the heavy cavalry would pursue and could be lured into specially prepared traps or

ambushes, or until the horses of the pursuers tired and the heavy cavalry formations lost their cohesion. In the latter case, mounted archers could regroup and surround their exhausted pursuers, peppering them with arrows.

The feigned retreat, the most feared tactic of steppe warriors, can best be understood as a manoeuvre necessitated by the technical limitations of their weapons. It was impossible for mounted archers to prevent a well-timed charge of heavy cavalry from reaching their positions unless they were supported by other tactical units or unless they were screened by wagons, traps, or by natural obstacles such as rivers and streams. But any charge of heavy cavalry must be properly executed. The horsemen had to proceed in compact formations, which meant that they inevitably took casualties. Those who participated in such charges required great courage. The men and horses who stopped arrows that ripped into their compact formations made it possible for comrades to reach objectives. Once the enemy had been routed the heavy horse had to maintain its discipline in pursuit of the fleeing enemy in order to avoid traps and encirclements. Above all the heavy cavalry had to resist the temptation to advance too far in front of its footmen, behind whose shields horsemen could seek protection if necessary and regroup for another charge.

As crusading historians have shown, these are the tactics that western armies successfully practiced against mounted archers in the east. These tactics were, however, not new. Probably the best advice given to heavy horsemen mounting a charge against horse archers came from the pen of an Ottonian bishop, Liutprand of Cremona [15]. Henry I, admonished his forces before they charged against the Hungarians, « When you begin your charge no one should attempt to ride ahead of the others, even if he has a faster mount, but each of you should cover one another with your shields and take the first enemy arrow. Then you should impel yourselves onward vigorously at a full gallop, so that he cannot launch a second arrow before feeling the wounds inflicted by your arms ». Henry's forces executed the charge perfectly, we are told, and the Hungarians fled without shooting a second arrow. Karl Leyser wrote succinctly that « they lost their nerve » [16]. If our analysis is correct, they had reason to loose their nerve. Widukind of Corvey supplements Liutprands report, stating that the German forces pursued the fleeing Hungarians, but cautiously and only for a few miles [17], obviously to avoid the tactic of feigned flight.

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15. *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J Becker, Hannover and Berlin, 1915 (MGH SS in usum scholarum, 41), p. 51.

16. K. J. Leyser, « Henry I and the beginnings of the Saxon empire », in Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours*, London, 1982, p. 33.

17 *Die Sachsengeschichte*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

To conclude. There is no reason to believe that armies of mounted archers were invincible or that their composite recurve bows constituted some kind of a miracle weapon. When operating alone against heavy cavalry supported by other tactical units, especially heavy infantry, horse archers had in fact little chance of success unless they could provoke their opponents to charge precipitously, or unless they could lure them into traps or ambushes. It can be demonstrated that a knowledge of the tactics necessary to defeat mounted archers existed well before the crusades. This is not to say that horse archers were ineffective, but to insist that their strengths, their rapid fire and their mobility, were best utilized when they operated in combination with other forces. It was no miracle that western armies were able to defeat them during the crusades.

Susan B. EDGINGTON

THE DOVES OF WAR
The part played by carrier pigeons in the crusades

The historian Albert of Aachen notes the first use of pigeons as message-carriers during the first crusade, at Azaz in 1098. It was while the crusaders were lingering at Antioch that Duke Godfrey was surprised — and somewhat suspicious — to receive an appeal for help from the emir of Azaz, who was in revolt against his overlord Ridwan of Aleppo. Only after he had consulted his allies and received the emir's son as hostage did Godfrey agree to render assistance. Then, as Albert reports :

> « The envoys from the fortress of Azaz were very joyful and happy, and without delay they took from their garments two pigeons, nice tame birds which they had brought with them. They wrote the duke's replies and faithful promises on paper and tied them to the birds' tails with thread, and sent them forth from their hands to carry the good news.
> The duke and everyone who was with him wondered at this sending out of birds. But the reply came at once as to why the messages were sent by way of birds : "Our lord duke and his supporters should not wonder at these birds we have sent, for we haven't done it childishly or frivolously. They were sent for this reason, so that they may hasten with rapid and unceasing flight the message of trust which you hold towards the emir, and they may bear assurances concerning your assistance and whatever good luck or hindrance has befallen us. There is yet another reason why these birds were sent ahead with letters : if they were found in our garments by any of our brother Turks then they would be our death sentence".
> The birds had already flown away with the letters entrusted to them, and they faithfully returned to the palace and home of the lord of Azaz. The prince welcomed the tame birds affectionately, as was his custom, released the

> written papers from their tails, opened them and read Duke Godfrey's secrets. He knew all about the day of his arrival to support him, and in how many thousands the Christian army would relieve him » [1].

It is quite clear from this account that the use of birds as messengers was unknown in the crusaders' homelands.

It is equally evident that at the same time the Saracens were using pigeons as a matter of course. An organized pigeon post gave them a distinct tactical and strategic advantage. Trained pigeons are capable of sustaining flying speeds of up to 70 mph and of covering distances up to 1,000 miles. As will be seen they were generally unobtrusive and reliable, comparing favourably with mounted messengers in almost every respect. In this context, I was interested to read last November that « the Swiss Army is about to get rid of its pigeon unit as part of defence cutbacks ». The newspaper report quoted a representative of the « Committee for an Army with Carrier Pigeons » as saying : « if a trooper is caught with a high-tech radio, he would probably be shot immediately, but "if you're caught with a pigeon... you can always claim it's your lunch" » [2].

The Ancient Greeks and Romans had certainly spotted the potential of the pigeon's phenomenal homing instinct. In Greece pigeons appear as early as Vth century BC carrying news, love letters and sporting results : when the wrestler Taurosthenes won at Olympia his father in Aegina received the news the same day. Similarly there are references in Roman literature, the most famous being to the siege of Modena in 43 BC [3].

As I remarked at the outset, the tone of Albert's description suggests that knowledge of carrier pigeons in the west did not survive the fall of the Roman Empire. Indeed a search through medieval records supports this view. I have found only two references to carrier pigeons in western Europe before 1095.

Alcuin, writing in the IXth century to his « protegé » Adalard of Corbie, reproaches him for not visiting or writing : « The paternal nest is not visited, nor even does a dove bring the smallest letters tied to its feet, as formerly in Greece ». The parenthetical reference to Greece is evidence that Alcuin him-

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1. Albert of Aix, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. S.B. Edgington, forthcoming (Oxford Medieval Texts), V. 9.

2. *Guardian OnLine tabloid*, 17 November 1994, p. 3.

3. Frontinus, *The Stratagems*, tr. C. E. Bennett, London, William Heinemann Ltd, 1925, p. 248-49 ; Pliny, *Natural History*, tr. H. Rackham, London, William Heinemann Ltd, 1938-62, vol. 3, p. 362-363.

self has never seen pigeons employed in this way, but is showing off his knowledge of classical history [4].

A second reference is from Geoffrey Malaterra, writing of the siege of Misilmeri in Sicily, 1068. He says :

> « It is the custom of the Saracens that when they depart for any distance they take with them pigeons, which they feed at home on corn mixed with honey ; they are male birds shut up in little baskets. This is so that when by any good fortune the Saracens acquire any news which they want to be known at home, they write their experiences on little parchments and hang them round the bird's neck, or indeed under its wing. The birds are released into the air, eager for their own home, and speed to make known whether all goes well among the travelling friends. For the little bird is enticed by the sweetness of the honeyed grain which he had been accustomed to tasting frequently at home, and he speeds his return and shows the letters to those who know their nature » [5].

As in the case of Albert thirty years later, the detailed description puts it beyond doubt that the audience would find the practice novel.

The passages quoted so far show a diversity of methods of attaching the messages to the pigeons : neck, foot, wing, tail. Nowadays it is done by a capsule on the bird's foot. It is very doubtful if a message around the bird's neck would survive the flight. Albert's report of messages attached to the tail is also hard to believe at first hearing. Yet both Baudri of Dol and Fulcher of Chartres use the Latin phrase *super clunes*, meaning « above the rump » which suggests the same thing [6].

There may have been some instability arising from the method of attachment, since in both the incidents described by Baudri and Fulcher the pigeons were brought down. The one in Baudri was taken by a falcon in 1099. It was carrying a letter from the king of Tripoli to the Emir of Jerusalem — the weight of which may also have contributed to its downfall since Baudri quotes 164 words, many of them extravagant invective. Raimond of Aguilers, writing of events at Ramleh, also in 1099, describes a messenger pigeon brought down by a hawk. He signals the importance of the incident

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4. Alcuin, *Letters*, Petit-Montrouge, J. P. Migne (Patrologia Latina,, 100), col. 461. See also H. Peltier, « *Nuntius pennigero uolatu*. Pigeons voyageurs ? », *Revue du Moyen Age Latin*, 3 (1947), p. 156-158.

5. G. Malaterra, *De rebus gestis R. Guiscardi*, ed. J. B. Carusio,, Milan, 1724 (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores), vol. 5.1, p. 50.

6. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913, p. 775-776 ; Baudry of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 94, n. 6.

by capitals in the text : « Concerning a pigeon carrying letters intended to harm our men », and gives the gist of the message : « The King of Acre to the Duke of Caesarea : the descendants of dogs have passed through my lands. They are a stupid and quarrelsome people, without order, whom you and others should harm if you value your authority. Pass on the warning both to other cities and to camps ». Raimond, naturally, sees the hand of God in this revelation of the enemy's secrets [7].

The Arab historian, Ibn al-Athir, who refers to the use of a pigeon at the siege of Tyre in 1111, says that the bird had a message under its wing, which is a method widely attested in medieval and more recent times. This may also have caused steering difficulties, as the bird crash-landed on a Frankish ship. Here it was taken up by a Muslim and a Frank. The latter wanted to set it free, saying it doubtless had young in the city, but the Muslim took the bird to King Baldwin who profited by its message to kidnap a shipload of enemy warriors [8].

It would appear that the Franks soon lost their naivety. The inhabitants of Tyre were again under siege in 1124 and a pigeon bringing news of reinforcements into the city fell into the Franks' camp. This time they contrived a note saying the opposite of the original : that the city should surrender as no help was forthcoming. At this the citizens were so disheartened they opened the gates to the Franks [9].

The same historian, a Syrian Christian, reveals shortly afterwards that the Christians were also using pigeons. When they were besieged in Azaz one man rode out through enemy lines to take the news to the king, carrying a pigeon with him. The bird was sent back to the city with a message of good cheer and promise of relief, but this one came down in the Turkish camp and they substituted a message recommending surrender. The garrison suspected the forgery, however, because they remembered the previous incident, and the trick failed [10].

This substitution trick may have been carried out at least once for real, but beyond that it is clear that it became a motif, or topos, in descriptions of siege warfare. Wilbrand of Oldenbourg, writing in the early XIII[th] century about the siege of Tripoli by the Franks in 1109, says :

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7. Raimond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1969, p. 135.

8. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Altevarykh*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 1, p. 285.

9. A. S. Tritton, « The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle », *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, p. 95.

10. Tritton, « Anonymous Syriac », *op. cit.*, p. 97.

> « The Saracens... called for aid from the sultan and his men. The sultan prepared a great army and sent off letters of encouragement to the besieged by way of a carrier pigeon, as is the custom of that land. When by chance our men perceived the bird (if indeed it's possible to speak of chance when it happened by divine providence), they read the Saracens' letters and secrets and tied others to the bird in the sultan's name. They sent her off and she carried back desolation instead of consolation to her masters, who were waiting for her like those in the ark who waited for the olive branch » [11].

The inhabitants of Tripoli, according to Wilbrand, were so discouraged that they surrendered.

Arnold of Lübeck, writing about the same time as Wilbrand, but of events in 1197, shows that a century after the first crusade carrier-pigeons were being used by the settlers in the East, but were still unfamiliar to his audience in Europe :

> « This I am about to tell you is not a joke, but it was derived as a joke from the natives... who... think up many things which our men do not know unless they learn from them. When they go out on business they are accustomed to take with them pigeons, which have at home either eggs or newly hatched chicks, and if on the road they should wish to send a swift messenger they place the written letters carefully under the pigeon's stomach and allow it to fly. As it hurries back to its brood it carries the desired news swiftly to friends [12].

However, in general there can be no doubt that it was the Muslims who made fullest use of carrier pigeons. The anonymous Syriac chronicle reports that when Zengi's troops arrived at Edessa in 1144 they quickly realised how weak the town was and « they sent pigeons to Zengi to come at once » [13]. In 1171 Nur ad-Din is credited with setting up a pigeon post throughout Syria, though he was probably formalizing something which already existed. The system was intended to provide swiftest warning of attacks along the long frontier with the Franks, and to this end officials were designated to guard and maintain the birds. Watchmen were posted on the borders, each with a pigeon from the next city. This he would release in case of trouble ; it would fly home and the message be transferred to another pigeon, and so on until

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11. Wilbrand of Oldenbourg, *Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Lipsiae, J. C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1873, p. 168.

12. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. I. M. Lappenberg (MGH SS, 21), p. 206.

13. Tritton, « Anonymous Syriac », *op. cit.*, p. 281.

the news reached Nur ad-Din [14]. It is such a system Joinville observed when King Louis landed in Egypt : the Saracens sent messages by pigeon three times to the sultan, but they received no reply because he was ill [15].

The pigeons' finest hour was in 1190 during the siege of Acre. When the city was completely surrounded communication was maintained by a two-way system of pigeons and swimmers. Abu-Shama explains :

> « The Frankish ships with their rampant prows shaped like serpents and scorpions took up anchorage while our own were imprisoned in the harbours. Communications with the town ceased and it became impossible to send in supplies. A team of swimmers then enlisted, encouraged by the sultan's generosity. These men would carry in their belts money for the troops ; thus risking their lives by this precautionary measure which weighed them down. They carried letters and pigeons to Acre, and returned with a similar load. We carried on a correspondence with the place by means of pigeons and in code. One of our soldiers had trained these pigeons to fly over his tent and to swoop down into his home ; he had fashioned for them a wooden pigeon-house with perches made of reeds on which they landed after flying a long way. At first we were astonished at this strange and pointless obsession, but when the siege of Acre came along we recognized its advantage ; our thirst for news was satisfied, thanks to the rapid and intelligent messengers which carried our letters. Day and night we used to demand pigeons from this man and they became scarce as a result of our many messages » [16].

Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani is lyrical about the loyalty, the courage, the reliability of these same birds :

> « Heralds of joy and flying ceaselessly, the pigeons carried the letters ; they came with the keys of secrets, revealing good news ; we set ourselves to praise the owner of these birds, giving him the honour of an eulogy and compliments, commanding him to multiply his pigeons as we required them of him night and day, to the point where he had not enough to send. Through the pigeons we knew clearly the state of affairs... these birds kept secrets loyally, ensured information, guarded the letters jealously, showed themselves as generous as the best of noblemen ; burdened with cares alone

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14. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Altevarykh*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 1, p. 585-6 and *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, *RHC*, 2, p. 289 ; Abou 'l-Feda, *Annales*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 1, p. 42, and see N. Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din ; un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades, 511-569H/1118-74*, Damascus, Institut Français de Damas, 1967, vol. 3, p. 784-785.

15. Joinville, *Life of St Louis*, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. M. R. B. Shaw, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1963, p. 204.

16. Abu Shama, *Le Livre des Deux Jardins*, *RHC*, 4, p. 442.

among all the birds, they braved dangers, never made a mistake, were accounted as precious possessions, were sought out as the élite » [17].

The Hospitallers can be seen to have learnt from the enemy. In 1217 Jacques de Vitry explains that when he was at Crac des Chevaliers and in some danger from the Assassins, « When on account of our fear of the pagans we wouldn't dare to send messengers, we used to send pigeons carrying our letters under their wings to summon men of the city to us » [18]. According to a Scottish source, in 1266, when they were under pressure from the Mamluks : « ... there went out brothers of the Hospital, the Temple, and other houses, and the commune of Acre, as many as 7000 men, at night-time, and they took excellent booty from the Saracens. And the brothers of the Hospital sent to the hospital their pigeon with a letter concerning their deed ». Unfortunately, this did not prevent their being ambushed before regaining Acre [19].

There is a neat and ironic variation on the theme in 1271 when Sultan Baibars was besieging Montfort, which was held by the Teutonic Hospitallers. Ibn al-Furat records :

> « It happened that the Sultan was shooting arrows at the citadel when a bird passed him which he shot and which turned out to be carrying a note from a spy in the army giving information about him. This happened in the presence of the leader of the [Frankish] envoys to whom he handed the bird, saying : "Take it with you for the Franks to read, for the note was written to you by your spies and I shot the bird with my arrow. We are delighted with those who bring you news about us" » [20].

Although historians write that the pigeon-post in Syria was brought to an end in 1258 when the Mongols took Baghdad, it continued in Egypt, and was reinstated by the Egyptian rulers in the Near East. An excellent description of its operation circa 1400 may be found in Alqalqachandi's *Manual of Administration* [21].

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17. Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. H. Massé, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1972, p. 211. See also Baha'ad-Din, in F. Gabrieli ed., *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 201-202.

18. Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. R. Huygens, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1960, p. 93.

19. *A Scottish Chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood*, ed. M. O. Anderson, Edinburgh, The University Press, 1938, p. 173-177. For a discussion of this source see A. Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1985, p. 54.

20. Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids, Mamluks and Crusaders*, ed. U. and M. C. Lyons, Cambridge, Heffer and Sons Ltd, 1971, vol. 2, p. 151.

21. Al-Qalqachandi, *Manual of Administration*, ed. J. Sauvaget, in *Historiens Arabes*, Paris, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1946, p. 150-151.



Meanwhile in Europe the part played by pigeons in the crusades had become the stuff of legend. An example of the romantic tendency may be found as early as Orderic Vitalis, writing in the 1130s, who tells of the wife of Belek, hidden in the town of Kharput for a fortnight, who then sends out to her husband a pigeon with a letter tied to its neck containing full details of the capture of the tower, the slaughter of the guards and the devastation of the province. Every detail — the time elapsed, the sending out, the method of attachment, the weight of words — shows an absence of understanding of the practicalities [22].

The legendary role was developed most dramatically in the late poems of the crusade cycle : *Godefroid de Bouillon* and *La Chanson de Jérusalem*. Pigeons occur several times in these romances, and according to them pigeons came very close to delivering Jerusalem to the crusaders [23].

In the *Jérusalem* the Saracens who are under siege in Jerusalem have the idea of asking the emirs of Tyre and Damascus and the sultan of Persia for relieving forces by way of letters carried by pigeons. The crusaders spot the birds, have them brought down by their falcons and take the letters from them. They substitute other, reassuring letters. The recipients reply, also by pigeon, and again the pigeons are captured and a substitution made, so that the besieged Saracens learn with amazement that their Muslim allies are sending no relief.

In the *Godefroid* there is only the first substitution : the Saracen chief is pleased to receive the news that all the crusaders are dying of famine and so no help is needed. He disbands the infidel forces which were preparing to march on Jerusalem and they go home. Then the crusaders have pigeons brought specially from Antioch for the purpose of taking forged letters into Jerusalem. Gracien of Acre, a convert from Islam, writes letters which give Cornumarant (in Jerusalem) to understand that there is no point in waiting for his allies, and which advise him to surrender, promising him other lands under the sultan's suzerainty.

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22. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1978 (Oxford Medieval Texts), vol. 6, p. 116-117.

23. *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*, ed. F. de Reiffenberg, Brussels, L'Académie Royale, 1854, p. 92, 95, 130-131 and 497-506. *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. N. R. Thorp, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1992 (The Old French Crusade Cycle, 6), p. 95-100. See also P. Riant, « Inventaire des lettres historiques des croisades », *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 1 (1881), p. 196-197.

By the 1520s, and Paulus Aemylius' account of the deeds of the Franks, the pigeon's role in the capture of Jerusalem has become crucial :

> « And it happened that a pigeon flying over the Latins' camp was intercepted and seized by one of our hawks. Under its wing was found a letter penned in Arabic words and letters. It was read by an interpreter and said that relieving forces had been sent to the besieged and were on their way. Therefore our men resolved to anticipate them most energetically » [24].

This story is also the germ of Tasso's tale (1575), though the poet occupies five eight-line stanzas with a description of the dove chased by a falcon and taking refuge in the lap of Godfrey himself. The message is from the Chief General of Egypt and urges the « Lord of Judea » to stand fast until his arrival within five days. It is enough to persuade Godfrey he must attack at once. The dove, meanwhile, dares not return having failed to deliver her message [25].

This epic aggrandisement of the pigeon's role attests the fascination first evidenced by Albert of Aachen. Meanwhile, the reality behind the legend may solve a communication problem : if pigeons were used by the besieged Saracens it would explain the swift arrival of the Egyptian army at Ascalon following the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. Pigeon post is an aspect of medieval warfare which might repay further research.

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24. P. Aemylius, *De rebus gestis Francorum Libri IV*, Paris, J. Badius, 152-, p. 152.

25. T. Tasso, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, Firenze, Adriano Salani, 1924, p. 443-445 ; *Jerusalem Delivered*, ed. R. Nash, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1987, p. 393-394. See also E. Siberry, « Tasso and the Crusades : history of a legacy », *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), p. 163-169.

Yvonne FRIEDMAN

THE RANSOM OF CAPTIVES IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

According to Robert the Monk, Pope Urban II offered the prospective crusaders with the sublime task of liberating Jerusalem from captivity :

> « This royal city, in the center of the world is now captive in the hands of her enemies...she prays to be liberated and asks you to come and free her » [1].

Whether Urban really used this as a battle-cry or not, the chronicler, writing after the crusade's success, clearly presumed that the audience at Clermont would have responded to this call for deliverance. Orderic Vitalis used the same image when he described the triumphal entry into Jerusalem :

> « The Christians invested Jerusalem on 6 June, not as stepsons would a step-mother, but as sons would a mother. As friends and sons they surrounded her.... not to deprive her of freedom, but to free her from captivity » [2].

To what extent was the duty of freeing one's captives from the enemy's bondage an essential part of the crusader's thought and practice ? This is a difficult question to answer. The chivalrous laws of war of fourteenth century Europe that defined the rights of captors and captives in battle were as

1. Robert le Moine, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 3, p. 729.

2. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M.Chibnall, 9,15, vol. 5, Oxford, 1975, p. 157.

yet unformulated when the First Crusade set out [3]. The law of arms that the eleventh century knew was the Truce of God and the Peace of God that protected non-combatants from the hazards of warfare [4]. These laws, although formulated and promoted by the church, were meant to regulate the behaviour of the laity. But none of these regulations were valid for Holy War against the infidel. There everything was permitted, and some thought, even commendable. If however, the crusaders saw the war as an annihilation of their enemy, they could hardly have expected better treatment from their adversaries. According to Fulcher of Chartres the morality of ransoming captives was not highly developed at the time of the First Crusade [5].

Rabbi Joseph Kimḥi (1105-1170), a Jewish polemicist at the time of the Second Crusade claimed that Christian society was indifferent to the needs of captives :

> « If the Jew will see his fellow brother captive he will ransom him, if he is naked he will cover him, and he will not leave him to beg at the doors... And no man can deny that these virtues are common in Jews and their opposite are common in Christians » [6].

He indicated that Jews in the twelfth century thought that their Christian counterparts were less sensitive than themselves to the sufferings of captivity and less inclined to pay ransom.

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3. Honoré Bovet, *L'arbre des batailles*, N.A.R. Wright, « The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bouvet and the Laws of War », in C.T. Allmand (ed.), *War, Literature and Politics*, New York, 1976, p. 12-31. Paris of Pozzo, *De re militari*, 9,2, in M. Keen, *Laws of War*, Oxford, 1975.

4. R.C. Stacey, « The Age of Chivalry », in M. Howard, G.J. Andreopoulos, M.R. Shulman (edd.), *The Laws of War*, Yale, 1994, p. 27-32.

5. Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, I,2, tr. F.R. Ryan, H.S. Fink, Knoxville, 1969 [*infra* : Fulcher], p. 61 : « Moreover he saw the faith of Christendom excessively trampled upon by all, by the clergy as well as by the laity, and peace totally disregarded... many captives were taken unjustly and were most barbarously cast into foul prisons and ransomed for excessive prices, or tormented there by three evils, namely hunger, thirst and cold, and secretly put to death ». Guibert of Nogent describing his father Evrard's capture by William the Conqueror at the battle of Mortemer 1054 says : « The duke was not wont to hold captives for ransom, but to keep them in prison until the end of their lives ». Guibert does not describe the duke as especially cruel ; his narrative style is rather matter of fact, as if letting captives die was legitimate. J.F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France. The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*, New York, 1970, p. 69.

6. *The Book of the Covenant of Joseph Kimḥi*, ed. F.Talmage, Toronto, 1972, p. 33.

Yet, the ransom of captives was defined by Christian theology as a meritorious deed of charity[7]. It was a way to identify oneself with Jesus : « I was in prison and you came to me » (Matt. XXV,36). Canon law stipulated that church vessels might be sold for this purpose[8]. In the century before the crusades there were at least some cases in which church vessels were in fact sold to free a prominent captive. Thus, the monks of Cluny stripped their church of ornaments to free their abbot Maiol from the Saracens[9]. Around the millennium the treasures of St. Martial de Limoges were given to the Normans as ransom for the viscountess Emma of Limoges. When this did not suffice, Duke Richard II of Normandy intervened and succeeded through diplomatic channels to return Emma to her husband[10]. In both cases the captives were taken in a raid with the explicit aim of holding them to ransom, and not in the course of warfare. It is doubtful whether one can learn from these cases about the ideology and practice of the crusaders, setting out to fight a Holy War against the infidel.

The crusaders seem to have been quite unprepared for the practice of ransoming captives. The aim of this paper is to trace the process by which they learned to accept the need to negotiate with their enemies across the border of hatred and religious strife in order to cope with the problem of captivity.

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7. Carolyn Osiek, « The Ransom of Captives : Evolution of a Tradition », *Harvard Theological Review*, 74-4 (1981), p. 356-386. W. Klingshirn, « Charity and Power : Caesarius of Arles and the Ransoming of Captives in SubRoman Gaul », *Journal of Roman Studies*, 75 (1985), p. 183-203.

8. *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, Pars Secunda, Questio 2, C. 13 : *Vasa sacra, nisi pro redemptione captivorum non sunt alienanda. Apostolicos et paternos canones renovans hec sancta et universalis sinodus diffinivit, neminem prorsus episcopum vendere vel utcumque alienare cimilia et vasa sacrata, excepta causa olim ab antiquis canonibus ordinata, videlicet pro redemptione captivorum...* C. 70 : *Melius fuerat, ut vasa viventium servares quam metallorum..., Corpus iuris canonici, Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg,, Graz, repr. 1959, p. 690-691, p. 710. C.13 is based on the acts of the 8th general synod of 869, c.15 (Synodus octava generalis, Constantinopolis 869, cf. J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol.16, repr. Graz, 1960, p. 168). This was based on the *Novellae* of Jnstinianus, see G. Cipollone, *Christianità- Islam Cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio, Il tempo di Innocenzo III dopo il 1187*, Roma 1992 (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, 60) [*infra* : Cipollone], p. 234-237.

9. Rodulfi Glabri, *Historiarum libri quinque*, 1,4,9, ed. J. France, Oxford, 1989, p. 19.

10. Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, c.44, ed. J. Chavanon, Paris, 1897 (Collection de Textes pour servir a l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire), p. 166-167 (ca 1000) : *His diebus vicecomitissa Lemovicae Emma circa festivitatem Apostolorum et sancti Marcialis oratorum abiit ad Sanctum Michaelem Heremum, et noctu ibi a Normannis captivata, per tres annos exul trans mare est retenta. Ex thesauro Sancti Marcialis infinita auri et argenti pondera pro redemptione ejus data sunt, simulque imago aurea sancti archangeli, et alia copiosa ornamenta, quae omnia Normanni auferentes, mentita fide, mulierem non reddiderunt, donec post multos dies Richardus, comes Rotomagensis, eam ingeniose per legatos ultramarinos adquireret et viro suo Widoni liberam redderet.*

We will examine mainly the first two generations in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The preaching of the First Crusade did not include any reference to captivity as a possible outcome, although death and victory were dealt with extensively. Peter Tudebode even made Urban II elaborate on the misery awaiting the crusaders :

> « It is necessary that we suffer greatly for Christ's sake ; clearly this means misfortune, poverty, persecution, want, illness, nakedness, hunger, thirst and other tribulations.... and finally you shall receive great rewards » [11].

Captivity is not mentioned. This omission does not stem from lack of experience. Even on the eve of the Second Crusade, after many crusaders had in fact been taken captive, we find no ideological reference to them. Bernard of Clairvaux in his enthusiastic preaching knew of only two possibilities : *Sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint.* He thought that crusaders could only win — either victory or the crown of martyrdom. Captivity was defeat — and not taken into account [12].

However, reality did not conform to these expectations, and captives had been taken by both sides since the First Crusade. Already at the first encounter with the enemy, those who were unable to fly became an easy prey for the Turks :

> « They took away only young girls and nuns, whose faces and figures seemed to be pleasing to their eyes » [13].

It seems that the crusaders were quick to learn from experience, for at the battle of Dorylaeum (1 July,1097) the women were preparing themselves for captivity :

> « Stunned and terrified by the cruelty of this most hideous killings, girls who were delicate and very nobly born were hastening to get themselves dressed up, they were offering themselves to the Turks so that at least, roused and

11. Pierre Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolomitano Itinere*, ed. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, Paris, 1977 [*infra* : Tudebode] ; tr. Philadelphia, 1974, 1, p. 16.

12. Cipollone, p. 96-100.

13. Alberti Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 1,21, tr. S. Edgington [*infra* : AA]. I would like to thank Dr. Edgington for her generosity in letting me use her critical edition of the Latin text and English translation both to be published by Oxford Medieval Texts.

appeased by love of their beautiful appearance, the Turks might learn to pity their prisoners [14].

Captivity was probably considered quite shameful, and was certainly nothing to be proud of. As Fulcher of Chartres wrote realistically :

« Battle is dangerous, flight is shameful, but it is preferable to live as a weakling than to be dead and mourn forever » [15].

By the siege of Caesarea, selecting 1101, the Crusaders were also choosing their captives :

« Very few of the male sex were left alive. But a great many of the women were spared because they could always be used to turn the hand mills. When the Franks captured the women they bought and sold them, the comely and the ugly, among themselves, and the men also » [16].

For, of course, not only women were taken captive. Even where indiscriminate massacres are reported, as at Ma'arat an-Nu'man and Jerusalem, captives for ransom were in fact taken.

The first negotiations for liberating captives were accomplished by the Byzantines after the capture of Nicaea (Sept.,1096). This was part of the terms of the surrender of the city, and the crusaders themselves played a passive part [17].

When they had to fend for themselves, the Crusaders made it clear that they were unwilling to pay great sums to ransom their captives. Tudebode's moving story about Rainald Porchet may serve as an example :

« On the next day (3 April, 1098) the Turks led to the top of the wall of Antioch a noble knight, Rainald Porchet, whom they had imprisoned in a foul dungeon. They then told him that he should inquire from the Christian pilgrims how much they would pay for his ransom to save him from losing his head ».

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14. AA, 2,39.

15. Fulcher, 3,50,12.

16. Fulcher, 2,9,6.

17. Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1981 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63,63A) [*infra* : WT], 3,11 : « We earnestly beseech your serene highness, therefore, not to delay to send to these parts some of your principal men..They must also arrange for the transference of a great number of captives ».

So far this was normal procedure, and as good way as any to find out how much the knight was worth in ransom. The end of the story is however different from what one could expect :

> « From the heights of the wall Rainald adressed the leaders : "My lords, it matters not if I die, and I pray to you, my brothers, that you pay no ransom for me. But be certain in the faith of Christ and the Holy Sepulchre that God is with you and shall be forever ».

The emir Yaghi Siyan immediately ordered him to descend from the wall and offered him his life on condition that he would turn apostate. Rainald refused and was killed, and his soul was translated to Abraham's bosom....The enraged commander had all the other captured crusaders brought before him and burnt in a great pyre :

> « The Christians, those knights of Christ, shrieked and screamed so that their voices resounded in heaven to God for whose love their flesh and bones were cremated... » [18].

Rainald became one of the great heroes of the *Chanson d'Antioche* [19], and was hailed as a martyr and saint. We may perhaps be permitted to ask if his reputation for holiness was not at least in part due to the remorse of the crusaders who had refused to negotiate his ransom. The death of all the other captives was a result of Rainald's courageous behaviour, and their voices resounding to heaven cannot have been pleasant hearing.

But within a few years the attitude seems to have changed, and the Crusaders were willing to consider ransom.

According to Albert of Aachen Baldwin I was approached by messengers from Damascus with the proposal to ransom the prince of Galilee, Gervase of Basoches, in return for Acre, Haifa and Tiberias (Spring, 1108). Baldwin's answer was :

> « If you were holding in chains my own blood-brother and my entire family and all the leaders of the Christian people, we would never give these cities in return for any assurance of their lives, much less for a single man, when, if you were to kill him, our strength will not on that account be at all dimini-

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18. Tudebode, p. 79-81, translation, p. 58. Cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London, 1986, p. 115.

19. *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 170-188, lines 3900-4460, Paris, 1977, p. 214-235.

> shed, but at some time we shall extract retribution from you in return for his death ; it is not impossible with God and our Lord ».

Baldwin's message was that the Latin Kingdom was there to stay, and that he would not be blackmailed. He made a clear distinction, which should not be understated, between diplomatic negotiation with a king and bargaining over a captive's life, however distinguished he might be. For his refusal was preceded by the following offer :

> « If you were looking for gold and silver and other precious things in return for Gervase's safety and ransom, you could for certain obtain from us over a hundred thousand bezants ».

In the event, Gervase was publicly executed in Damascus [20].

The sum offered by Baldwin, 100.000 gold bezants is the equivalent of the ransom for a king in the Levant, which may prove that the crusaders had learned the usage of their neighbours. The offer itself, although rejected, shows a willingness to negotiate.

What was the custom regarding captives in the East ? Was there any established way to deal with them ?

In 986 Mukkadasi described the procedure of ransoming Muslim captives from Byzantine captors. Every time a Greek warship landed at one of the fortified ports (*Ribats*) people from Ramle were alerted and came down to the port to ransom the captives. The price quoted is three captives for a hundred dinars. Incidentally, the same sum is mentioned as the normal price of ransom in a Hebrew letter from the Cairo Geniza, describing the ransom of Jewish captives in 1099 after the conquest of Jerusalem. Luckily, says the writer, the crusaders did not know the normal price of three for a hundred and thus the sum collected by the communities in Egypt bought more captives than expected. This was apparently the price for an unimportant prisoner, but the fact that this price is quoted over a span of a century shows that ransom was part of everyday life in a frontier society like medieval Palestine [21]. Almost a century later, the Syrian diplomat Usamah ibn Munqid paid 43 dinars for a young man, with an old, useless one thrown in for good

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20 AA, 10,56,57. This story should be compared to the case of Gerard of Avesnes who was crucified on the wall of the city by the people of Arsuf in order to move Godfrey to end the siege. Godfrey did not acquiesce.(AA, 7,2). This story had a happy end as Gerard was later returned as part of the peace treaty between Godfrey and Ascalon.(AA, 7,15).

21. S.D Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol V, *The Individual*, Berkeley, 1982, p. 374-379. This is a translation of MSS. TS 10 J 5,f.6 and TS 20.113 from the Cairo Geniza in Cambridge University Library.

measure [22]. That is about the same minimum price we noted before. Prices did probably fluctuate according to the number of captives needing ransom, but a regular, minimum price points to a routine of ransom.

The crusaders did not at first know the tariff. Thus Mujir al Din wrote that Shaik 'Abd al-Salam al-Ansari was among the captives in Jerusalem in 1099. Learning that he was a prominent scholar, the Christians spared his life and he was taken to different places in Palestine to be ransomed for a thousand dinars. As the sum remained unpaid, he was killed. Scholars were apparently not highly prized [23]. [In Jewish law a man must ransom his teacher before his father] [24].

Necessity was a good teacher, and the crusaders learned quickly. Albert of Aachen sounds rather apologetical when he describes how Baldwin I preferred a high ransom to killing his prisoners in March 1101 :

> « The King took counsel with his nobles in order to receive a price for the prisoners, because in this new and unknown land he lacked much money for paying wages. And so now he spared all forty-five prisoners, whom he had decreed were to be beheaded, and in return for an unheard of sum of money, over fifty thousand golden bezants, they were released of their handcuffs and chains and put out of the Tower of David, and he sent them all, alive and unharmed, peacefully into the land of Damascus » [25].

Thus, the sum of approximately 1,000 bezants, while undoubted substantials, seems to have been the normal price for an important captive. While Baldwin was rather shamefaced according to Albert, he seems to have changed his mind by 1105. He may have learned to actually like the system. At the battle of Ramle, Fulcher, the king's chaplain laments :

> « Oh if Semelmulc (Sena-al-Mulk), the commander of their army, could have been captured, how much money might have been paid for his ransom to King Baldwin ! » [26].

In one case, money was even preferred to the freedom of one of their own peers : In 1104 a legation from Khorasan to Edessa offered Bohemond and

22. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. P.K.Hitti, London, Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh, 1987, p. 110,111.

23. M.A Hiari, « Crusader Jerusalem, 1099-1187 », in K.J. Asali (ed), *Jerusalem in History*, Buckhurst Hill, 1989, p. 138.

24. Bab. Talmud Baba Meziah, f.33a.

25. AA, 7, 53.

26. Fulcher, 2,32,9.

Tancred 15.000 bezants or Baldwin le Bourg's freedom as ransom for « a very noble woman ». After writing a polite letter of apology to the King of Jerusalem, they took the money, and left Baldwin in chains [27].

When it came to paying ransom the situation was even more problematic. The captivity of prominent leaders like Bohemond, Baldwin I and Baldwin II posed a serious problem. Who was to pay their ransom, and how much could be put at stake in order to free them by other means ?

According to Matthew of Edessa, Bohemond was ransomed in 1103 through the mediation and assistance of the Armenian prince Kogh Vasil for the enormous sum of one hundred thousand *dahekans* (roughly equivalent to bezants). The Armenian prince donated one tenth of the sum as his personal contribution, while Tancred, Bohemond's nearest kin and deputy gave nothing [28].

Fulcher of Chartres thought that the patriarch and the people of Antioch raised the money needed, and Albert of Aachen hints at an alliance between Bohemond and his captor against Kilij Arslan as part of the ransom. The negociation leading up to Bohemond's ransom seem to have been intricate and difficult. This was not due to indifference to Bohemond's fate. Two years earlier, in 1101, the Crusaders decided to enter Khorasan to free Bohemond from Turkish captivity. They were willing to put the whole expedition at risk, and did lose most of the army, but failed to accomplish their task [29].

The crusaders seem to have preferred to try to free captives by force rather than spend money on ransom, even if that would reduce the chances of the captives to return safely. The local Armenians who attempted unsuccessfully to free Baldwin II and Count Joscelin from Kharparth in 1122 and who were hanged, flayed and subjected to other inventive tortures, were praised by the chronicler as heroes who would surely receive their reward in heaven [30].

Joscelin of Courtenay's flight from the same prison appealed to William of Tyre who described it in great detail. The fact that nearly all the remaining prisoners were killed in consequence did not make the adventure less heroic.

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27. AA, book 9, 45 according to 9,46 it was in 1104.

28. A.D.Dostourian (ed.), *Armenia and the Crusades -The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, Lanham, 1993, 3,14, p 191 ; AA, 9,25-27.

29. AA, 8,7 ; Fulcher, 2,23.

30. WT, 12,18-19.

Exchange of prisoners was also considered a good way to free captives, and was a vital part of most peace treatises. The *Fidah*, a truce including such arrangements, was the religious pretext the Muslims used to make peace treaties acceptable.

When left with no other choice, the Franks did spend enormous sums on ransom, such as the alleged 100.000 bezants paid for Bohemond or Baldwin. But even a king was not irreplaceable, and there were rumours that the Franks had offered the crown to Charles the Good of Flanders when Baldwin II was in captivity [31].

Both Christians and Muslims killed prisoners of war without compunction [32]. The only reason to keep captives alive seemed to have been mercenary considerations, as when he could be sold as a slave, or when he was an important person and a high ransom could be expected. Captives were usually treated according to their rank. Knights and nobles, although they were the opponent on the battlefield, often inspired awe and respect for their prowess in battle, and were considered worth their price. Civilians were usually more harshly treated, sometimes tortured for the fun of it [33], or killed because it was considered expedient as part of a strategy of terror [34]. Matthew of Edessa has many gruesome descriptions of prisoners being tortured by both the Muslims and the Christians, from slicing off testicles to roasting babies on the fire [35].

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31. Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders*, transl. J.B. Ross, New York, 1960, c.5, p. 92-93.

32. There are numerous examples of both sides killing captives. One of the most famous is Richard the Lionheart's execution of captives in Acre during the third crusade, *Beha ed-Din, The Life of Saladin*, transl. C.W. Wilson, London, The Library of Palestine Pilgrms' Text Society, 1897, p. 272-275, and Saladin's avenging them with the lives of Christian prisoners, *ibid.*, p 279, 281. Cf. Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris, Paris, 1897 ; M.J. Hubert, J.L. La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard the Lionheart*, New York, 1976, p. 228, and *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolomitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, Oxford, 1972, p. 15. Baybars' displaying of the skulls of the massacred Templars on the wall of Safed in 1266 is also well known.Although these atrocities may have been unusual, killing captives was not (*Gestes des Chiprois*, cited by S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1954, p. 323.).

33. Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck, 1896 ; E. Hallam (ed), *Chronicles ot the Crusades*, London, 1989, p. 110 ; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege*, Woodbridge, 1992, p. 100, 312-313.

34. *Gesta Francorum*, 15.9.

35. Description of the Crusaders' behaviour : « The prince and a number of other eminent leaders died in prison, either in chains or by torture. Many had their eyes taken out, their hands severed, their noses cut, their testicles sliced off, or died tied to a cross ; even children were treated harshly out of hatred for their parents. these innumerable and unspeakable tortures had only one aim and purpose- to seize the treasures [the Armenians possessed] ; it was for this reason that the Franks devastated and ruined the land through such iniquitous cruel-

Was R. Joseph Kimhi right then, when he claimed that Christians were indifferent to the fate of their captives ? The evidence points in another direction.

It seems that in the twelfth century ransom was the private problem of the captive. A knight had to arrange his own release and pay his own ransom. After the battle of Malaha in 1157 the captives had to raise the enormous sums needed. The Byzantine emperor contributed to the ransom of Baldwin of Ibelin [36], but Walter Brisebarre had to sell Beirut to the king to finance his release. Even Johannes Gutman , who had offered to save the king's life in 1147, with « the swiftest horse in the kingdom » [37] had to sell his manor-house Bet Itab near Jerusalem and four other casalia to raise 1.400 bezants for his ransom [38]. It might be instructive to note that William of Tyre uses the word *captivus* or its derivatives 104 times in his history, while the verb *redimere* or *redemptio* is mentioned only 16 times.

Yet the XIII[th] century Assizes of the Crusaders claiming to represent XII[th] century customs, explicitly stipulated the obligation of a vassal to contribute to the ransom of his lord, and even pledge himself and suffer prison instead of the lord until the sum was paid [39], and children were obliged to do the same for their parents [40]. It is likely that these obligations crystallized during the previous decades. Our conclusion would be that the Crusaders were slow to accept that the problem of captives required a well-regulated financial solution.

The gradual development in the attitude to captivity and ransom was accelerated by the battle of Hattin. This battle was also the immediate cause of new directions. The special masses said after Hattin included a prayer for the captives [41]. The Military Orders for redemption stem from this period. The

ties », Matthew of Edessa, Part 2, c.73, p. 143-144. Description of Muslims' behavior : « The Emir Il-Ghazi (1120-1121) led into captivity all the men and women from Tell Bashir right up to Kesoun. Moreover, he inexorably massacred everyone and even had a tremendous number of children roasted over fire », Matthew of Edessa, part 2, 82, p. 226. Cf. Tudebode, 4, p. 19 who describes torture of prisoners as a sport.

36. R-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader State 1096-1204*, 1981 ; English trans., Oxford, 1993, p. 255.

37. WT, 16,10.

38. R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, Innsbruck,1893, n° 368, p. 97.

39. M. Le Beugnot (ed.), *Assises de la Haute Cour, Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, 249, Paris, 1841 (RHC, Lois ,vol. 1), p. 397-399.

40. E.H. Kausler (ed.), *Livres des Assises des Bourgeois*, c.235, Stuttgart, 1839 ; J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford ,1980, p. 449 (n. 7), p. 450-451.

41. *pro pace et pro deliberatione terrae Jerusalem et Christianorum captivorum qui in vinculis Saracenorum detinebantur*, A.Linder, « *Deus venerunt gentes*, Psalm :78 (79) in the

Trinitarians of Cerfroid [42], the order of Merced in Spain [43], the military order of Mountjoy [44] and the confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Acre [45] were all relatively late institutions founded to organize and fund the ransom of captives.

During the first two generations of the Latin Kingdom there was to my knowledge only one man who thought along those lines : the enigmatic abbot Elias described by Gerard of Nazareth. He played with the idea of offering himself and his followers to the Egyptians of Ascalon so as to obtain the liberation of an equal number of Christians held there in captivity, but his men talked him out of it [46].

At the Spanish frontier redemption was organized and funded by the cities in the twelfth century, and then by the redemptive orders [47]. In the Jewish community in Egypt none less a personality than Maimonides organized the fundraising for the Jewish captives of Bilbays in 1169-1171 [48].

The Crusaders had to wait to the end of the twelfth century to read a phrase like that used by Pope Innocent III in his letter to the Trinitarians : « ...those who are joyfully sustaining the yoke of barbarous captivity in hunger and thirst and in every kind of travail for Christ », or « how can I love my neighbour if I let him rot in a prison ? ». It seems that the defeat in 1187 made Christ a *quasi captivus* [49]. This new outlook may have been instrumen-

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Liturgical Commemoration of the Destruction of Latin Jerusalem », in B. Albert, Y. Friedman, S. Schwarzfuchs (edd.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in History IV in honour of A.Saltman*, Ramat-Gan, 1995, p. 145-171.

42. Founded 1192 by John of Matha at Cerfroid.

43. 1220.

44. A. Forey, « The Order of Mountjoy », in *Military Orders and Crusades*, Great Yarmouth, 1994 (Variorum Collected Studies Series, 11), p. 250-266, has shown that the Premonstratensian house at Mountjoy changed to a Military Order only at the end of the century and its main sphere of influence was Spain.

45 J. Riley- Smith, « A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem », *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), p. 301-308. The date is 1216.

46. *Eodem modo suis autor fuit, ut secum Ascalonem iter facerent, et sese captivos statuerent, ut totidem numero Christianos captivitate liberarent. Sed quia sociorum consiliis facile aquievit, apparet hoc omnino fictum simulatumque in ipso fuisse*, Gerard of Nazareth, *Vita abbatis Eliae*, ed. B.Z.Kedar, « Gerard of Nazareth : A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East. A Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader States ». *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37(1983), p. 75.

47. J. Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain, The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier*, Philadelphia ,1986.

48. M.A. Friedman, « New Sources from the Geniza for the Crusader Period and for Maimonides and his Descendants » [Hebrew], *Cathedra*, 40 (1986), p. 63-82.

49 In his letter *Desiderio desideravi*, see Cipollone, *op. cit.*, p. 357-363, 500, 513.

tal in evoking compassion for the non-combatant captives as well, and contributed to the popularity of the redemptive military orders.

To sum up : the need to organize and contribute money for the ransom of captives was not widely acknowledged in the first Latin Kingdom. The military orders were founded in crusader Palestine, the redemptive orders grew up and flourished elsewhere.

— III —

LES ORDRES MILITAIRES

Anthony LUTTRELL

THE EARLIEST TEMPLARS [1]

Following the crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 the Roman Church was established there under a Latin patriarch. The Western clergy were installed in the Holy Sepulchre and its Augustinian canons secular became a regular order in 1114. In or very soon after 1099 the brethren of the Latin hospice which was already functioning in Jerusalem were detached from the Benedictines of Sancta Maria Latina, on whom they had depended for several decades, and in 1113 these Hospitallers secured a papal privilege which confirmed their possession of properties they had acquired since 1099 and which recognized their status as professed religious, making them virtually an autonomous body ; as yet they had no military functions [2]. The foundation of the Temple came seven years later in 1120 [3].

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1. This paper, as originally read, was entitled « The Earliest Hospitallers and Templars » ; the section concerning the Hospital will be published separately. It seems possible, without adducing any entirely fresh evidence, to re-emphasize various aspects of the subject. As ever, Francesco Tommasi provided much inspiration and information ; I am grateful also to Peter Edbury, Margaret Jubb and Jonathan Riley-Smith for advice on particular points.

2. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus : c. 1050-1310*, London, 1967, p. 32-43 ; R. Hiestand, « Die Anfänge der Johanniter », in J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellman (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterordern Europas*, Sigmaringen, 1980, p. 31-56 ; A. Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades*, Aldershot, 1994, item I.

3. M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri : Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens, 1118/9-1314*, Göttingen, 1974, p. 19-23 ; A. Demurger, *Vie et Mort de l'Ordre du Temple : 1118-1314*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1989, p. 15-26 ; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood : a History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 6-11.

Certain passages in the Templars' primitive Latin rule of 1129 evidently reflected their customs during the years following 1120 [4], but their origins have usually been described on the basis of later sources contaminated during the rewriting and revision of their rule at the Council of Troyes, where the Temple received formal recognition from the Roman Church in 1129. The story was further deformed by the « Cistercianizations » of Bernard of Clairvaux [5] and by the much later inaccuracies and prejudices of Guillaume of Tyre and other historians. The brief account of the Temple's origins copied or, more probably, summarized in 1232 by Bernard the Treasurer, a monk at Corbie [6], has been utilized by some scholars [7], but more generally it has been ignored [8], presumably because of the comparatively late date of Bernard's chronicle. The first nine chapters of Bernard's history reached the 1180s and were probably, though not certainly, based largely on the lost work of Ernoul. Bernard's account of the Templars' origins, his second chapter, was either an abridgement of the early part of the Oriental history of Ernoul, who was a servant of Balian d'Ibelin in 1187 and may still have been alive in 1232, that is it was an abridgement of a part of the history for which Ernoul was not a living witness, or it was taken from some other source. The abridgement of the early events in the first nine chapters is a mere outline, a jumbled and disjointed assemblage of disparate materials. [9] Furthermore, Bernard's second chapter is quite different from Guillaume of Tyre's account of the Templars' origins, and it fits awkwardly into Bernard's overall narrative. Whether the source used in the second chapter was available to Ernoul in the East or to Bernard in the West, it seems likely that it was not part of the main history on which Bernard based his chronicle. This unknown source was apparently an early one since, except for certain concluding remarks which were probably additions to the original source, Bernard's sec-

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4. Detail in G. de Valous, « Quelques Observations sur la toute primitive. Observance des Templiers et la *Regula Pauperum Commilitonum Christi Templi Salamonici*, rédigée par Saint Bernard au Concile de Troyes (1128) », in *Mélanges Saint Bernard*, Dijon, 1953, p. 34-39.

5. Cf. F. Tommasi, « *Pauperes Commilitones Christi* : Aspetti e Problemi delle Origini gerosolimitane », in *« Militia Sacra » e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, Milan, 1992, p. 472-475.

6. *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, éd. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871, p. 7-9 ; variant text in M. Jubb, *A Critical Edition of the « Estoires d'Outremer et de la Naissance Salehadin »*, London, 1990, p. 46-47.

7. Especially in Tommasi, *Pauperes*, *op. cit.*, p. 460-467, developing suggestions in K. Elm, « Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab : ein Beitrag zur Entstehung und Frühgeschichte der palästinensischen Ritterorden », in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Demurger, *Vie et Mort*, *op. cit.*, p. 25, quotes a brief passage from the chapter.

8. Eg., most recently, Barber, *New Knighthood*, *op. cit.*, p. 335-336, nn. 6, 8.

9. M. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973, p. 117-137 ; the chronicle's chapter on the Temple requires further investigation

ond chapter ignored developments in the Temple after about 1120. It is here presumed that his second chapter derived from an early and acceptable account of the Templars' origins, very possibly written even before the events of 1129 of which it displayed no awareness.

A wave of religious and other enthusiasms in the Christian West culminated in 1099 in the Latin conquest of the Holy Sepulchre. At once a number of Westerners gathered around that shrine, and they included clerics who adopted a life directed towards active community service rather than a closed Benedictine regime of prayer. In July 1099 some of these were endowed by the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem, Geoffroi of Bouillon, as the canons secular of a Latin cathedral, the Holy Sepulchre [10]. The patriarch needed armed manpower ; in fact, in 1101 he was compelled to agree to pay for the service of thirty knights [11]. Among the available *milites*, men who fought usually on horse, there were probably a number of secular *confratres* who were associated with the Holy Sepulchre [12]. Some such military men in Jerusalem may have been survivors of the conquest of 1099, while others were perhaps unattached or lordless pilgrims or other new arrivals who needed a focus for their general pious intention to fight a holy war. Given the numerous departures and the high mortality rate, this military force must have been a small one, a confused assortment which included those who called themselves *milites Christi* or *milites sancti Sepulchri*, some of whom served for a limited period as *milites ad terminum* [13]. The Latin church in Jerusalem made no particular provision for such military individuals, but a few of them evidently became Augustinian lay associates who were not fully professed religious but who served under some form of obedience to the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre. Between 14 January and 13 September 1120 [14], some of these Westerners broke away from the Holy Sepulchre to form an

10. H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte in Königreich Jerusalem*, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 1-2 ; no military order of the Holy Sepulchre existed in the XIIth century.

11. ... *triginta milites in conventione solidorum se procurare promisit* : Albert of Aix, in *RHC, Hist. Occ.*, IV, Paris, 1889, p. 545-547 ; cf. Elm, « Kanoniker », *op. cit*., p. 157-158.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 152-157, and J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 311-315 ; but their examples date after 1120.

13. G. Ligato, « Fra Ordini cavallereschi e Crociata : *milites ad terminum* e *confraternitates* armate », in « Militia Christi », *op. cit.*, but the terminology of the texts is often vague. Ligato discusses the *milites Sancti Sepulchri* serving *ad terminum*, but these did not constitute an order and are documented only after 1120 ; he also considers evidence for non-Templars serving the Temple *ad terminum* after 1120. The multiple meanings of *militia*, many found in the ideological literature, are discussed exhaustively throughout « Militia Christi », *op. cit*.

14. For the date, established by Rudolph Hiestand, see Tommasi, « *Pauperes* », *op. cit.*, p. 455-458 ; Barber, *New Knighthood*, *op. cit*., p. 8-9 ; *infra*.

incipient military order. Bernard the Treasurer' second chapter described these events as follows [15] :

Coment Templier vindrent en avant

Quant li Chrestiien orent conquis Jherusalem, si se rendirent asses de chevaliers au temple del Sepucre [16] *; et mout s'en i rendirent puis de toutes tieres. Et estoient obeissant au prieus dou Sepucre. Il i ot des boins chevaliers rendus* [17] *; si prisent consel entr'iaus et disent : « Nous avoumes guerpies noz tieres et nos amis, et sommes chi venu pour la loy Dieu i lever et essauchier. Si sommes chi arreste pour boire et pour mengier et por despendre, sans oevre faire ; ne noient ne faisons d'armes, et besoingne en est en le tiere ; et sommes obeissant a un priestre, si ne faisons euvre d'armes. Prendons consel, et faisons mestre d'un de nos, par le congie de no prieus, ki nous conduie en bataille quant lius en sera ».*

A icel tans estoit li rois Bauduins. Si vinrent a lui, et disent : « Sire, pour Dieu, consillies nous, qu'ensi faitement avons esgarde a faire maistre de l'un de nous qui nous conduie en bataille, pour le secours de le tiere ». Li rois fu moult lies, et dist que volentiers i meteroit consel et aie.

Adont manda li rois le patriarche et les archevesques et les veskes et les barons de la terre, pour consel prendre. La prisent consel, et s'accorderent tuit que bien estoit a fere. La vint li rois, si lor donna tiere et castiaus et villes. Et la fist tant li rois et ses consaus viers le prieus dou Sepucre qu'il les quita de l'obedienche, et qu'il s'en departirent ; fors tant que de l'ensegne de l'abit del Sepucre em portent encore une partie. L'ensegne de l'abit dou Sepucre est une crois vermelle a deux bras, [tele le porte li Ospitaus]. Et cil del Temple le portent toute single viermelle. [Et si jeta li Ospitaus le Temple, et se li dona son relief et l'ensegne c'on apele l'ensegne del Bauçant].

Or vous dirai pourquoy il ont a non Templier. Quant il se partirent del Sepucre, il n'orent u manoir. Li rois avoit. III. riches manoirs en le cite de Jherusalem ;.I. en haut, a la Tour Davi ; et une en bas, devant le Tour Davi ; et le tierce devant le Temple, la ou Dex fu offert. Chel manoir apieloit on le Temple Salemon ; c'estoit li plus rices. Il proierent le roy qu'il lor prestast

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15. The text given here is based on that in *Chronique d'Ernoul*, *op. cit.*, p. 7-9.

16. Two manuscripts (A and B) gave *au Sepulcre*, but the majority read *au temple del Sepulcre* ; all three manuscripts of the *Estoires* (Jubb, *Critical Edition*, *op. cit.*, p. 46) gave *al Temple del Sepulcre*. There was presumably some error or anachronism in at least one or more of these passages.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 46 : *Il ot au Temple de boins [or mout de boins] chevaliers rendu*. Tommasi, *Pauperes*, *op. cit.*, p. 466-470, interprets *rendu* as *redditus*, analogous to *oblatus*, *donatus* or *confrater*. By 1157 the Arabic term for the Templar was *Dāwayya* which can be interpreted as deriving from Latin *devotus* or French *devot* : R. Humphreys, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam : Supplement*, fascs. 3-4, Leiden, 1981, p. 7-9.

celui manoir, de ci qu'il en averoient un fait. Li rois lor presta celui manoir c'on apiele Temple Salemon, dont il ont a non Templier, pour çou qu'il y manoient. La faisoient il le past le Roy, quant il portoit couronne en Jherusalem[18]*. Puis fisent il. I. biaus et rice manoir encoste, que li Sarrasin abatirent quant il prisent la cite, que se li rois vosist avoir le sien, que il i peussent manoir*[19]*. [Ainsi li Templier [furent] en avant apele Templier].*

According to this text, a group of knights had come from « all lands » to Jerusalem where they served under obedience to the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre. They passed their time in eating, drinking and idling around the Holy Sepulchre but grew tired of this inaction and of their lack of proper military direction ; with the prior's permission, they chose a leader and went to the king, saying that they wished to serve under a military commander who would lead them against the infidel. The king summoned the patriarch, bishops and barons to a council ; they persuaded the prior to release these knights from his obedience, and the king gave them « land and castles and towns »[20]. A donation of 1137 did indeed speak of the Temple being founded by « divine providence », with the counsel of the Patriarch Warmund and the barons, for the defence of the land and of the pilgrims[21].

Bernard the Treasurer reported that the proto-Templars had worn a part of the Holy Sepulchre's two-barred red cross and continued to wear it after 1120 but with only one bar ; that was quite possibly correct[22]. One

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18. After his coronation the king dined in the *Templum Salomonis* ; the Templars may after 1120 have owed him a banquet in recognition of his *dominium* over their house, but the practice went back to 1102 : H.E. Mayer, « Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), p. 159, 170, 199, 203. *Chronique d'Ernoul, op. cit.*, p. 117-118, itself reported Baldwin IV eating in the Temple after his coronation in 1183.

19. Jubb, *Critical Edition, op. cit.*, p. 47 : ... *por çou ke se li rois vausist ravoir [or avoir] le sien, ke il i peuscent traire com el lor*. The passage presumably means that the Templars later built a fine new house next to that in the *Templum Salomonis* in which they could remain if the king demanded his house back.

20. Much speculation concerning the Templars' origins is unjustified. Forey, *Military Orders, op. cit.*, item I, p. 175-177, discusses manpower shortage and pilgrim defence. Ivo of Chartres' letter of circa 1114 concerning Hugues of Champagne's coming Jerusalem journey and an *evangelica... militia* scarcely constitutes any clear indication that a Templar order was already being planned : Forey, *Military Orders, op. cit.*, item I, p. 175/6, n. 2. Forey, *ibid.*, p. 177-181, dismisses the theory that the Temple's foundation was influenced by the Muslim *ribat*.

21. [Marquis] d'Albon, *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre du Temple : 1119?-1150*, Paris, 1913, p. 99.

22. Demurger, *Vie et Mort, op. cit.*, p. 78-79, regards this detail as fantasy. The Latin rule of 1129 made no mention of any cross, *baussant* or banner. A later tradition in Guillaume of Tyre and others held that the red cross was assigned to the Temple in 1147 : Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus, op. cit.*, p. 38.

manuscript alone [23] stated in addition that the Hospitallers also wore the two-barred cross ; quite possibly they did, since the earliest known seal of a Hospitaller Master, datable to 1134, and also those of his successors, showed both the two-barred cross and the Holy Sepulchre [24]. This manuscript was also the only one which implied that, as seems not unlikely, the proto-Templars had been lodged in the Hospital, which was next to the Holy Sepulchre, since it said either that the Hospital expelled them or that it let them leave : *Et si jeta li Ospitaus le Temple*. It was, furthermore, the only manuscript to add that the Hospital gave the Templars their *relief* or left-overs of food, a statement for which there is also good, though later, evidence [25] ; there was a much later reference to *elemosina* received by the Templars from the Hospital. [26] However the claim in this one manuscript that the Hospitallers gave their *bauçant* or banner to the Templars seems doubtful [27]. It is unclear why this one manuscript contained extra material relating to the Hospital or, alternatively, why only one manuscript did not suppress such material during the process of abridgement. The report that the king *presta* or lent, not gave, the Templars a residence elsewhere in the city in the *Templum Salomonis* within the precinct of the *Templum Domini* seems accurate ; in fact, Guillaume of Tyre wrote e*is ad tempus concessit habitaculum* [28]. Doubtless the Temple side of the city needed to be defended, and the king must have

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23. G. Schlumberger, « Neuf Sceaux de l'Orient Latin », *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 2 (1894), p. 180-181 ; plates II, 5-7.

24. Ms. F of which Ms. O is an eighteenth-century copy.

25. The *relief* or *residuum* was possibly redeemed between 1243 and 1258. The Hospitaller Chronology of the Deceased Masters (text of circa 1347/53) in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. franç., 1979, f. 181, reported : *Apres fu maistre G. de Chastelneuf... au tens dou quel le temple leuoit le releu delhospital. Et il lachate dou maistre dou temple qui estoit son frere per le pris dun cheval*. Riley-Smith, *Knights, op. cit*., p. 156, n. 5, points out that it was Garin de Montaigu (1207-1228) whose brother was Master of the Temple.

26. Writing before 1241, Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Chronicon*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Scriptores*, XXIII, Hanover, 1874, p. 820, stated : *Illum autem est mirabile, quod ordo militie Templi cepit de elemosina fratrum Hospitalis*.

27. It is not clear why the Hospital should have had a banner in 1120 some years before it was militarized, and there is no other evidence that the Hospital ever had a piebald banner. On the *baussant*, see F. Tommasi, « L'Ordine dei Templari a Perugia », *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, 78 (1981), p. 73-75. The black-and-white piebald *baussant* of the Temple in mid-thirteenth century manuscripts of Matthew Paris is shown in Barber, *New Knighthood, op. cit*., plate 6, and in H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights : Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester, 1993, p. 69. Alongside it in the latter scene is the Hospital's banner with a white cross on a red background : both are shown in T. Tremlett, « The Matthew Paris Shields c. 1244-1259 », in *Aspilogia, being Materials of Heraldry*, ed. A. Wagner, II : *Rolls of Arms : Henry III*, Oxford, 1967, p. 25-26, 66-67, 82 ; plate 1a.

28. Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R. Huygens, Turnhout, 1986, t. I, p. 553. Many translations and commentaries ignore the phrase *ad tempus*, yet the words *quedam ad tempus, quedam in perpetuum* (at p. 554) make the meaning clear. See also *supra*, n. 19.

seen a general advantage in creating a permanent military force which could help protect his kingdom. The Templars, as *religiosi laici* who were not clerics, faced no canonical bar to their bearing arms.

Though the Latins' defeat at the *Ager Sanguinis* in June 1119 possibly precipitated the formation of the Temple, which may have been accepted by the assembly of barons and clergy at Nablus in January 1120, Bernard the Treasurer's account did not ascribe any initiative to the king, to the patriarch or to any individual such as the first Master Hugues de Payns ; nor did it mention the protection of pilgrims. There was as yet no allusion to the objectives or influence of the Gregorian reforms, of the peace movement or of crusading indulgences ; there was no mention of debates about any Christian *militia*, the just war or the theoretical contradictions between military and religious ideals, while there was no talk of monks, of military monks or of a *novum militiae genus*. Many such matters were certainly in the minds of contemporaries by 1120 but they did not necessarily influence the founding Templars. Distinctions between canons and monks remained far from clear and the idea of a religious order still lacked precise canonical definition ; Bernard of Clairvaux did not intervene in the Temple's affairs until about 1129. What seems certain about the earliest Templars is merely that a few military individuals in Jerusalem wished to live a poor, religious and perhaps penitential life while also fighting the infidel. They secured exemption from obedience to the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre in 1120 but they had no formal rule of their own and lacked any papal recognition before 1129 ; in 1120 they were recognized by the patriarch, by the king and by the barons, and they remained under the patriarch's jurisdiction even after 1129[29]. There were many declarations of the Templars' poverty as *pauperes commilitones* but that condition must have been limited by their need for military followers, equipment and horses, and by the gifts and donations they soon received.

The original Templars included the first Master Hugues de Payns, who was in Syria from 1113 onwards, and Geoffroi of Saint Omer, both men of some birth and of standing, as was Robert of Craon, the second Master. A temporary associate of the Temple in 1120 and 1121 was Foulques Count of Anjou, while Hugues Count of Champagne became a Templar in 1125. The earliest Hospitallers were mainly men of obscure origins who lacked noble connections and who seem to have come from Southern France, Italy and Catalunya ; by contrast, many of the earliest Templar brethren originated from a limited area of Northern France and were connected to one another

29. Valous, « Quelques Observations », *op. cit.*, p. 35, 38-39. On the status in canon law of the earliest « military orders », see Elm, « Kanoniker », *op. cit.*, p. 159-163. The Temple became fully independent only after 1139 : Barber, *New Knighthood*, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 56-58.

by birth or other ties. None of them is known to have participated in the conquest of 1099 [30].

Other historians, none of them contemporary and all of them probably writing well after Bernard the Treasurer's unknown original source, varied in detail. Writing before 1186, Guillaume of Tyre, whose account very soon became the standard one, stated that certain *nobiles viri de equestri ordine* decided to form an order ; that nine brethren made perpetual vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to the patriarch and became regular canons sworn to live *more canonicorum regularium* ; that the king and the Augustinian canons of the *Templum Domini* provided them with lodgings and space in the Temple precinct ; that the king and his barons, the patriarch and his clergy endowed them with benefices ; and that their original function was to protect Christian routes and pilgrims [31]. Michael the Syrian, who died in 1199, wrote that Hugues de Payns had gone to Jerusalem to become a monk but that instead he had fought there for the king during three years and with thirty knights ; the king and the barons then encouraged them to continue the fight as soldiers rather than as monks, the king and the patriarch endowing them with villages [32].

If the Templars were ever some sort of third order attached to the Augustinian canons regular at the Holy Sepulchre [33], that must have been between 1114, when the canons adopted a regular life, and 1120 when the founding Templars began to live as canons regular, according at least to Richard of Poitou writing in about 1153, who reported that they lived *more monachorum* in chastity and discipline, eating in silence [34]. That would have made them lay religious rather than tertiaries or members of a third order. Nothing certain is known of their earliest customs, but a permanent institution with a house and endowments clearly existed from 1120 onwards. Hugues de Payns is not documented as *magister* of the *milites Templi* before 1225 [35]. On 30 December 1119 *Ugo de Pazence* appeared as witness without title or de-

30. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus*, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20 *et passim* ; Barber, *New Knighthood*, *op. cit.*, p. 6-8, 11 *et passim*.

31. Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 553-555.

32. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche : 1166-1199*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, III, Paris, 1905, p. 201-203.

33. As suggested in J. Leclercq, « Un document sur les débuts des Templiers », *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 52 (1975), p. 85, and much repeated.

34. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus*, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

scription [36], and *Hugo de Peans* was a witness and still without title in another act, probably made in the year from 14 April 1120 to 13 April 1121 [37]. It might be, therefore, that the Temple was founded after 13 April and possibly before 13 September 1120 [38].

Bernard the Treasurer apart, none of the early writers emphasized the Templars' Holy Sepulchre connection. The Templars may at first have used the nearby Augustinians of the *Templum Domini* as priests, though their rule of 1129 allowed brethren to go at night to the Holy Sepulchre to pray : they were not to go into town *preter noctu ad Sepulchrum et ad orationes que intra muros sancte civitatis continentur* [39]. The Templars' rule was strongly Augustinian in character [40]. Their liturgy was that of the Holy Sepulchre [41] ; the French version of their rule, datable to 1140 circa, stated that it was taken de l'*ordenaire del Sepulchre* [42]. In the West the Templars built a very few round or polygonal churches of the type inspired by the Holy Sepulchre [43].

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36. *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem : 1000-1310*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, I, Paris, 1894, n° 53, redated in H.E. Mayer, « Zur Geschichte der Johanniter im 12. Jahrhundert », *Deutsches Archiv*, 47 (1991), p. 139-148.

37. The text, in H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, Paris, 1880, p. 37-38, has always been dated 1123 ; it reads *MCXXIII*, but year three (*tercio*) of king and of patriarch both give 1120/1121, and the scribe seems more likely mistakenly to have put *MCXXIII* for *MCXX* once, than twice to have put *tercio* for *quinto*.

38. Accepting the debatable deduction from a charter of 13 September 1128 stating that it was made in the ninth year from the Temple's foundation : d'Albon, *Cartulaire*, *op. cit.*, p. 10-11.

39. *La Règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon, Paris, 1886, p. 45-46. There may have been temporary non-Templar chaplains, since the 1129 rule referred once to *omnibus militibus remanentibus necnon et capellanis... alli autem videlicet armigeri et clientes*, and again to *capellanis vel aliis ad tempus manentibus* : *ibid.*, p. 36, 64.

40. Elm, « Kanoniker », *op. cit*, p. 160 ; Tommasi, « *Pauperes* », *op. cit.*, p. 464-465. M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, « The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Knights Templar », in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York, 1992, p. 59-60, emphasizes the rule's Benedictine aspects.

41. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus*, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ; Elm, « Kanoniker », *op. cit.*, p. 164, n. 99.

42. *La Règle*, *op. cit.*, p. 205-206.

43. Demurger, *Vie et Mort*, *op. cit.*, p. 195-196, 369 ; add M. Gervers, « Rotondae Anglicanae », *Actes du XVIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, Budapest 1972, p. 363-367 and, P. Ritoók, « The Architecture of the Knights Templars in England », in M. Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders : Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Aldershot, 1994. The dome, the *tuba* or *cuba*, on Templar seals probably represented the *Templum Domini* (Tommasi, « *Pauperes* », *op. cit.*, p. 449-450) or possibly the Holy Sepulchre (Demurger, *Vie et Mort*. *op. cit.*, p. 79).

The earliest Templars emerged in 1120 from a background of dependence on and obedience to the Holy Sepulchre to form an autonomous group, perhaps in imitation of the Hospitallers. Quite probably they had lodged within the Hospital nearby and been in some ways subordinate to it ; that would have been consistent with the Templars' rights to *elemosina* or to table left-overs which perhaps developed into some sort of dining rights in the Hospital. After 1120 the nature and ideology of the Temple changed quite rapidly and extensively under all sorts of influences concerned to adapt or to exploit it, or in some cases to provide theoretical justifications for its activities.

Simonetta CERRINI

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA RÈGLE DU TEMPLE

Etudes pour une nouvelle édition des versions latine et française

La Règle du Temple est le seul texte à nous livrer le portrait « autorisé » du Templier. Seulement, il n'y a pas qu'une seule Règle : en effet, le texte de la Règle a une origine latine et a été fixé au cours et à la suite du Concile de Troyes en 1129 [1]; par contre, les *Retrais*, c'est-à-dire les statuts, et le reste du matériel juridique de l'Ordre — avec peut-être quelques exceptions comme la liste des fêtes et des jeûnes à observer — ont été rédigés directement en français, avec des patines plus ou moins épaisses d'autres langues romanes [2]. Les *Retrais* sont généralement précédés dans les manuscrits par une version française de la Règle qui pourtant s'éloigne beaucoup de son original latin : il n'y a pas la table des articles ; la disposition de la matière, qui reste d'ailleurs presque identique, est très différente; on rencontre également quelques

1. Le Concile de Troyes n'a pas eu lieu le 13 janvier 1128, mais le 13 janvier 1129 ; il fallait appliquer à la date reçue le style suivi en Champagne à cette époque, où l'année commençait le 25 mars : R. Hiestand, « Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 99 (1988), p. 308. Le milieu du Concile et la question de la date sont étudiés par A. Demurger, *Vie et mort de l'Ordre du Temple*, Paris, 1989, 2e éd., p. 23-24 et 40-44.

2. Dorénavant, pour simplifier, avec le mot Retrais, qui exactement désigne une partie spécifique de la jurisprudence de l'Ordre, nous allons saisir tout son *corpus* juridique, à l'exception de la Règle.

divergences ponctuelles dans le texte qui comportent par exemple des ordres décidément contradictoires [3].

Status quaestionis

Si nous voulons lire la Règle, nous devons actuellement faire recours à l'édition de 1908 de Gustav Schnürer, qui a publié le texte latin d'après deux manuscrits [4], et à l'édition de 1886 de Henri de Curzon, qui a publié le texte français de la Règle et des *Retrais* d'après trois manuscrits [5]. Mais, après presqu'un siècle, la situation a beaucoup évolué : nous avons à présent six manuscrits latins et quatre français qui présentent le texte de la Règle ; les *Retrais* ou autre matériel juridique nous sont parvenus grâce à cinq manuscrits dont la langue de base est le français et à trois manuscrits latins, qui, eux, ne contiennent que de brefs fragments des *Retrais* et la liste des fêtes et jeûnes à observer [6]. Bien sûr, entre-temps ont vu le jour des transcriptions, complètes ou partielles, de quelque nouveau manuscrit et aussi des traductions, toutes pourtant liées, dans le meilleur des cas, aux vieilles éditions critiques [7]. Maintenant, une nouvelle édition s'impose, et une édition qui, en comparant les deux versions, puisse contribuer à éclairer plusieurs questions, à savoir l'origine des Templiers et de leur Règle, la diffusion de leur esprit de vie commune, les sources spirituelles où ils ont puisé pendant toute leur histoire, du début au bûcher de 1314 [8].

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3. Pour une première esquisse sur la tradition de la Règle et des Retrais, qui prévoit une description codicologique de tout le *corpus* des manuscrits, avec la bibliographie sur tout ce dont il est question dans cet article, il faut voir : S. Cerrini, « Nuovi percorsi templari tra i manoscritti latini e francesi della Regola », dans R. Bordone (a cura di), *Regione Piemonte, Atti del convegno I Templari in Piemonte, dalla storia al mito. Torino 20 ottobre 1994*, Torino, s.d. [1995], p. 35-56.

4. G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel, kritisch untersucht und herausgegeben*, Freiburg i. B., 1908.

5. H. de Curzon, *La règle du Temple*, Paris 1886 (Société de l'Histoire de France).

6. Voir Cerrini, « Nuovi percorsi templari », *op. cit.*, où l'on fait aussi référence aux manuscrits qui ne comprennent que les *Retrais* ou des fragments des Retrais, ce qui dans le contexte de cet article n'est pas considéré. Pour le ms. de Paris, Bibl. Nationale, lat. 10478, qui contient un fragment des Retrais en latin et aussi des prières, voir Cerrini, « Festività templari », dans *Templari a Piacenza. Le tracce di un mito*, Piacenza, 1995, p. 80-83.

7. Après la traduction en français de L. Dailliez, *La Règle des Templiers*, Nice, Alpes-Méditerranée éd., [1977], est parue la version anglaise par J.M. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars. The French Text of the Rule of the Order of Knights Templar*, Cambridge, 1992, et la version italienne, *I Templari. La Regola e gli Statuti dell'Ordine*, Genova, Ecig, 1995. Il s'agit toujours de traductions de l'édition Curzon.

8. Une nouvelle édition critique des versions latine et française de la Règle est le sujet de la thèse de doctorat que je suis en train de rédiger pour l'Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne sous la direction de Geneviève Hasenohr ; le titre est le suivant : *Une expérience neuve au sein de*

Ici, nous nous proposons de donner une analyse rapide de tous les témoins manuscrits de la Règle du Temple [9], d'abord les six en latin, ensuite les quatre en français, pour conclure avec un *panorama* qui considère toute la tradition de ce texte et qui commence à nous éclairer sur « qui » lisait la Règle et « laquelle ».

La tradition latine de la Règle

Brugge, Stedelijke Openbare Bibliotheek, MS. 131

Le manuscrit de Bruges n'a pas eu la chance d'être connu par Gustav Schnürer avant qu'il publie son édition ; par la suite il a été transcrit et reproduit en fac-similé par Laurent Dailliez, qui le désigne comme « Le plus ancien texte de la Règle du Temple » [10].

Ce n'est pas exactement ainsi. En effet, selon Françoise Gasparri qui m'a très gentiment donné son avis, nous avons là un manuscrit du troisième tiers du XIIe siècle, 1160-1180 environ. Mais, d'après une analyse paléographique, trois autres manuscrits de la Règle partagent en gros cette datation, en particulier, comme nous verrons ensuite, le manuscrit de Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15045), celui de Münich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649), et le manuscrit de Londres (British Library, Cotton, Cleopatra B. III. 3).

En effet, le XIIe siècle est bien le siècle de transition, où l'écriture caroline devient l'écriture gothique, et cela arrive plus rapidement si l'on passe du Nord au Sud et de l'Ouest à l'Est de l'Europe [11]. Or, dans notre cas, l'écriture qui nous présente ce manuscrit pourrait être définie caroline gothicisée [12] ou

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la spiritualité médiévale : l'Ordre du Temple (1119/1120-1314). Etude et édition des Règles latine et française.

9. J'ajoute un astérisque pour les manuscrits que j'ai vu personnellement ; pour les autres j'ai utilisé des microfilms, ou seulement des descriptions dans le cas du manuscrit de Dijon qui a été volé en 1985.

10. Dailliez, « Le plus ancien texte de la Règle du Temple. Le Manuscrit 131 de la Bibliothèque de Bruges », *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor geschiedenis gesticht onder de benanning Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, 111 (1974), p. 175-200, et le fac-similé dans Dailliez, *La Règle des Templiers*, *op. cit.*, p. 20-76 et 78-108.

11. J'ai fait réference pour toutes les questions paléographiques affrontées ici, et en particulier pour le passage de l'écriture caroline à l'écriture gothique qui concerne tous nos manuscrits, surtout aux textes suivants : G. Battelli, *Lezioni di paleografia*, Città del Vaticano, 1949, 3e éd., p. 195-98 ; J. Stiennon, *Paléographie du Moyen Age*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1991, 2e éd., p. 115-18 ; B. Bischoff, *Paleografia latina*, Padova, Antenore, 1992 (Antichità e Medioevo, a cura di G.P. Mantovani, S. Zamponi), p. 169-83.

12. Stiennon, *Paléographie*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

gothique primitive française du Nord, selon Françoise Gasparri. Elle a toutes les caractéristiques notées par Giulio Battelli pour la *minuscola carolina* du XIIe siècle, y compris la présence du *e* cédillé pour le diphtongue *ae* qui, pour la Belgique, n'est utilisé qu'avant 1180, ce qui, une fois le manuscrit localisé, confirmerait la datation que nous avons donné [13].

La localisation exacte du manuscrit de Bruges est pourtant encore incertaine : si l'on est sûr que l'Abbaye des Dunes, de l'Ordre de Cîteaux a été à un certain moment, probablement très tôt, l'auberge de ce manuscrit, il y a toutefois encore des hypothèses variées à propos à la fois de la composition et de la localisation de chaque partie du manuscrit. Un examen direct ou un microfilm intégral pourront, dans le futur, permettre d'évaluer avec précision les différentes descriptions.

Mais donnons maintenant le contenu du manuscrit de Bruges [14]:

1) Ff. 2r-17r, *Regle du Temple*
2) ff. 18r-37r, Bernard, *De laude novae militiae*
3) ff. 37r-55r Bernard, *Liber apologeticus ad Guillelmum Sancti Theodorici Abbatem, recensio secunda*
4) ff. 55v-83v, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Ad fratres de Monte Dei, epistola aurea* (fin manque ; version cistercienne de l'ouvrage, branche de Clairvaux)
5) f. 84r-110r, Gerhohus Reichersbergensis (Geroch), *Scriptum quoddam de Simonia ad Bernardum abbatem* (début manque)
6) ff. 110r-120r *Epistola insignis ad Raynardum Abbatem Morimundensem*
7) ff. 121r-158v Pierre de Cluny, *Liber aliquis ad s. Bernardum, in quo diluere conatur varias obiectiones suis obiectas a Cisterciensibus* (= Ep. 28)

Selon De Poorter le manuscrit serait composé de deux parties, dont la première (ni 1-2-3-4) originaire de l'Est de la France, « provenant de Clairvaux, aurait pris le chemin de sa filiale en Flandres » et la deuxième (ni 5-6-7), dans laquelle il remarque deux copistes, du Nord de la France ou de la Belgique (ni 5-6 e n°7), « peut avoir été écrite aux Dunes, mais beaucoup plus tard » [15].

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13. Battelli, *Lezioni di paleografia, op. cit.*, p. 196-97. Il faut noter que pour l'*incipit* de la Règle le copiste a utilisé l'écriture onciale.

14. Je n'ai eu à disposition que le microfilm de la Règle et du *De laude* de saint Bernard ; je dois donc les autres données à d'autres descriptions, dont celle de M.-Th. Isaac, *Les livres manuscrits de l'Abbaye des Dunes d'après le catalogue du XVIIe siècle*, Aubel, 1984.

15. A. de Poorter, « Le texte original de la Règle des Templiers. Le ms. 131 de la bibliothèque de Bruges », *Annales de la Société d'émulation de Bruges*, 62 (1912), p. 174-198 et de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, Gembloux-Paris, 1934, p. 173-75, d'où viennent les citations.

Selon les éditeurs du *Liber ad milites Templi, de laude novae militiae* de saint Bernard [16] « le volume est composé de trois manuscrits, les 1er et 3e ayant probablement été écrits aux Dunes, le 2e (ff. 18-120 = *ni 2-3-4-5-6*) ayant peut-être été écrit à Clairvaux ou dans l'Est de la France ; celui-ci contient plusieurs "apologies" pour diverses formes de vie religieuse ».

Enfin, selon Laurent Dailliez, le texte de la Règle aurait été écrit « dans la région champenoise » et l'écriture permettrait de déceler dans le manuscrit trois copistes, ni 1-2-3, ni 4-5-6 et n°7, mais il serait composé seulement de deux parties : ni 1-2-3-4-5-6 et n°7 [17].

En résumé, notre texte pourrait donc avoir été écrit à Clairvaux, avant d'aller en Flandres, ou aux Dunes, ou encore dans la région champenoise, même si l'on peut penser que cette dernière hypothèse soit liée à la haute datation du texte faite par Dailliez, qui le date juste après le Concile de Troyes, en Champagne, et qui donc a été tenté de le situer près du lieu même du Concile. Nous pouvons d'ailleurs noter que l'écriture du texte de la Règle n'est pas celle utilisée pour le *De laude* de saint Bernard qui, elle, est d'un module un peu plus grand ; de plus, le texte de Bernard pour les Templiers n'est pas tout de suite après la Règle, c'est-à-dire au f. 17v, mais commence au f. 18r. En tout cas, le volume semble avoir été assemblé très tôt et tout nous ramène au milieu cistercien ; le rédacteur de la Table des matières aurait d'ailleurs souligné l'intérêt bernardin du texte sur lequel s'ouvrait le manuscrit : *Regula Templariensium auctoritate multorum patrum, precipue domini B. Bernardi abbatis, edita* [18].

London, British Library, Cotton, Cleopatra B. III. 3

Ce témoin insulaire de la Règle du Temple est encore pratiquement inédit: sa cote était déjà connue en 1930 [19], mais le texte qui nous intéresse n'a jamais été transcrit et le manuscrit n'a jamais été bien décrit [20].

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16. Sancti Bernardi, *Opera*, III, éd. J. Leclercq -H.M. Rochais, Rome, 1963, p. 212-39 ; la citation qui suit est à la page 208.

17. Dailliez, *Le plus ancien texte*, *op. cit.*, p. 176 ; p. 180 pour la citation.

18. De Poorter, *Catalogue*, p. 173.

19. Il fait partie des exemplaires de la Règle connus par E.-G. Léonard, *Gallicarum militiae templi domorum eorumque praeceptorum seriem secundum Albonensia apographa in bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi asservata*, Lutetiae Parisiorum MCMXXX, 8-9.

20. Nous attendons le nouveau catalogue du fonds Cotton de la British Library que Nigel Ramsay est en train de rédiger. L'ancien catalogue donne seulement une brève notice : T. Smith, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian library 1696 (Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Cottonianae)*, ed. C.G.C. Tite, repr. Cambridge, 1984, p. 137.

Le volume a été vraisemblablement assemblé au cours du XVe siècle, quand quelqu'un a ajouté, juste après la Règle, les *Statuts de la Toison d'Or* en français, c'est-à-dire les Statuts de l'Ordre de chevalerie fondé par le duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon en 1431 ; ils sont suivi du *Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos* et les *Versus ad Guilelmum Eliensem* (Guillaume de Longchamps), poème latin sur l'étiquette de la cour, de Nigellus Wireker de Longchamps, (vers 1130-1200), moine à Cantorbéry. Le volume s'ouvre sur des oeuvres historiques d'Elred abbé de Rievaulx (Yorkshire), deuxième implantation cistercienne en Angleterre ; son premier texte est dédié à Henri II, duc d'Aquitaine (donc après 1152 et avant 1154 quand Henri devient roi d'Angleterre) ; l'auteur commence mentionnant David, le roi d'Ecosse mort en 1153, à la cour duquel Elred avait été formé et qui, selon le *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum* [21] avait joué un rôle important dans la diffusion en Ecosse du nouvel Ordre des Templiers :

> *atque in solo Scotiae regno octo amplas commendatarias obtinuerant a s. Davide rege, custodes corporis constituti, sic enim in libro Cuprensi scriptum reperio : sanctus David de preclara militia Templi Hierosolymitani optimos fratres secum retinens eos diebus et noctibus morum suorum fecit esse custodes.*

Entre les oeuvres d'Elred de Rievaulx († 1167) et la Règle du Temple se trouvent des Tables avec des textes d'explication (*De concurrentis*, *De epactis*), un Calendrier qui ne mentionne pas le martyre de Thomas Becket († 1170) canonisé en 1173, d'autres Tables, le *De computo* de Bède et encore des Tables et des dessins, parmi lesquels les lignes lunaires signées sur la paume de trois mains gauches.

Nous sommes évidemment en présence d'un manuscrit insulaire, qui renvoit au milieu de la cour. Le texte même de la Règle, toujours à pleine page, est écrit par une main très personnelle, avec une intelligente écriture cursive qui pourrait bien être née à la cour anglo-normande [22]. Le format du manuscrit (mm. 180 x 130, justification 160 x 100), format de poche, fait allusion à un possible usage personnel : le copiste de la Règle pourrait bien être son propriétaire. Encore, il faut se rappeler de la présence cistercienne, même s'il

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21. Lucae Holstenii Vaticanae basilicae canonici et Bibliothecae praefecti *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum quas ss. Patres Monachis, canonicis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripserunt... auctus..., Tomus secundus Varias regulas ac statuta monastica et canonica...* additamentis XXI...observationibus critico-historicis a R.P.R. Mariano Brockie..., Augustae Vindelicorum, sumptibus Ignatii Adami et Francisci Antonii Veith, anno MDCCLIX, p. 431.

22. Bischoff, *Paleografia latina, op. cit.* p. 198 et n. 68.

semble que, dans ce cas, la cour ait été le noyau auquel se rapportent à la fois le cistercien Elred et les Templiers.

Finalement, la présence des *Statuts de la Toison d'Or* à la suite de la Règle du Temple témoigne que la naissance des Ordres de chevalerie au service des princes, qui débute au XIVe siècle, bien qu'elle garde des finalités complètement différentes, toutefois a eu lieu dans le sillage de l'imaginaire formé par les Ordres militaires et religieux du XIIe siècle [23].

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2649

Sur le manuscrit de Münich est basée l'édition critique établie par Gustav Schnürer en 1908, qui utilise aussi le manuscrit de Paris que nous verrons plus loin. Il s'agit d'un volume en parchemin, à longues lignes, de petit format (140 x 100 ; justification 100 x 68), presque le plus petit exemplaire connu de la Règle. Jusqu'à présent le manuscrit était daté entre la fin du XIIIe et le début du XIVe siècle [24], mais, d'après l'écriture, on doit anticiper cette datation de plus de cent ans, au troisième quart du XIIe siècle [25]. L'écriture pourrait être appelée gothique de transition, et avec ses traits si épais, le haut module des lettres et la présence du *e* cédillé pour le diphtongue *ae*, semble provenir du Midi de l'Allemagne ou du Nord de l'Italie.

Cependant, le manuscrit de Münich est le seul, parmi les Latins, à présenter, avant et après le texte de la Règle, des morceaux de *Retrais* en latin ; or, une partie qui n'a pas d'équivalent en français (ff. 28v-32v), mais qui a été écrite par le même copiste de la Règle, constitue les actes d'un chapitre qui a eu lieu dans une *villa Mausonii* pas encore identifiée avec certitude :

> Gratia Spiritus sancti et consilio fratrum capituli ville Mausonii statutum est ut...

Toutefois, plusieurs indices, parmi lesquels on peut citer l'*explicit*, nous montrent qu'il s'agit d'une ville italienne :

23. Jean Flori rappelle que les ordres de chevalerie qui naissent au XIVe siècle « ont peu de rapport avec les ordres guerriers fondés au XIIe siècle » et il ajoute qu'ils sont pourtant assimilés « par les contemporains, à une sorte de religion laïque » : *La chevalerie en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1995 (Que sais-je ?), p. 118-120 ; et c'est en effet le point de vue des contemporains qui nous intéresse ici.

24. Knöpfler, « Die Ordensregel der Tempelherren », *Historische Jahrbuch*, 8 (1887), p. 670-671 et Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel, op. cit.*

25. Cerrini, « Nuovi percorsi templari », *op. cit.*, p. 41.

> Hanc institutionem omnes fratres indesinenter teneant ita ut nichil inde pretermittant nisi licentia maioris magistri qui *in his Italiae partibus* moratur [26].

Ville italienne qui pourrait être Masone, située entre Gênes et Ovada, en Piémont, un lieu stratégique, un noyau du réseau routier, près de Tiglieto, première fondation cistercienne d'Italie (1120) [27].

En tout cas, nous n'avons pas seulement trouvé en Italie, très probablement Italie du Nord-Ouest, le lieu d'origine de ces textes ; nous avons aussi un terme de datation *ante quem*, puisque dans ces actes on parle de *de reditibus quos in Ierusalem mittere proposuimus*, et cela ne peut arriver qu'avant la perte définitive de Jérusalem, qui a eu lieu en 1244.

Devrait-on en conclure que même l'origine du manuscrit est italienne ?

La présence du volume parmi les livres de l'abbaye de Aldersbach, qui devient cistercienne en 1147, pourrait en fait bien être arrivée au moment où l'on assembla à ce *corpus* templier, formé de :

- *Retrais* (vers. latine correspondant aux chapitres 224-232 de l'éd. Curzon) (Main A)
- *Règle du Temple* (Main B)
- *Retrais* (texte cité, appelé Texte A) (Main B)
- *Fêtes et jeûnes* (vers. latine correspondant aux chapitres 74-76 de l'éd. Curzon) (Main B)

un *Ars dictandi* et des textes de théologie. En tout cas, la présence des *Retrais* et en particulier des « actes » d'un chapitre de l'Ordre ne peuvent que nous ramener aux Templiers, et aux Templiers italiens, comme origine de ce manuscrit.

Nîmes, Bibl. Municipale, MS. 37 (*)

C'est le témoin de la Règle de plus grand format : mm. 290 x 192 (justification 194 x 130), écrit à longues lignes avec une belle caroline gothicisante du quatrième quart du XIIe siècle, dans le Midi de la France [28].

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26. La transcription des actes du chapitre est donnée par Knöpfler, « Die Ordensregel der Tempelherren », *op. cit.*, p. 691-95.

27. Je donne plus de détails sur la question dans : Cerrini, « Nuovi percorsi templari », *op. cit.*, p. 40-41, nn. 29-36 et tableau 10.

28. Il est décrit dans : *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, VII, intr. A. Molinier, Paris 1885, p. 547-48 ; une notice détaillée est disponible à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT) de Paris. Le manuscrit fait partie des

Toutefois, le grand format a été plutôt déterminé par les premiers 156 folios qui renferment un recueil de *Questiones* de saint Augustin (*De diversis quaestionibus octaginta tribus*, cum *Retractatione*, Ps. Aug. *sent. 4 De magis pharaonis*, Ps. Aug. *sent. 5 De centum LIII piscibus*, *Quaestionum evangeliorum libri II* cum *Retractatione*, *Quaestiones XVII in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*), même si la Règle et après les autres textes de fort intérêt templier se succèdent les unes aux autres sans interruption : la séquence des oeuvres a donc été établie au début et de façon unitaire.

En effet, on reste un peu étonné de voir des textes d'Augustin pour hauts spécialistes [29] côtoyer la Règle du Temple, suivie par le seul exemplaire connu de la lettre écrite, selon la rubrique, par Hugues de Saint-Victor aux *Christi militibus in templo Iehrosolimitano* [30] et enfin par le *De laude novae militiae* de saint Bernard, ici appelé *exortatio abbatis Clarevallis Bernardi ad milites Christi.*

La question de savoir qui est le véritable auteur de la lettre *Christi militibus* a maintenant pris les dimensions d'une *Questio*, que nous n'avons pas l'intention d'affronter ici ; par contre, ce qui pourrait contribuer à l'éclairer serait de connaître l'origine de ce manuscrit : où et pour qui a-t-il été écrit ? Jusqu'à maintenant on renvoyait au grand prieuré des Hospitaliers de Saint-Gilles-du-Gard près de Nîmes [31], mais s'il provenait d'un Ordre militaire, on aurait trouvé la Règle au début et d'ailleurs difficilement les chevaliers au-

exemplaires de la Règle connus par Léonard, *Gallicarum militiae templi domorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 8 et il est transcrit et reproduit en fac-similé par Dailliez, *La Règle des Templiers*, *op. cit.*, p. 20-76 et 78-108.

29. Comme m'a très gentiment signalé François Dolbeau.

30. La question de l'auteur de la lettre *Christi militibus* est étudiée dans ce volume par Dominic Selwood. En voici une bibliographie rapide : la lettre a été publiée par Leclercq, « Un document sur les débuts des Templiers », *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 52 (1957), p. 81-91 (reéd. dans *Recueil d'études sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits*, Roma, 1966, II, p. 87-99) avec l'attribution à Hugues de Payns, le fondateur de l'Ordre ; ensuite, on a la réponse de Ch. Sclafert, « Lettre inédite de Hugues de Saint-Victor aux Chevaliers du Temple », *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 34 (1958), p. 275-99 ; et encore, pour Hugues de Payns : R. Baron, « Hugues de Saint-Victor. Contribution à un nouvel examen de son oeuvre », *Traditio*, 15 (1959), p. 296-97. Enfin, sans une solution définitive : R. Goy, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor. Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 1976 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 14), p. 483 ; J. Châtillon, « 'La transmission de l'oeuvre de Hugues de S. Victor'. A propos d'un livre récent de Rudolf Goy », *Mittelateinischen Jahrbuch*, 15 (1980), p. 57-62 et 59 ; J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift *De laude novae militiae* Bernards von Clairvaux », dans *Die geistichen ritterorden Europas*, hgg. Fleckenstein-M. Hellmann, Sigmaringen 1980 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 26), p. 9-22, 10 et n. 9.

31. Sancti Bernardi, *Opera*, III, éd. Leclercq-Rochais, *op. cit.*, p. 212-39 : « Le manuscrit, qui appartenait aux Jésuites de Nîmes au XVIIIe s vient peut-être du Grand-Prieuré des Hospitaliers de Saint-Gilles, près de Nîmes ».

raient choisi les *Quaestiones* de saint Augustin ; ils étaient intéressés à une autre variante de « quête » !

Par contre, un indice nous est donné par la tradition manuscrite des *Questiones* : notre volume, pour les *Questiones Evangeliorum* et les *Quaestiones XVI in Matthaeum*, appartient à la même famille d'un manuscrit qui fait partie du recueil des Oeuvres d'Augustin établi à Clairvaux au temps de l'abbatiat de Bernard († 1153) [32]. A défaut de preuves, on peut donc seulement proposer — avec prudence ! — que le manuscrit de Nîmes ait été formé dans le milieu cistercien, ce qui permettrait aussi, vu les rapports qu'entretenaient Bernard et Hugues de Saint-Victor en s'échangeant la première rédaction de leurs oeuvres [33], d'ajouter un élément en faveur de Hugues de Saint-Victor, comme véritable auteur de la lettre *Christi militibus*.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15045 (*)

C'est le manuscrit apparemment le plus connu de la Règle du Temple : Schnürer l'a utilisé pour son édition, sous le sigle *V*, de Curzon l'a également transcrit dans son édition française, et enfin, s'il n'est pas l'*exemplar* de l'*editio princeps* (Mennenius 1613), il est sûrement le texte dont dérive la *vulgata* de la Règle latine, à partir de l'édition Miraeus en 1614 [34].

Il a été écrit entre 1160 et 1180 avec une gothique française primitive qui maintient par exemple le *e* cédillé pour le diphtongue *ae* ; le manuscrit

32. Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *Questiones Evangeliorum cum appendice Quaestionum XVI in Matthaeum*, éd. A. Mutzenbecher, Turnholti 1980 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina XLIV B), p. xlvi.

33. Les rapports « éditoriaux » entre Bernard et Hugues de Saint-Victor sont l'actuel champ de recherches pour les savants qui s'intéressent à ces auteurs, comme me l'a signalé Dominique Poirel, que je remercie.

34. L'*editio* princeps est la suivante : *Deliciae equestrium sive militarium ordinum et eorundem origines, statuta, symbola et insignia, iconibus additis genuinis, hac editione multorum ordinum et quotquot extitere accessione locupletata serieque temporum distributa*, studio et industria Francisci Mennenii Antverp., Coloniae Agrippinae, apud Ioannem Kinckium, sub Monocerote, anno MDCXIII, où l'auteur déclare avoir utilisé une Règle *quam inter archiva equestria Petri Mennentii patrui repertam et hactenus quod sciam nondum editam*. Toutefois il montre de savoir qu'un autre exemplaire devait se trouver *in bibliotheca R.D. Auberti Mirei canonici Antverp*. En effet, l'année suivante nous avons le *Chronicon Cisterciensis Ordinis a S. Roberto abbate Molismensi primum inchoati postea a s. Bernardo Abbate Clarevallensi mirifice aucti ac propagati* Aubertus Miraeus Bruxellensis S. Theol. Licent. Canonicus et sigillifer Antverpiensis publicabat, Coloniae Agrippinae, Sumptibus Bernardi Gualtheri, Anno MDCXIV ; dans la préface, en effet, à la p. 42, l'auteur écrit : *Caeterum cum Parisiis anno 1610 negotiorum caussa* [sic] *versarer, in bibliotheca monasterii S. Victoris ad muros urbis Parisiensis, incidi in ipsam Templariorum Regulam, typis nondum editam*.

(parchemin, 240 x 175, justification 178 x 120), comme de norme, à pleine page, utilise les deux colonnes pour la Table des chapitres à l'intérieur de la Règle et pour des hymnes dans la seconde partie du manuscrit.

A première vue, on ne dirait pas qu'il s'agit d'un manuscrit *compositus* ; l'écriture, la décoration, la mise en page... tout ferait penser à un seul volume, qui contient :

- ff. 6r-20v *Règle du Temple*
- ff. 20v-37r Bernard, *De laude novae militiae*
- ff. 37rv Prières (*Adoro te digne latens deitas ; Omnipotens et misericors Deus ecce accedo ad sacramentum filii tui ; [C]reator ineffabilis qui de thesauris*)
- ff. 1r-74v Anselme de Cantorbéry, *Orationes et meditationes*
- ff. 74v-75vb (deux colonnes) *Qui psalmi in variis necessitatibus dicendi sunt. Si vis pro peccatis tuis penitenciam agere...*
- ff. 75vb- 77ra Prières (deux colonnes) *[D]eus pater piissime, Christe Ihesu dulcissime, Spiritus clementissime ; [P]er hoc nomen sanctissimum magnum nomen fortissimum*
- f. 77v Prière pour les Victorins *Domine Ihesu Christe omnipotens qui elegisti locum istum... tui Victoris*
- ff. 78r-83r : Anselme de Cantorbéry *Meditatio de humana redemptione*
- ff. 83r-84v : Anselme de Cantorbéry *Orationes*
- ff. 84v-85v (avec notation musicale) Godefroy de Saint-Victor *Sequentia de sancto Victore*

Toutefois, nous avons un double foliotage qui, bien que tardif, sépare la Règle du Temple et le *De laude* de saint Bernard des *Méditations* de saint Anselme († 1109), comme si, à un moment donné de son histoire, le manuscrit avait été partagé. Cela est d'ailleurs en contradiction avec l'*index contentorum* (XVe siècle ?) qui marque, sur le *verso* du IIIe feuillet de garde en papier, d'abord notre *Regula templariorum cum sermone S. Bernardi ad eosdem* et ensuite les *meditationes S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi item eiusdem meditatio de humana redemptione ad Lanfrancum*.

Un seul volume, donc. Et provenant de Saint-Victor, avec le sigle *V* qu'on lui a donné. Là encore, ce n'est pas si simple : en effet, il n'est pas dans le catalogue de Claude de Grandrue (1514), donc de la bibliothèque enchaînée de Saint-Victor[35], mais il reçoit sur le *verso* du IIIe feuillet de garde en papier, après l'*Index contentorum*, la plus tardive cote « e e 23 », de la main de Picart, comme m'a gentiment fait noter Gilbert Ouy. Il faut noter que la clé

35. V. Gerz-von Büren, G. Ouy, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue. 1514*, Paris 1983.

choisie a été saint Anselme, s'achevant actuellement la série *ee* (spécialement dédiée aux Pères de l'Eglise) avec le numéro 21, avec des oeuvres toutes de saint Anselme [36]. Ensuite, le manuscrit a dû rester à Saint-Victor, comme témoignent au f.1r les cotes du XVII[e] (Eustache de Blémur : *d.g.41* ; Vyon d'Hérouval : *1067*) et du milieu du XVIII[e] siècle (*1170*) [37].

Mais avant ? Dans la première moitié du XIII[e] siècle, au f.1r, le manuscrit reçoit un *ex libris* de Saint-Victor [38]. Mais, si l'on veut remonter à la date de naissance de ce volume, alors il faut évoquer Godefroy de Saint-Victor († 1196) : cette figure d'intellectuel un peu inquiet, qui a du quitter l'abbaye pendant une vingtaine d'années, accusé par son prieur, a composé et écrit de sa main une *Sequentia Sancti Victoris* avec notation musicale qui se trouve à la fin de ce manuscrit, où il a aussi ajouté à la fin de l'hymne *[D]eus pater piissime* les quatre lettres hébraïques du *Tetragrammaton* dans leur translittération latine [39]. C'est donc Godefroy le premier à avoir eu entre les mains ce manuscrit, on ne sait pas s'il était à lui, ce qui témoignerait d'un intérêt de Godefroy pour les Templiers à vérifier dans ses ouvrages, où s'il avait pu le consulter dans la bibliothèque de l'abbaye, dont il était devenu le gardien une fois rentré à Saint-Victor.

Praha, Národní knihovna, XXIII G 66 (P) (Planche I)

Jusqu'à tout récemment, ce manuscrit était complètement inconnu. Maintenant, grâce à l'aide précieuse des époux Martínek et de Monsieur Beránek [40], nous disposons d'un exemplaire nouveau de la Règle du Temple. C'est un livre en parchemin, de très petit format (130 x 97, justification 87 x 57), évidemment écrit à pleine page, dans une gothique primitive de la deuxième moitié du XII[e] siècle.

Il ne contient que la Règle du Temple, et pour cette raison pourrait bien être considéré comme un manuscrit d'origine « templaire » : dans ce cas, nous aurions là le témoignage d'une diffusion du texte latin de la Règle pour

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36. Ce qui montre d'ailleurs comme les cotes utilisées par Claude de Grandrue ont été continuées par la suite.

37. Gerz-von Büren, Ouy, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris*, *op. cit.*

38. F. Gasparri, « Ex-libris et mentions anciennes portés sur les manuscrits du XII[e] siècle de l'Abbaye Saint-Victor de Paris », *Scriptorium*, 44 (1990,1), p. 74.

39. Pour les relations entre ce manuscrit et Godefroy de Saint-Victor : Cerrini, « Nuovi percorsi templari », *op. cit.*, p. 42-43 et nn.37-46.

40. L'histoire de la découverte de ce manuscrit est faite dans Cerrini, « Nuovi percorsi templari », *op. cit.*, p. 37.

les Templiers qui vivaient dans l'Est de la France, comme on l'a déjà vu pour le manuscrit de Münich.

La tradition française de la Règle

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 132

C'est le dernier des manuscrits français de la Règle à avoir été identifié [41] ; toutefois, il n'a jamais été transcrit ni utilisé pour une édition. En parchemin, de petites dimensions (161 x 115, justification 133 x 89, longues lignes), il a été écrit au troisième quart du XIIIe siècle, avec une gothique espacée [42] ; il contient :

- ff. 4v-24v *La Règle du Temple* : Ci comence le prologue de la regle dou temple. Nos parlons premierement... a qui dezirrent aservir per infinita seculorum secula Amen. Ci comence la regle dou temple. Vos abrenuncians vos propres volentes... et en l'esgart dou maistre.
- ff. 24v-25v *Fêtes et jeûnes* (= Curzon 74-76) Ces sont les geunes que lon doit geuner a la maison dou temple. Coneue choze soit a tos les freres dou temple... il ne doivent pas geuner. Ces sont les festes que lon doit garder ala maison dou temple. La nativite de nostre seignor... devant tos les freres laissent char.
- ff. 25v-97r *Retrais* (= Curzon 77-635 abrégés) Ci comencent les retrais et les establissemens dou temple. Li maistre doit avoir iiii bestes... est comandor de tos les autres.
- f. 97v Ballade *Si je ne chant si souvent*

La présence, comme pages de garde, d'un document daté 21 octobre 1266 où il est mention, entre autre, de l'abbaye du Mont Saint-Eloi en Arras a fait supposer que le manuscrit était originaire d'une maison « templaire » de la région, par exemple de Dauges, près de Douai ; toutefois dans la charte les Templiers ne sont pas nommés.

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41. Grâce à J. Oliver, « The Rule of the Templars and a Courtly Ballade », *Scriptorium*, 35 (1981), p. 303-306. Le manuscrit a été récemment décrit dans L.M.C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, I. *France, 875-1420*, Baltimore, 1989, p. 83-86, n°36 et fig. 74 (f. 4).

42. Il est essentiel de confronter la mise en page de tous les manuscrits français de la Règle avec l'analyse de la production manuscrite en langue vulgaire faite par G. Hasenohr, « Traductions et littérature en langue vulgaire », dans H.G. Martin et J. Vezin (sous la direction de), *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, préface de J. Monfrin, Paris, 1990, p. 229-352.

(Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, H 111)

Henri de Curzon avait utilisé trois manuscrits pour son édition, dont le manuscrit de Dijon, qui a été volé en 1985, un an après la publication du Catalogue du fonds des archives de la Côte-d'Or [43]. Il est en parchemin (longues lignes, 210 x 150), et il est daté du début du XIIIe siècle ; pour son origine l'hypothèse est qu'il provienne du grand prieuré de Champagne, de la maison de Voulaines. Il contient la Règle et les Retrais de l'Ordre jusqu'au paragraphe 415 de l'édition Curzon, c'est-à-dire, il présente les textes sur la *Règle,* les *Jeûnes et fêtes* (74-76), les *Statuts hiérarchiques* (77-197) ; l'*Election du Grand-Maître* (198-223) ; les *Pénitences* (224-278) ; la *Vie conventuelle des Frères* (279-385) ; les *Chapitres* (386-415) ; mais il n'a ni les *Pénitences* (416-656) ni la *Réception dans l'Ordre* (657-686).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1977 (*)

Bien plus récent que celui de Dijon, le manuscrit de Paris (parchemin, 230 x 160, deux colonnes de 48 mm.), est du troisième quart du XIIIe siècle. Dans le texte, on peut distinguer deux copistes, dont le premier (jusqu'au f. 13vb, num. anc.) est probablement de la France du Sud ou de l'Italie du Nord [44], mais on n'a pas de renseignement pour la localisation exacte du manuscrit ; toutefois, la présence d'écritures qui renvoient à des endroits différents, des notes sur les feuilles de garde que nous avons pour l'instant déchiffrées seulement en partie et qui mentionnent Jérusalem et les Hospitaliers, enfin des notes en allemand, bien que datables du XVe siècle, nous autorisent à supposer que ce manuscrit soit originaire de la Terre Sainte, là où plusieurs nationalités se côtoyaient.

Le manuscrit contient :

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43. J. Rigault, *Guide des Archives de la Côte-d'Or*, Dijon, 1984, p. 251. Le vol a été confirmé par Françoise Vignier, directeur des Archives de la Côte-d'Or, dans une lettre au directeur de l'IRHT de Paris (Dijon, 14.11.94).

44. L'observation est de Françoise Gasparri, que je remercie. On peut trouver des descriptions de ce manuscrit dans l'édition Curzon, qui utilise tous les manuscrits indiqués ici, sauf celui de Baltimore, et aussi dans la plus vieille édition de C.-H. Maillard de Chambure, *Règles et statuts secrets des Templiers, précédés de l'histoire de l'établissement, de la destruction et de la continuation moderne de l'ordre du Temple* ..., Paris 1840, où pourtant l'auteur annonce d'y avoir trouvé « non sans étonnement, trois lettres (CGU) de l'alphabet du Temple » (p. 37), alors qu'il s'agit des notes pour lesquelles *cf. infra*.

- ff. 3r-14v (ancienne numérotation) *La Règle du Temple* Ci comencent les prologues de la Regle dou Temple. Nos parlons premierement... en l'esgart dou maistre.
- ff. 14v-15v *Fêtes et jeûnes* (= Curzon 74-76) Ces sont les festes et les ieunes qui tuit li frere dou temple doivent ieuner et cebrer (*sic*). Coneue chose soit a tous les freres dou temple... doivent tuit li frere laissier char.
- ff. 15v-124v *Retrais* (= Curzon 77-686) Ci comencent les retrais et les establissemens de la maison dou temple. Li maistre doit avoir IIII bestes... Et dieu vos laist bien dire et bien faire. Amen.

Roma, Accademia dei Lincei, Cod. 44. A. 14 (*)

C'est un beau manuscrit en parchemin (231 X 162, deux colonnes de 55 mm.) écrit par un seul copiste avec une gothique italienne ou du Midi de la France de la fin XIIIe - début XIVe siècle. Il a une structure regulière de seize cahiers de huit folios plus le cahier final (3 + 2), tous numérotés par le copiste en chiffres romains en bas de page, au centre, avec la réclame en bas de page à droite [45].

Il contient :

- ff. 1-14ra *Règle du Temple* Ci comencent les prologues de la regle dou temple. Nos parlons premierement... en lesgart dou maistre.
- ff. 14ra-14vb *Fêtes et jeûnes* (= Curzon 74-76) Ces sont les festes et les ieunes que tuit li frere dou temple doivent ieuner et celebrer. Coneue chose soit a tous les freres... doivent tuit li frere laissier char.
- ff. 14vb-133va *Retrais* (= Curzon 77-686) Ci comencent les retrais et les establissemens de la maison dou temple. Li maistres doit avoir iiii bestes... et dieu vos laist bien dire et bien faire. Amen.

Conclusions

Vus de plus près tous les dix témoins de la Règle, il nous paraît évident qu'existent, bien separées, deux traditions. L'une, latine, place la Règle dans un contexte éminemment littéraire ; souvent à coté du *De laude* de saint Bernard, la Règle est diffusée dans le réseau des moines (Cisterciens, surtout) et des chanoines (Victorins de Paris) ; la seconde tradition, française, nous montre la Règle toujours avec la jurisprudence successive de l'Ordre

45. Le manuscrit, décrit et utilisé par Maillard de Chambure (*op. cit.*) et par Henri de Curzon (*op. cit.*), est aussi mentionné dans le catalogue manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Corsiniana, aujourd'hui dei Lincei ; sans explications, l'auteur du catalogue identifie l'origine du manuscrit dans « uno dei centri orientali dell'ordine dei Templari ».

sans rien d'autre ; il s'agit là de textes « d'usage » reservés au réseau templier.

Il y a pourtant au moins deux manuscrits latins (Münich et Prague) qui ont probablement circulé dans le réseau templier : « manuscrit latin » ne signifie donc pas obligatoirement « réseau monastique », mais laisse entrevoir, à l'intérieur du réseau templier, une diffusion de la version latine de la Règle en Italie, Allemagne ou dans l'Europe de l'Est – et il ne faut pas oublier que plusieurs Ordres militaires spécialement liés à ces régions avaient hérité de la Règle du Temple – et une diffusion de la version française en France bien sûr, mais probablement aussi en Terre Sainte.

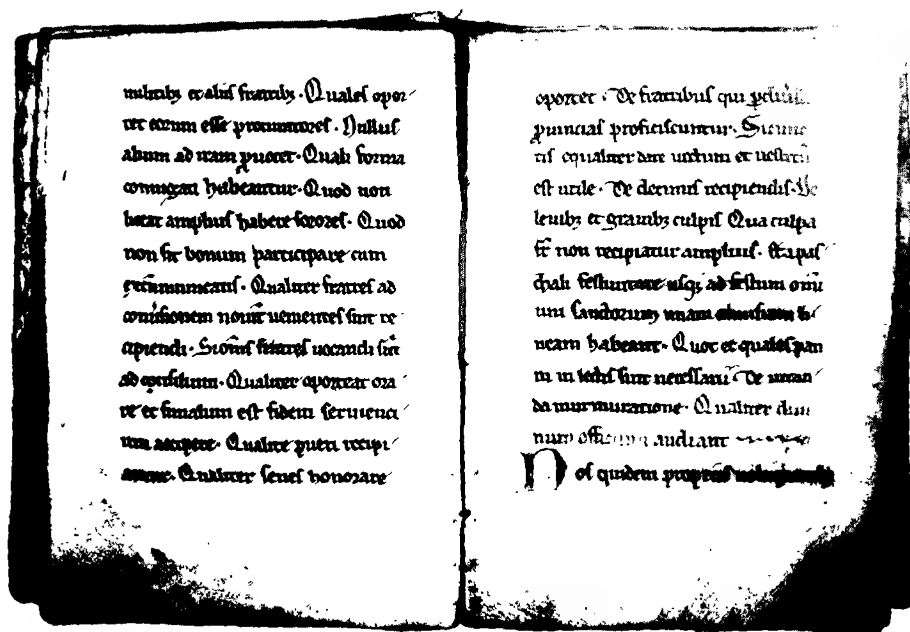


Planche I. Prague, Národní knihovna, XIII G 66, f. 9v-10r. Début du Prologue de la Règle du Temple.

Dominic SELWOOD

QUIDAM AUTEM DUBITAVERUNT : The Saint, the Sinner, the Temple and a Possible Chronology

Amongst the panoply of eminent ecclesiastics at the Council of Troyes in 1129 [1], one can be sure of the presence of two archbishops, ten bishops and seven abbots ; of this company three were to be canonized. Neither the Rule of the Templars, a partial product of the deliberations of this Council, nor William of Tyre gave pride of place to the abbot of Clairvaux [2]. Neverthe-less, it is an assumption historians are still willing to make, even suggesting that Saint Bernard wrote the Rule there promulgated ; a notion which can in no way be supported from its analysis [3]. As has pointedly been observed, « Si Bernard avait écrit la règle, les templiers n'aurait pas manqué de s'en vanter » [4]. The intention of this paper is to suggest what might have been the

1. R. Hiestand, « Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 99 (1988), p. 295-323

2. H. de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, Paris, Librairie Renouard, 1886, p. 15-20 and William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1844 (RHCO, 1), B. 12, cap. 7, p. 520

3. Amongst those who advocate Saint Bernard's authorship of the Rule of Temple : P. Cousin, « Les Débuts de l'Ordre des Templiers et Saint Bernard », in *Mélanges Saint Bernard, XXIVe Congrès de l'Association Bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes*, Dijon, 1953, p. 47 ; H. de Curzon, *La Règle ... , op. cit.*, p. x ; J. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 1992, p. 4 : M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 6

4. A. Demurger, *Vie et mort de l'Ordre du Temple*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1989, p. 42

contribution of Saint Bernard in the context of the development, and early troubles, of the Order.

The *Liber ad milites templi de laude novæ militiæ* was written by Saint Bernard for the first master of the Temple, Hugh of Payns [5]. The date of its composition is not known, nor are the circumstances prompting Saint Bernard to consent to write such a work, for it was not a voluntary flourish of his pen. From the preamble to the *Liber* it is clear that Master Hugh had been exerting quite some pressure to have this letter written :

> *Semel, et secundo, et tertio, nisi fallor, petisti a me, Hugo carissime, ut tibi tuisque commilitonibus scriberem exhortationis sermonem* [6].

The first point to note, apart from the abbot's seeming reluctance, is that Saint Bernard is very clear that the *Liber* is to the Templars, not about them ; secondly that it is an *exhortatio*, a work designed to boost morale. The *Liber* does this in two principal ways, reflected in its distinct sections. The first explains, legitimises, praises and eulogises the knighthood of the Temple, whilst the second comprises a travel guide to places of pilgrimage in the Holy Land. Trivial as this second part might seem in comparison with the first, it is not to be dismissed [7] for its role is equally as significant : it sets down the patrimony of which the Templars were the custodians, and links the knights symbolically with the most powerfully religiously charged sites in the Holy Land.

The *Sermo ad milites templi* is by contrast the work of an unknown author who identifies himself solely by the *nom de plume* Hugh the Sinner (*Hugo Peccator*) [8]. Two suggestions have been proposed as to his identity in

5. The *Liber* was widely copied. Thirty three mss. are extant. Text is cited from Saint Bernard, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novæ militiæ*, Paris, Editions du Cerf, 1990 (Sources Chrétiennes, 367), p. 48-133

6. Saint Bernard, *Liber ...* , *op. cit.,* Prologus, p. 48

7. J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift *De laude Novæ Militiæ* Bernhards von Clairvaux », *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Sigmaringen, 1980 (*Vorträge und Forschungen*, 26), p. 17 suggests « Seine weiteren Ausführungen sind den übrigen heiligen Stätten in Palästina gewidmet, Bethlehem, Nazareth u. a., die nur noch indirekt mit den Templern in Beziehung stehen. Sie können hier auf sich beruhen ». This is to misunderstand the *Liber* which is a whole, and must be taken as such.

8. The *Sermo* exists in only one manuscript (Nîmes ms. 37) which comprises : four works by Saint Augustin, the Rule of the Temple (fos.172v-183v), the letter of *Hugo Peccator* (fos.169v-172v) and the *Liber ad milites templi de laude novæ militiæ* (fos. 172v-183v). The text is taken from C. Sclafert, « Lettre inédite de Hugues de Saint-Victor aux chevaliers du Temple », *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 34 (1958), p. 276-299. A facsimile of the ms. of the *Sermo* appears in L. Dailliez, *La Règle des Templiers*, Nice, Alpes-Méditerranée Editions, 1977, p. 385-391. This same author observes that the Rule and the *Sermo* are in the same

articles which closely followed the discovery of the manuscript in the late 1950s : either it was the work of Master Hugh of the Temple, or it was written, as the rubricator claims, by Hugh of Saint-Victor († 1141) [9]. There exists, of course, the third possibility that it was composed by neither of these two. As Fleckenstein indicates, the general consensus in 1980 was to leave the question of authorship open, the topic being *non liquet*, but this should not obstruct further discussion of the matter [10]. The authorship of Hugh of Saint-Victor is unlikely. He had no known connection with the Order [11] ; neither of the two lists of Hugh's prolific output, the *Indiculum omnium scriptorum magistri hugonis de sancto victore* or Merton College ms. 49, contain any reference to the work [12]. Moreover, a manuscript, from the end of the XII[th] century, exists from the library of Saint-Victor which contains both the *Liber* and the Rule of the Temple, but no copy of the *Sermo* [13]. Whereas, the arguments for it being the work of Master Hugh of the Temple appear tenable. Three reasons suggest this, without entering into the argument as to whether he may have had help and guidance in writing the letter [14]. Firstly : the style of the Latin. It is crude and could easily be squared with that of a tolerably literate layman such as Master Hugh would have

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hand, different to that of the *Liber*, and that the former two probably date from 1128-1130. He does not explain why.

9. The former position is maintained by J. Leclercq, « Un document sur les débuts des Templiers », *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 52 (1957), p. 81-91 and the latter by C. Sclafert, « Lettre inédite... », *op. cit.* Subsequent argument has been limited. For example, A. Forey, *The Military Orders*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1992, p. 15, states that the letter has been ascribed to both men, choosing not to attempt an attribution ; A. Demurger, *Vie et mort..., op. cit.*, p. 46 does likewise ; J. Upton-Ward, *The Rule..., op. cit.*, p. 3 suggests that the letter « may have been written by Hugh of Payns » but that « the authorship... is uncertain » ; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 35 opines that he no longer believes the argument of J. Leclercq, but does not ascribe it to Hugh of Saint-Victor or anyone else ; E. Burman, *The Templars : Knights Of Christ*, Aquarian Press, 1986, p. 23 is of the opinion that « Jean Leclercq has established on the grounds of style and content that the author of this letter was certainly Hugh of Payns himself » ; H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, Leicester University Press, 1993, p. 38 chooses not to discuss the authorship ; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, London, p. 8 attributes the letter to Master Hugh, but with no discussion of the issue ; M. Bulst-Thiele, « The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar », in M. Gervers, *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York, Saint Martin's Press, 1992, p. 57 does likewise, but in favour of Hugh of Saint-Victor.

10. J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung... », *op. cit.*, p. 10.

11. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

12. C. Sclafert, « Lettre inédite... », *op. cit.*, p. 276.

13. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 15045. The ms. contains 2 sections. The first comprises the Rule (fos. 6r-20v) and the *Liber* (fos. 20v-39v). The second part contains *Meditationes sancti Anselmi* followed by *Sequentia de sancto Victore*.

14. J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung... », *op. cit.*, p. 11.

been [15]. That it was composed by a layman is also suggested by the author's repeated inability to quote accurately the Bible [16]. Secondly : the content. The *Sermo* is an intimate work designed to boost the Templars self-esteem and belief in the licitness of their vocation. The author was profoundly troubled by accounts that certain elements outre-mer, people lacking discretion (*minus discretis*) [17], were inducing the knights to question the validity of their profession : the fusion of the spiritual and the physical swords. He advised that the sowing of the seeds of this doubt was none other than a diabolical strategy and that having successfully renounced the world, the knights must not be disheartened by the comments of others, neither must they become overly zealous in the prosecution of their appointed task, for once again it is the Devil who « suggests hatred and fury when they kill » [18]. One of Hugh's arguments as to why all the brethren should be content with their lot, resting on that command of the Apostle « Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called » (I Cor. VII, 20), is the strongest argument for the work being of his authorship. Who else but a Templar could have been comfortable writing

> *Et si forte in mentem venit desiderium ordinis alcioris, scitote quia in omni ordine ille est alcior qui est melior* [19].

Thirdly, with regard to supporting the authorship of Master Hugh of the Temple, is the styling. The author employed no salutary or valedictory apparatus ; he did not identify himself, but he did specify the addressees. This brings out two points. The first is an omission. He did not address the letter to Hugh and the Knights of Christ, as did Saint Bernard in the *Liber de laude*, but rather to the knights *simpliciter*. This being the case, the second point can be raised that there can have been very few of the name of Hugh who did not feel the need to identify themselves clearly to the knights. The inference being that the Templars would instantly have known the identity of *Hugo Peccator.*

Given these two works, the *Liber de laude* and the *Sermo,* the question arises as to why were they composed ? It is a commonplace to assert that the

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15. J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung... », *op. cit.*, p. 10 insists upon the notion that the author was a « geistlichen Verfasser ». This in no way precludes Hugh of the Temple.

16. For example, the author of the *Sermo* garbles I Cor XII, 15, 16 into a composite *Siquidem dixerit pes non sum oculus, non sum de corpore, non ideo est de corpore ?* as opposed to *si dixerit pes quoniam non sum manus non sum de corpore non ideo non est de corpore et Si dixerit auris quia non sum oculus non sum de corpore non ideo non est de corpore*.

17. Hugh the Sinner, *Sermo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

18. Hugh the Sinner, *Sermo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 290, 292.

19. Hugh the Sinner, *Sermo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

early Templars were having difficulties but this is quite a modern view and has mainly been gleaned from the *Sermo* itself. Therefore, for an adumbration of the problems which beset the Order one can do no more than examine critically the content of the *Sermo* from which it appears that, as a result of pressure from Latins in the Holy land and perhaps from unease and tension within the Order, the knights were turning their minds to abandoning the Order ; not with a view to rejoining the *malitia*, but to more effectively devoting themselves to the contemplative life from within a mainstream monastic Order [20]. Hugh relates the tension that they were experiencing :

> *quasi professio vestra quum vitam vestram ad portanda arma contra inimicos fidei et pacis pro defensione christianorum dedicastis, quasi, inquam illa professio vel inlicita sit vel pernitiosa, id est vel peccatum vel majoris profectionis impedimentum* [21].

These are doubts which go to the heart of the purpose of a knighthood of Christ ; the most insidious doubt of all : self-doubt. How could these uncertainties have been allowed to take root, given the evident charisma of Master Hugh and the support of both king and patriarch ? An obvious answer might be the protracted absence of the Master. This did indeed occur in the period 1127-1130, for Master Hugh had been charged by King Baldwin with recruiting for the planned Damascus campaign, and his movements can be loosely traced in Anjou, Maine, England and Provence during this period. [22]. For those Templars, undoubtedly more than nine by this pre-Council of Troyes stage [23], left in the unsteady climate of the Holy Land, this absence must have been rather trying, particularly for they must have known that one of Master Hugh's aims was to follow up the letter which King Baldwin had sent to Saint Bernard with the aim of securing an Apostolically approved Rule [24].

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20. Hugh the Sinner, *Sermo..., op. cit.*, p. 294, 296.

21. Hugh the Sinner, *Sermo..., op. cit.,* p. 292.

22. William of Tyre, *Historia..., op. cit.*, B. 13, cap. 26 ; Marquis of Albon, *Cartulaire..., op. cit.*, 8, p. 5-6 ; 12, p. 8-9 ; 13, p. 10 ; 15, p. 10 ; 16, p. 10-11 ; 20, p. 13-15 ; 22, p. 16 ; 30, p. 23 ; *Chronografia Magna*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Cod. Lat. Z 399, fo. 77v, in J. Pryor, « Transportation of Horses by Sea During the Era of the Crusades : Eighth Century to 1285 A.D. », *The Mariner's Mirror*, 68 (1982), p. 15 ; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tr. D. Whitelock, London, 1961, 8/20.

23. See, *inter alia*, M. Bulst-Thiele, « The Influence of St. Bernard... », *op. cit.*, p. 58.

24. Marquis of Albon, *Cartulaire..., op. cit.*, 1, p. 1 dates the letter at 1119-1126. This is based entirely on Baldwin's principate of Antioch (28 June 1119 to 15 October 1126). This can be further refined to exclude the period of his captivity (11 or 18 April 1123 to 29 Aug. 1124). R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, Innsbruck, 1893, 116 dates the letter at 1126.

If the Order was experiencing difficulties, then it would be beneficial to try to give some dates to these problems. With no contemporary record, save William of Tyre's assertion that the Templars remained nine for nine years [25], the only source with any bearing on Christendom's attitude towards the Order are the records of early gifts. They do reveal a period of sparsity. Donations and affiliations to the Order are sporadic and few until 1128 when suddenly seven (possibly eight) are recorded [26]. The few gifts, two possibly three [27], that occur before this date are not insignificant, two of them are comital gifts, but as yet the Order had made no tangible impact on lay benefactors. The mushrooming, geographically and qualitatively, of patronage that occurred in the year before the Council of Troyes cannot be explained solely by the European peregrinations of Master Hugh and a few select brethren. The Order had become a legitimate object of benefaction. Could this be a reflection of the legitimisation of the Order in the eyes of the laity and the end of the Order's self-doubt, the *Anfangsschwierigkeiten* ? For this to be the case, the *Sermo* would have to date from this period and so too, I would suggest, would the *Liber de laude* for both were written to perform a similar function ; written albeit with differing degrees of eloquence [28].

Evidently, not only could Master Hugh have penned the *Sermo* before 1129, but this is the most obvious time for him to have done so. What then of the *Liber de laude ?* It has a *terminus a quo* of 1120, date of the foundation of the Temple and a *terminus ante quem* of 24 May 1136, date of Hugh's death. Certainly, it is not one of Saint Bernard's most mature works, but there are concrete indicators that it had a composition date prior to the Council of Troyes [29]. Firstly, if it were following the promulgation of the Rule at Troyes, one would expect some allusions to those observances there promulgated. These there are, and some have been led to comment that Saint

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25. William of Tyre, *Historia..., op. cit.*, B. 12, cap. 7, p. 520.

26. Marquis of Albon, *Cartulaire..., op. cit.*, 10, p. 7 ; 11, p. 7-8 ; 13, p. 10 ; 14, p. 10 ; 15, p. 10 ; 16, p. 10-11 ; 17, p. 11-12 ; and possibly 7, p. 5 (1127/8) ; 18, p. 12 has been wrongly dated by Albon, it should actually be 1129.

27. Marquis of Albon, *Cartulaire..., op. cit.*, 4, p. 2-3 ; 9, p. 6 ; possibly 7, p. 5 (1127/1128).

28. J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung... », *op. cit.*, p. 9 and 11 suggests the near contemporaneous composition of the two works based on their content.

29. The *Liber* has, with little prominence, been dated to the end of 1128 / the beginning of 1129. No reasons are given and it was suggested at a time when the Council of Troyes was still thought to have been held in 1128. G. de Valous, « Quelques observations sur la toute primitive observance des Templiers et la *Regula Pauperum Commilitonum Christi Templi Salomonici* rédigée par saint Bernard au Concile de Troyes (1128) », in *Mélanges Saint Bernard*, *op. cit.*, p. 33

Bernard wrote the *Liber* with a copy of the Rule in front of him [30]. However, it was only the Primitive Latin Rule which was promulgated at Troyes, and the two most striking similarities between the Rule and the *Liber*, those relating to the knights' non-combat occupations of tending to their equipment [31], and of their loathing of chess, dice and hunting [32], occur not in the Primitive Rule, but in the Hierarchical Statutes and the Conventual Statutes. Although not definitively dated, the former are understood as having been composed *c.* 1165, twelve years after the death of the abbot and 29 years after that of Master Hugh, and the latter at a still later date [33]. The only shared notion between the *Liber* and the Primitive Rule is the allusion to the knights not hunting birds, but this similarity should not be overemphasised, for it seems an obviously ill-fitting pastime to proscribe for a knight who had renounced secular ways [34]. Nothing in the *Liber* therefore presupposes a knowledge of the deliberations of the Council of Troyes. This is even more so the case with regard to the styling that Saint Bernard chose for the Order. Not once does he refer to the official title of *pauperum commilitonum Christi Salomonici* [35], or to the fact that the fraternity was, after the Council, an *ordo.* Secondly, if the *Liber* were written in the 1130s, one would expect some allusion to the rapid implantation of the Order in both a military context in the Iberian peninsula and a more pacific one in Europe more generally. The abbot is however quite clear that what he is describing *Hæc Ierosolymis actitantur, et orbis excitatur* [36].

Having made these remarks, it remains to construct a view of what exactly Saint Bernard's relationship with the Order might have been. If it is thought that Saint Bernard took a serious interest in the developing Order, possibly through Master Hugh, with whom it appears he shared a familial link [37], or even through his uncle Andrew, who may or may not have been

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30. *Inter alia :* J. Upton Ward, *The Rule..., op. cit.,* p. 5 and J. Leclercq, « Un Document... », *op. cit.*, p. 91.

31. H. de Curzon, *La Règle..., op. cit.*, cap. 285, p. 172 ; Saint Bernard, *Liber..., op. cit.*, cap. 4, p. 68.

32. Saint Bernard, *Liber..., op. cit.*, cap. 4, p. 68.

33. J. Upton-Ward, *The Rule..., op. cit.*, p. 11-16.

34. H. de Curzon, *La Règle..., op. cit.*, cap. 55, p. 56-57 ; Saint Bernard, *Liber..., op. cit.*, cap. 4, p. 68.

35. H. de Curzon, *La Règle..., op. cit., Incipit*, p. 11.

36. Saint Bernard, *Liber..., op. cit.*, cap. 5, p. 76.

37. J. Richard, « Le Milieu Famial », in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, Paris, Editions Alsatia, 1953, p. 13 argues that Saint Bernard's maternal uncle, Gaudry, became associated with the de Touillon family by marriage. Amongst these was Guy of Touillon who was probably the brother-in-law of Hugh of Payns. This is accepted by J. Fleckenstein, « Die Rechtfertigung... », *op. cit.*, p. 9.

one of the founders of the Order [38], but who was seneschal and subsequently master of the Order from 1153 to 1156 [39], then his dismissal of the Order as not particularly worthy in 1125 is problematic. This came about due to the abbot's appearing to have cherished the notion that Hugh, count of Champagne, would take the cowl at Clairvaux ; on hearing of the count's profession as a Templar he wrote him a congratulatory, if somewhat disappointed, letter.

> *Si causa Dei factus es ex comite miles, et pauper ex divite, in hoc profecto tibi ut justum est, gratulamur* [40].

He had nothing to mention of the benefits or value of the mission of the Order. No comment as to the supremacy of the *militia* over the *malitia.* No opinion as to the good works the Order was prosecuting outre-mer. No mention of the Order *qua* Order at all. He did not even mention it by name. This attitude of indifference was maintained right up until the Council of Troyes. A letter survives from Saint Bernard to the Apostolic legate to the Council the cardinal bishop of Albano, Matthew of le Remois. The abbot is quite clear. Not only did he not wish to attend the Council, but he actively requested to be excused. He was not of the opinion that he could contribute anything ; not only did he think this, he knew it :

> *Sed grandis, inquiunt, fuit causa, gravisque necessitas. Quærendus ergo fuerat qui grandibus definiendis fuisset idoneus. Si me talem putant, ego me talem non esse nequaquam puto, sed scio* [41].

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38. G. de Valous, « Quelques Observations... », *op. cit.*, p. 32 is clear that Andrew was one of the founding nine. One cannot be certain. He might be the same Andrew as that which King Baldwin sent to Clairvaux with a letter to Saint Bernard requesting that he aid the Templars in seeking Apostolic approval, Marquis of Albon, *Cartulaire...*, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 1. J. Richard, « Le Milieu... », *op. cit.*, p. 14 proposes that Andrew of Montbard was still a layman in 1129. This appears to be based on the Abbé Jobin, *Saint Bernard et sa famille*, Poitiers, 1891, p. 47 who suggests that since Andrew was present at Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in 1129 and witnessed, together with many of his kin, a charter, he had not yet joined the Temple. This does not follow *a priori*.

39. J. Baltheau, M. Barroux et M. Prevost, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Paris, 1936, 2, p. 962-963. Andrew of Montbard was the son of Bernard of Montbard and the brother of Saint Bernard's mother, Aleth. Three letters of relevance survive. One from Saint Bernard to his Uncle Andrew : *Epistola* 288, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, Frères Garnier, 1879 (Patrologiæ cursus completus, S. Latina, 182), col. 494 (dated to 1153), and two to Queen Melisende of Jerusalem in which he refers to this uncle : *Epistola* 206, ed. J.-P. Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 373 (undated) and *Epistola* 289, *ibid.*, col. 495 (dated to 1153).

40. *Epistola* 31, ed. J.-P. Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 135 (dated to 1126). Following this letter is a reproduction of a charter which appears to demonstrate that Count Hugh was a benefactor of a large amount of the lands which comprised the initial settlement at Clairvaux.

41. *Epistola* 21, ed. J.-P. Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 123 (dated at 1117).

This, coupled with his evident reluctance to write the *Liber* sheds rather a different light on the man who is so often described as the greatest advocate of the Order. Were he greatly taken with the concept of crusading Orders, might he not have written a letter to the Hospitallers too, in this period when their minds may have been turning to the possibility of militarisation ? Not just rhetoric, of which he was well able, there appears to be a good case that when Saint Bernard wrote in the Prologue to the *Liber* « one could be found who is more capable to discharge better than I this task, I judge myself little suited to undertake it, and likely to compromise the result of this much needed undertaking » [42] he did in fact mean sincerely what he wrote.

A chronology which embraces these facts presents itself. The Templars were recognized in 1120 at the Council of Nablus, adopted the Austin Rule under the guidance of the patriarch, recruited and expanded, dispatched their master to Europe ostensibly on royal business but also to promote the new Order, came into difficulties regarding their self-image and the licitness of their Order, received a letter from their absent master encouraging them to persevere, received too from Saint Bernard an exhortationary sermon, requested repeatedly by their master, designed to boost the Order's waning morale, and finally had their Rule confirmed at the Council of Troyes in 1129. This sequence explains the three most striking paradoxes of the early development of the Order. Firstly : it is difficult to imagine that after the approval given their Order by the barrage of ecclesiastics at Troyes there could have been any doubts, amongst brethren or the *minus discretis* referred to in the *Sermo*, as to the licitness of the avowed functions of the Order. Secondly : it explains the rather diffident attitude of Saint Bernard as evinced on various occasions. In pleading unsuitability to Master Hugh concerning his qualifications to extol the virtues of the Temple, the abbot was telling the truth. The *Liber* exhibits so little knowledge of the Order's structure or activities that it appears to be an abstract view of those qualities a monastic knight should, and ought, to have had. Proportionately the travel section of the *Liber* is almost twice as long as the exhortation to the knights, and a third of this second section comprises an adumbration of Saint Bernard's Christocentric view of salvation wrapped into the description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. When Saint Bernard was summoned to the Council of Troyes, being deemed by cardinal bishop Matthew an important figure whose presence would be beneficial to the deliberations of the Council, a belief based on Bernard's writing of the *Liber*, the abbot thought this unjustified and was uncomfortable with the idea that he was thought valuable to such a debate. And thirdly, it explains the communality of purpose shared by the *Sermo* and the *Liber* ; both address the virtue of the Templars' profession, their strength through discipline and obedience, the importance of the

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42. Saint Bernard, *Liber...*, *op. cit.*, *Prologus*, p. 48.

spiritual element in their life, and both concentrate their attentions upon stressing the essential licitness of the knighthood of Christ ; a knighthood which does not hate, and therefore kill, men, but iniquity [43]. A knighthood for whom there need be no fear on the Day of Judgement for having violated the cardinal Commandment : *non occides.*

43. Hugh the Sinner, *Sermo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 290 ; p. 292 ; p. 292 ; p. 294 and Saint Bernard, *Liber...*, *op. cit.*, cap. 1, p. 50-54 ; cap. 4, p. 66-68 ; cap. 3, p. 58-66 ; cap. 1, p. 54.

Aryeh GRABOÏS

LA FONDATION DE L'ABBAYE DU *TEMPLUM DOMINI* et la légende du Temple de Jérusalem au XIIe siècle

La conquête de la mosquée du Dôme du Rocher, au coeur du *Haram al-Sherif*, par Tancrède, le 16 juillet 1099 [1], amena à sa conversion en l'église du *Templum Domini*. Le processus de cette conversion fut achevé vers 1105 par l'établissement d'un chapitre de chanoines séculiers, régis par un abbé, suffragant du patriarche de Jérusalem. On a longuement discuté les origines de cette fondation, dont certains auteurs considéraient comme le fait de Tancrède ou conjointement de Godefroid de Bouillon et du prince normand [2]. Cette hypothèse ne peut pourtant être retenue et il faut l'attribuer au début du règne de Baudoin 1er, donc après le désistement de Tancrède de tous ses droits et prétentions dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem en faveur du monarque [3]. C'est ainsi que la nouvelle abbaye fut une fondation royale, qui s'inscrivit dans le cadre des efforts de la royauté d'ériger des seigneuries ec-

1. Foucher de Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I, 28 (RHC, Occ. III, p. 359-360).

2. C'est ainsi que Foucher de Chartres, *ibid.*, I, 30 (p. 356) et Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronicon*, IV, 9 (éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1986, t. 1, p. 431) en attribuent la fondation à Godefroid de Bouillon. En revanche, Raoul de Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* (RHC, Hist. occ., III, p. 695) et Albert d'Aix, *Liber Christianae Expeditionis...* (RHC, Hist. occ. IV, p. 668) l'attribnent à Tancrède. Cf. H-E. Mayer, « Zur Frühgeschichte des Templum Domini in Jerusalem », dans son *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Schrifte d. MGH), Stuttgart, 1977, p. 222-229, qui y voit le statut d'une *Eigenkirche*.

3. Albert d'Aix, *op.cit.*, p. 668, date ce désistement de 1109 ; pourtant, il fut accompli en 1101, avant le départ de Tancrède pour Antioche, où il fut appelé à exercer la régence pendant la captivité de son oncle Bohemond, puisque Baudouin Ier procéda à la nomination des vassaux dans les fiefs tenus naguère par le prince normand dans le royaume de Jérusalem.

clésiastiques dans la ville de Jérusalem, qui étaient destinées à servir de contrepoids à la seigneurie patriarcale, concentrée autour de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre [4].

Richement dotée de domaines et d'églises, dont celles de Jaffa et de Naplouse, villes dépourvues d'évêchés, la nouvelle abbaye est rapidement devenue une institution ecclésiastique de première importance dans le royaume latin, déjà sous le gouvernement de son premier abbé, Achard ; de surcroît, elle tenait le second rang, après le chapitre patriarcal du Saint-Sépulcre, parmi les églises de Jérusalem [5].

Qui plus est, sa position sur le site de l'ancien Temple de Jérusalem, détruit par les romains en 70, fit de l'abbaye du *Templum Domini*, pour la première fois depuis la conversion de la population de Jérusalem à la religion chrétienne, le second centre du culte chrétien dans la Ville sainte, après le sanctuaire du Saint-Sépulcre. Certes, il s'agissait d'une innovation par rapport aux époques romaine et byzantine, quand le Mont du Temple avait été intentionnellement laissé en ruines, comme symbole de la Jérusalem terrestre et conformément à la vision de Jésus [6], ce qui avait amené, déjà à partir du IVe siècle, aux translations des traditions bibliques liées au Mont Moriah et au Temple aux différents sites du complexe du Saint-Sépulcre [7]. C'est ainsi que les pèlerins qui avaient visité le monument sacro-saint de toute la Chrétienté, y ont remarqué le site du sacrifice d'Isaac par son père Abraham, ou bien l'ampoule contenant l'huile qui servait au sacre des anciens rois d'Israël et de la Judée et l'anneau du roi Salomon, désignés par des autels érigés et consacrés à ces traditions et reliques [8].

C'est ainsi que la fondation de l'abbaye du *Templum Domini* signifia, outre les intérêts de la royauté, une nouvele approche de la Chrétienté occidentale à l'égard du Mont du Temple. Sur la foi de la relation d'un pèlerin anonyme, qui a visité la Terre sainte entre 1100 et 1105 [9], on peut dater déjà

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4. Cf. J. Richard, « Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'Eglise latine à Jérusalem », *Mélanges Clovis Brunel*, Paris, 1955, t. II, p. 420 ss. et J. Prawer, « The Patriarch's Lordship in Jérusalem », dans ses *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 296-314.

5. R. Röhricht, « Syria Sacra », ZDPV, 10 (1887), 1-48.

6. Cf. L-H. Vincent et F-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, t. II, Paris, 1922, *s.v.* « Mont du Temple ».

7. Cf. S. Schein, « The Temple between Mount Moria and the Holy Sepulchre. Changing Traditions of the Temple in the Middle Ages », *Traditio*, 50 (1984), p. 175-195.

8. Egérie, *Itinerarium*, éd. P. Maraval, Paris, 1982, p. 272-276 ; Theodosius, *De situ Terrae sanctae*, éd. P. Geyer, dans *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IIII-VIII*, Vienne, 1888, p. 140.

9. Anon., *Qualiter sita est civitas Ierusalem*, éd. S. de Sandoli, dans *Itinera Hierosolymitana crucesignatorum*, t. I, Jérusalem, 1978, p. 2.

vers ces années l'émergence d'un culte latin, concentré sur les activités de Jésus dans le Temple de Jérusalem. Fondé sur les témoignages des Evangiles, ce culte portait à la fois sur des épisodes liés à son enfance et sur les actes des dernières années de sa vie, précédant la Passion. Cependant, il semble que les débuts de ce culte doivent être datés après 1102, parce que Saewulf, qui laissa une très bonne description du site du *Templum Domini*, ne le mentionne pas dans sa relation [10]. L'aménagement du bâtiment de la mosquée ommayade de la fin du VIIe siècle aux besoins liturgiques du chapitre du *Templum Domini* imposait l'érection d'autels [11] et particulièrement l'effacement ou la couverture des arabesques, contenant des versets coraniques. A ces fins, les chanoines firent poser sur les murs de l'édifice de l'ancien Dôme du Rocher des inscriptions contenant les versets relevants, il faut le préciser, en latin, du Nouveau Testament. Outre le rôle ornemental dans la conversion du bâtiment de la mosquée en église, ces inscriptions rappelaient aux fidèles les actes du Christ, en désignant, certes arbitrairement, les endroits de ces faits, devenus des lieux de prières et des dévotions [12]. C'est ainsi que ces inscriptions servaient de moyen d'identification, par un semblant d'authenticité, de l'ancien édifice hérodien du Temple.

L'implantation du culte du Temple de Jérusalem et sa popularisation à l'époque des croisades était en même temps fondée sur le concept psalmiste de deux montagnes sur lesquelles la Ville sainte était située ; déjà mentionnée dans les relations des pèlerins à partir du début du XIIe siècle, cette idée trouva son expression dans la description de Jérusalem par Guillaume de Tyr, qui interpréta le Psaume 86.1 : *sita est autem in duobus montibus, sicut David commemorat* [13] ; en l'occurrence, il s'agissait du Mont du Temple, du côté oriental de la ville et du Mont Sion, du côté occidental, qui étaient séparés par une vallée située au centre de la cité. Selon cette interprétation, destinée à concilier entre la topographie biblique, soit la source normative et la topographie réelle, l'église de la Résurrection était située sur le versant oriental du Mont Sion : *in eodem quoque, sed in devero quod ad orientem respicit, sita est Sancte Ressurectionis ecclesia,... Que quoniam in declivo predicti montis sita est.* En revanche, en ce qui concernait le Mont du Temple, Guillaume de Tyr accepta sans hésitation l'identification du site du Temple avec la mosquée « construite par le caliphe Omar » [14], identification qui, à l'époque de la rédaction de sa chronique, était de notoriété publique.

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10. Saewulf, *Peregrinatio*, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1994, p. 67-68.

11. *Qualiter sita est...*, *op.cit.* (note 9), p. 2.

12. Foucher de Charters, *op.cit.*, I, 26 (p. 356).

13. Guillaume de Tyr, *op.cit.*, (note 2), p. 385 ; déjà en 1102, Saewulf affirma que l'église du Saint-Sépulcre était située sur le versant oriental du Mont Sion (*op.cit.*, note 10, p. 67-68).

14. Guillaume de Tyr, p. 386-387.

Afin de rendre crédible ce nouveau culte, il fallait authentifier l'édifice où les différents endroits votifs étaient indiqués par les inscriptions, voire affirmer que le bâtiment ommayade n'était que le même édifice de l'époque hérodienne. Cette pratique d'authentification, qui faisait semblant l'existence continuelle des sanctuaires de la Terre sainte depuis l'époque paléo-chrétienne, bien qu'ils fussent construits à partir du IVe siècle, était un usage courant pour l'ensemble des monuments érigés sur les lieux saints [15]. Cependant, en ce qui concernait le Temple de Jérusalem, elle s'affrontait à un obstacle particulier ; en effet, il était notoire que le bâtiment hérodien avait été complètement détruit par les romains, en 70. Que le site soit resté en ruines ou que d'autres monuments y aient été érigés, tels que le Temple de Jupiter, construit par Hadrien au second siècle, ou les mosquées ommayades du VIIe, cela ne jouait aucun rôle pour l'identification des lieux saints, parce que ces sites de dévotion subirent le sort du Temple lui-même. C'est ainsi qu'afin d'étayer l'authenticité de leurs prétentions, les chanoines du *Templum Domini* étaient obligés de créer leur propre interprétation de l'histoire de ce bâtiment, l'identifiant à l'ancien Temple, voire recourir à un genre littéraire largement diffusé à l'époque, l'histoire légendaire.

La création de cette légende, tendant à authentifier les lieux de la dévotion du Temple, et sa diffusion, est attestée par un texte anonyme qui fut rédigé vers 1130 et intitulé *De situ urbis Ierusalem*. Edité pour la première fois par Melchior de Vogüé (*Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem adjacentium*) [16], il fut réédité par Sabino de Sandoli en 1980 [17]. Ce texte, du genre des descriptions ou des guides de la Terre sainte, contient quelques renseignements sur les différents lieux saints dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem, évoquant les traditions de l'Ancient et du Nouveau Testament, auxquelles s'ajoute une reconstitution topographique des « quarante étapes de l'Exode », faite sur le témoignage de l'Ancien Testament et qui laisse entendre que l'auteur a visité la péninsule du Sinaï. En ce qui concerne la description de la ville de Jérusalem [18], on peut dévoiler sans difficultés le véritable intérêt de l'auteur ; à la différence de ses prédécesseurs et de ses contemporains, il consacra une brève notive, dépourvue d'originalité et d'intérêt, à l'église du Saint-Sépulcre, tandis que la majeure partie de sa relation de la Ville sainte

15. Par exemple, l'église du Saint-Sauveur sur le Mont Thabor, lieu de la Transfiguration ; quoique construite au VIe siècle, les pèlerins la considéraient comme le véritable sanctuaire évangélique ; le Pèlerin de Plaisance, de 580, en témoigne (*Itinerarium*, éd. C. Milani, Milan, 1977, p. 103).

16. M. de Vogüe, *Les églises de la Terre sainte*, Paris, 1860, p. 414-433. Le poème de l'abbé Achard d'Arrouaise, qui fit l'histoire du Temple, vers 1112 (éd. Sandoli, *op. cit.*, note 9, t. II, Jérusalem 1980, p. 52-60), contient quelques éléments qui ont servi l'Anonyme de 1130 dans l'élaboration de son ouvrage.

17. Ed. Sandoli, *op.cit.*, t. II, p. 74-114.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 74-75 et 100-104.

concerne le Temple de Jérusalem. Cette description du Temple commence par un aperçu historique sur le sanctuaire de l'Ancien Testament ; pourtant il concentre son attention sur l'édifice hérodien, qu'il qualifie de Temple « reconstruit par les Maccabées » [19]. Cette insistence sur le Temple, identifié, il va de soi, avec l'église contemporaine du *Templum Domini*, qu'il considère comme « la plus belle parmi toutes les églises » [20], nous amène à supposer que l'auteur aurait été soit un chanoine de ce chapitre, soit un pèlerin qui s'attacha à cette abbaye pendant son séjour en Terre sainte, mais un tout cas bien versé dans la Bible et dans l'histoire de la Terre sainte.

Parfaitement conscient des destructions et des reconstructions successives de ce sanctuaire, notre auteur fit état de la destruction du « troisième bâtiment » par l'empereur Titus et, pourtant dans la même perspective des réédifications antérieures du Temple, il fit allusion, par un pur procédé d'imagination, à une oeuvre de « restauration », voire la réfection de l'édifice hérodien, donc du temple authentique, qu'il considéra comme le fait soit d'un Empereur chrétien, hésitant à se prononcer si celui-ci était Constantin, Justinien ou Heraclius, soit, comme il le savait parfaitement, l'oeuvre d'un Caliphe, qu'il qualifia comme « un certain Emir de Memphis d'Egypte », qui l'avait dédié à « Allah kébir », tout en ayant effacé la décoration grecque du soi-disant « édifice chrétien » [21]. A ces éléments, qui s'imposaient pour l'authentification du bâtiment qui abritait l'église du *Templum Domini*, l'auteur ajouta une autre légende qui a joui déjà depuis quelques décennies de crédibilité en Occident, grâce à la diffusion du « Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople » et qui faisait du Temple le lieu de la circoncision de l'enfant Jésus. Le prépuce, « miraculeusement découvert sur le Mont » et apporté par le Carolingien à Aix-la-Chapelle, où il fut conservé dans le reliquaire du Palais, était exposé depuis environ 1080 dans l'abbaye poitevine de Charroux, qui se vantait du don de cette précieuse relique par Charles le Chauve lors de la consécration de l'église du Saint-Sauveur [22] et où elle est devenue l'objet de pèlerinages et des dévotions. Par ailleurs, la popularité de cette relique amena au cours du XIIe siècle à la création d'une version romaine de la légende du « Saint-prépuce » [23].

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 100 : *Quod templum iterum ab Antiocho destructum sub Machabeis reedificatum est.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 74 : *Templum Domini ut diximus omnium ecclesiarum excellit pulchritudinem.*

21. *Ibid.*, p. 100-102.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 102 ; cf. L-A. Vigneras, « L'abbaye de Charroux et la légende du pèlerinage de Charlemagne », *Romanic Review*, 32 (1941), p. 121-128.

23. Pierre le Diacre, *De locis sanctis* (éd. Sandoli, *op.cit.* t. II, p. 180) affirme que le prépuce était vénéré dans la basilique constantinienne de Rome ; le pèlerin islandais Nikula Saemundersson, vers 1150, mentionne lui-aussi ce culte à Rome (*Iter ad loca sancta*, éd. Sandoli, *op.cit.*, t. II, p. 214).

La description de l'Anonyme de 1130, qui contenait la version légendaire de son récit du Temple de Jérusalem, a rapidement acquis de l'autorité à la fois parmi les membres de la société ecclésiastique et laïque du royaume latin de Jérusalem et chez les pèlerins occidentaux, qui incluaient la visite du *Templum Domini* dans leurs itinéraires et y faisaient leurs dévotions. Il en résulta la diffusion de cet opuscule et l'emploi des renseignements par des auteurs ultérieurs. C'est ainsi que les propos de l'Anonyme ont été repris vers 1138 par Rorgo Fretellus, chanoine de Nazareth, dans son guide de la Terre sainte, intitulé *Liber locorum sanctorum Terrae sanctae* [24]. Tout en rendant à l'église récemment restaurée du Saint-Sépulcre la primauté des lieux saints, Fretellus mit en relief l'importance du *Templum Domini* en tant que second pôle du culte chrétien dans la Ville sainte. Faisant preuve d'érudition hébraïque, déjà manifeste chez quelques auteurs qui l'ont précédé, Fretellus appelle le site du Temple *Beth-El* (« Maison-Dieu » en hébreu), terme qui, en raison de son usage topographique, prêtait à confusion avec le village de Bethel, situé au nord de Jérusalem. Cependant, outre cette confusion, il adopta l'idée de la « restauration » de l'Ancien Temple, mais afin d'éviter des critiques possibles à ce propos, le chanoine de Nazareth préféra l'emploi d'une formule plus vague : *Bethel sub quo et a quo principe restitutum fuit ignoratur* [25]. Ce propos, qui indique de manière positive la théorie de la restitution dans son site même de l'ancien Temple, lui permet de reprendre les hypothèses de l'Anonyme sur l'identité du personnage qui aurait procédé à la restauration, à savoir un des trois empereurs chrétiens mentionnés, ou bien, comme il le savait parfaitement lui-aussi, du Caliphe ommayade qui fit construire la mosquée « d'Omar ».

La diffusion de l'ouvrage de Fretellus en Europe centrale et occidentale, à partir du milieu du XII[e] siècle, fit répandre cette version de la légende du Temple de Jérusalem et lui donner de crédibilité par l'authentification des lieux du culte. Outre les traditions de l'Ancien Testament, ce culte était concentré sur les liens de la personne de Jésus et le sanctuaire, à partir de la circoncision et de la présentation de l'enfant Jésus au Temple, ainsi que des activités du Christ dans ce bâtiment, en ajoutant des éléments sur le martyre des premiers chrétiens.

L'influence de cette légende se manifesta dans les relations des pèlerins occidentaux de la seconde moitié du XII[e] siècle. Elle occupa notamment une

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24. Ed. P.C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre sainte. Histoire et édition du texte*, Amsterdam, 1980.

25. Fretellus, p. 32. D'autre part, ce même auteur mentionne le village de Bethel, entre Jérusalem et Naplouse et connaît bien la tradition de la vision de Jacob, concernant l'échelle montant au ciel (Genèse, 18:7), en qualifiant le site de « lieu saint et de la porte du ciel » (p. 28).

partie importante dans la description de Jean de Würzburg, vers 1166 qui, ayant emprunté la version de Fretellus, lui ajouta la reproduction des inscriptions postées sur les murs du bâtiment[26], ainsi que de traditions complémentaires qu'il apprit lors de sa propre visite du sanctuaire. Parmi ces nouvelles traditions, il répandit un récit sur la maison de Siméon le Juste, située sur le Mont, qui est devenue l'appartement de la Vierge, dont une pièce contenait le berceau de l'enfant Jésus. De surcroît, contrairement à la Loi juive, mais conformément aux coutumes chrétiennes de la sépulture des saints, cette maison était supposée contenir le tombeau de Siméon. Devenue ainsi l'objet de dévotions, cette maisonnette, que les chanoines ont identifiée à l'angle sud-est du Mont, fût convertie en église, le « Moustier du Berc »[27].

La conquête de Jérusalem par Saladin, en 1187, mit un terme au culte chrétien du *Templum Domini*. La restauration des mosquées du *Haram al-Sherif* amena le renouvellement de la prohibition de l'accès au Mont du Temple aux non-musulmans. Malgré cela, la légende du Temple continuait d'être diffusée en Europe occidentale, où elle resta populaire ; c'est ainsi qu'en récapitulant les pèlerinages de l'époque des Croisades, Philippe de Savone trouva opportun d'en faire état dans sa relation de 1291[28].

26. Jean de Würzburg, *Descriptio Terrae sanctae*, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1994, p. 87-96.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 135-136 ; Anon., *L'estat de la citez de Jherusalem*, éd. T. Tobler, dans *Descriptiones Terrae sanctae*, Munich, 1874, p. 210.

28. Philippe de Savone, *Descriptio de Terra sancta*, éd. W.A. Neumann, dans *Oesterreichische Vierteljahrschrift für Katolische Theologie*, 11 (1871), p. 50.

Johanna Maria van WINTER

LES SEIGNEURS DE SAINTE-CATHERINE À UTRECHT,
les premiers Hospitaliers au nord des Alpes

Cet exposé vous présentera une hypothèse qui pourrait expliquer certains aspects assez curieux de l'histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean aux Pays-Bas et spécialement de sa baylie d'Utrecht. Il s'agit des aspects suivants.

1. Tandis que la première mention d'un couvent de Saint-Jean à Utrecht, dédié à Sainte-Catherine d'Alexandrie, ne date que du XIII[e] siècle, des fouilles archéologiques, faites à cet endroit, ont révélé des restes d'une église et d'un cloître construits en tuf, qui doivent dater d'avant 1200. Rien ne permet, cependant, de supposer l'existence d'un couvent antérieur, qui aurait précédé celui de Saint-Jean.

2. Contrairement à la coutume dans les commanderies ou baylies de cet Ordre en Europe occidentale, la fondation d'Utrecht a donné naissance à un véritable hôpital. Malgré son appellation d'Ordre Hospitalier et malgré le fait que son quartier général en Terre Sainte comprenait un hôpital important, la plupart des commanderies entendait leur devoir d'*hospitalitas* comme celui d'accueillir les passants en non pas les malades. La commanderie d'Utrecht faisait donc exception.

3. Les frères d'Utrecht n'étaient pas des chevaliers, mais des chapelains. Les Ordres militaires et religieux connaissaient des membres de plusieurs rangs : le plus élevé était celui des chevaliers, suivi de celui des chapelains. Les commanderies étaient surtout destinées à des chevaliers et en moindre degré à des chapelains. Utrecht, la plus grande commanderie à l'intérieur des frontières actuelles des Pays-Bas, avec des dépendances dans les provinces de Hollande, Zélande, Utrecht, Gueldre et Frise, n'était pas, comme on supposerait, une commanderie pour des chevaliers, mais pour des chapelains.

4. Lors de la visitation de 1540 le bailli d'Utrecht, Bernard de Duven, racontait que les possessions de sa commanderie provenaient pour la plupart de donations de plusieurs évêques d'Utrecht, des comtes de Hollande et des seigneurs de Woerden. Celles des deux derniers sont plus ou moins identifiables, contrairement à celles des évêques.

5. Dans la liste des témoins d'une charte de 1122, qui accorde des privilèges impériaux aux habitants d'Utrecht et de Muiden, figure, sans autre explication, un nombre de *Jerosolimitani*. S'agirait-il ici de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, plus d'un siècle avant la première apparition de son couvent à Utrecht ?

Mon hypothèse est la suivante : le couvent de Sainte-Catherine d'Utrecht fut fondé peu avant 1122, lors des débuts de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, quand celui-ci n'était encore qu'un ordre religieux d'infirmiers et non pas de chevaliers. A cause de cet origine précoce le but primitif de l'ordre, à savoir le soin des malades, fut dès le début strictement observé. De plus cette tâche ne fut pas confiée à des chevaliers, mais à des chapelains, auxquels incombait aussi l'administration des biens donnés.

Regardons maintenant ces différentes données de plus près. D'abord nous avons les fondements en tuf d'une église et d'un cloître, découverts au Vredenburg pendant l'été de 1976 [1]. L'archéologue en chef de la ville, Hoekstra, en a déduit que les frères de Saint-Jean ont dû se fixer à Utrecht autour de 1200, puisque après cette date les églises ne se construisaient plus en tuf, mais en briques. Il ne pensait pas à une datation antérieure, puisque les sources écrites ne mentionnent l'hôpital de Saint-Jean qu'au XIIIe siècle.

Ainsi nous apprenons en 1241 que la maison du Saint-Esprit, près du Borchbrug (le pont de la citadelle ou de Saint-Martin), a été donnée naguère par le comte Baudouin de Bentheim à l'hôpital de Sainte-Catherine d'Utrecht [2]. Ce Baudouin était l'oncle du comte Florent IV de Hollande (1222-1234) et figurait plusieurs fois comme son procurateur. Le comte Florent fit lui-même une donation de deux livres annuelles au commandeur et au couvent de Sainte-Catherine, qui fut confirmée par son petit-fils Florent V [3].

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1. T.J. Hoekstra, « Vredenburg, Archeologische Kroniek van de gemeente Utrecht over 1976-1977 », *Maandblad Oud-Utrecht*, 53 (1980), p. 24-31 (surtout p. 25) ; T.J. Hoekstra, « Utrecht, Vredenburg », *Bulletin KNOB*, 1977, p. 39-45.

2. *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, vol. I, ed.S.Muller Fzn. et A.C.Bouman, Utrecht, Oosthoek, 1920 ; vol. II, ed. K.Heeringa, 's-Gravenhage, Rijksuitgeverij, 1940 (= *OSU*) ; II, n° 972, 1241, septembre.

3. J.G. Kruisheer, *De oorkonden en de kanselarij van de graven van Holland tot 1299*, 's-Gravenhage-Haarlem, Historische Vereniging voor Zuid-Holland, 1971 (Hollandse Studiën, 2), I, p. 7 ; II, n° 780, [1267-1290], 26 avril- 2 mai.

L'Ordre de Saint-Jean était donc actif à Utrecht au moins depuis 1234 et y disposait non seulement d'un hôpital, mais aussi d'une maison près du Borchbrug, appelée la maison du Saint- Esprit. La fonction de cette maison n'est pas mentionnée, mais à ce qu'il paraît elle ne servait pas d'hôpital ou d'Hôtel-Dieu. Dans la plupart des villes, cependant, la coutume voulait qu'on accueillait les malades dans une maison dédiée au Saint-Esprit. Sur ce point Utrecht faisait donc exception.

Ceci nous ramène à l'hôpital de Sainte-Catherine, que les frères de Saint-Jean géraient dans leur couvent. Dans un testament datant de 1248 un chanoine de Sainte-Marie d'Utrecht stipule que, du revenu de sa maison claustrale, trois livres seraient destinées aux malades de Sainte-Catherine (*infirmis ad sanctam Katherinam*) [4]. Cela montre que, au moins dès le milieu du XIIIe siècle, le couvent de Sainte-Catherine fonctionnait comme un hôpital et non pas comme une simple maison d'accueil pour des passants. Par ce fait ce couvent faisait exception, ou du moins s'écartait-il de l'usage habituel de l'Ordre.

Un passage de l'oeuvre ancien mais toujours très utile de Reicke [5] nous peint, à l'aide du grand cartulaire de Delaville le Roulx [6], une image des commanderies de Saint-Jean en Allemagne qui vaut aussi pour les Pays-Bas. Immédiatement après la première croisade, donc au premier quart du XIIe siècle, l'Ordre s'occupait encore exclusivement de malades et de pèlerins et inspirait ses bienfaiteurs à fonder des établissements ayant ce même but en Europe. Ces bienfaiteurs, cependant, se recrutaient surtout en France et dans les pays méditerranéens.

Mais lorsque, vers la fin du XIIe siècle et au XIIIe siècle, aussi les pays nordiques furent touchés, deux choses avaient changées : l'Ordre était devenu, à l'instar de celui des Templiers, un ordre militaire qui ne se limita plus à soigner les pèlerins, mais les protéger aussi militairement. De plus la pression grandissante des Turcs sur les forteresses chrétiennes en Terre Sainte faisait que presque toutes les ressources devaient être destinées au quartier général et ne profitaient plus aux commanderies d'Europe. Les couvents de l'Ordre que l'on fondait désormais dans l'Empire Germanique ne comprenaient qu'exceptionnellement un véritable hôpital et le négligeaient souvent là où il existait. L'Ordre qui profitait du désir des bienfaiteurs de secourir les malades, était l'Ordre Teutonique et non pas celui de Saint-Jean. Par consé-

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4. *OSU*, II, n° 1184, 1248, 10 octobre.

5. S. Reicke, *Das deutsche Spital und sein Recht im Mittelalter*, I, Stuttgart, Enke, 1932 (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, 111-112), p. 93-111.

6. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint.Jean de Jérusalem*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1894-1906, 4 vols.

quent Reicke n'a pu citer qu'un seul exemple d'une ville Germanique où, ces deux Ordres y étant représentés, non pas l'ordre Teutonique mais celui de Saint-Jean gérait l'hôpital, à savoir Rothenburg an der Tauber [7].

S'il avait aussi étudié les commanderies des Pays-Bas, il aurait pu citer encore Utrecht où existait depuis 1231 une maison de l'Ordre Teutonique [8], qui cependant ne s'est jamais transformée en hôpital. Parmi les couvents de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, celui d'Utrecht fut le seul aux Pays-Bas et l'un des rares dans l'Empire à avoir un hôpital.

S'occuper des malades fut pourtant l'origine et l'essence même de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean en Terre Sainte. Comme on sait, déjà avant la première croisade il exista à Jérusalem une fraternité hospitalière, fondée probablement par des marchands Amalfitains pour soigner des pèlerins originaires de leur ville natale. Bientôt cette fraternité commença à recevoir dans son hôpital des pèlerins provenant d'ailleurs et, après la prise de Jérusalem en 1099 par les croisés sous Godefroi de Bouillon, aussi les blessés de son armée y furent accueillis. Cet hôpital devint le noyau d'un Ordre, fondé par un certain maître Gérard, dont la première Règle fut promulguée par le grand-maître Raymond du Puy (1125-1153) [9].

Les maisons de l'Ordre en dehors de la Terre Sainte ne tombaient pas, à ce qu'il paraît, sous l'obligation d'accueillir les malades. Cependant, s'il existait quelque part un hôpital, l'on devait, d'après les statuts de 1182, arrêtés par le grand-maître Roger de Molins, s'y occuper des malades de bon coeur et sans plainte ou querelle, avec comme récompense la béatitude céleste [10].

Comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, la pression croissante que les Turcs, pendant la deuxième moitié du XIIe siècle, exerçaient sur les établissements chrétiens en Terre Sainte, obligea les Ordres militaires de créer une organisation dirigée entièrement sur ce pays où se trouvait leur quartier général. Pour celui de Saint-Jean cela signifia une stricte centralisation, sous la direction du Grand-Maître avec son Grand Conseil, contrôlé par le Chapitre Général. A cet effet l'Ordre fut divisé dans un nombre de *linguae*, langues ou régions linguistiques, entre autres la Langue Germanique. Celle-ci comprenait le prieuré de Germanie, dont dépendaient les commanderies des Pays-Bas, et les prieurés de Bohème, de Hongrie et de Dacie (Danemark ou Scandinavie). La tâche principale des chevaliers-commandeurs n'étaient

7. Reicke, *op. cit.*, p. 105, note 4.

8. *OSU*, II, n° 814, 1231, 9 avril.

9. Delaville, *Cartulaire*, *op. cit.*, I, n° 70, s.d.

10. *Op.cit.*, p. 426.

pas de résider dans leur commanderie et d'en assurer les intérêts, mais de combattre dans une forteresse en Terre Sainte ou sur une galère en Méditerranée. Leur commanderie ne servait qu'à fournir des contributions annuelles au quartier général pour leur entretien et au trésor central. Un intendant était chargé d'administrer avec soin les possessions de la commanderie pour pouvoir assurer le versement ponctuel des contributions.

Contrairement aux chevaliers-commandeurs, les chapelains pouvaient résider dans leur commanderie et s'occuper eux-mêmes de l'administration de leurs biens. La contribution qu'ils étaient obligés de verser au quartier général, était relativement moins lourde que celle des chevaliers. La permission de résider dans leur commanderie et la dispense du devoir de combattre s'étendait aussi aux prieurs, des personnages qui, à la fin de leur carrière de chevalier, avaient acquis une position plus honorable, mais physiquement moins exigeante. Pour son entretien, chaque prieur disposait de quatre ou cinq commanderies, dont la contribution n'allait que pour une moindre part au quartier général ; il résidait lui-même dans l'une d'elles. Ainsi la commanderie d'Utrecht était, avec tous ses *membra*, l'une des *camerae priorales* du prieur de Germanie, qui résidait lui-même à Heitersheim près de Fribourg en Brisgau.

Pour la commanderie ou baylie d'Utrecht ceci signifiait qu'une large partie de ses revenus lui restait pour être utilisée sur place. D'après la visitation de 1540 on payait, selon une coutume ancienne, la somme annuelle de soixante-quinze florins d'or au trésor du quartier général et de deux cent florins d'or au Prieur de Germanie [11]. Ainsi restait assez d'argent pour distribuer tous les mois deux muids de blé aux pauvres de la ville et trois muids, sous la forme de pain, avec du beurre et du fromage, dans la cour de Ter Weide à Vleuten, le tout ensemble pour la somme de cent vingt florins d'or. On disposait ensuite de cinq cent florins d'or pour l'hôpital, où l'on soignait des misérables et des pestiférés, avec cinquante florins en plus pour des pansements. L'entretien des frères et du personnel dans le couvent en ville et des onze serviteurs de la cour de Ter Weide demandait annuellement 666 florins d'or [12]. Une lourde dépense était encore la table ouverte du bailli lui-même, qui dépensait annuellement environ trois cents florins d'or en régalant la noblesse et le patriciat d'Utrecht afin de s'assurer leur faveur.

On menait donc grand train, malgré les plaintes exprimées dans le rapport de cette même visitation au sujet des lourds impôts impériaux et du déménagement obligé vers un autre domicile. En 1529 en effet, Charles-Quint avait réquisitionné le couvent et l'hôpital d'Utrecht pour y construire sa citadelle

11. Visitation de 1540, AOM 6340, fol. 10v.

12. *Ibid.*, fol. 11r.

du Vredenburg. La baylie fut, non sans peine, dédommagée par le couvent inachevée des Carmes dans la Lange Nieuwstraat, qui devait être agrandi considérablement, ainsi que son église. Il fallut aussi construire de fond en comble un nouvel hôpital [13].

Le rapport de la visitation de 1540 nous renseigne aussi sur les revenus, qui provenaient surtout, d'après le bailli, de donations faites à l'hôpital par plusieurs évêques d'Utrecht, comtes de Hollande, seigneurs de Woerden et d'autres personnages. D'autres biens avaient été donnés par des comtes de Hollande ou des seigneurs de Woerden pour des messes commémoratives. Les baillis, enfin, avaient encore acquis des terres par achat. Toutes ces possessions avaient été assemblées et mélangées de telle sorte qu'il n'était plus possible de les distinguer les unes des autres [14].

Pendant longtemps on ne disposait pas d'un bon aperçu des possessions de la baylie d'Utrecht. La plupart de ses archives a disparu, à cause, entre autres, d'un incendie en 1518 [15] et du déménagement forcé de 1529. Mais autour de 1980 on découvrit par hasard, dans les archives de la ville de Gand en Belgique, un registre inconnu des possessions de Saint-Jean d'Utrecht, datant du XIVe siècle. Bien que le parchemin fût gravement endommagée par une détérioration de l'encre, on a pu en faire une transcription [16], dont on prépare en ce moment une édition. Ce registre contient une description de la situation des terres et de leur rendement dans l'année 1368, avec un nombre de prolongements de bail, qui avaient lieu normalement tous les dix ans. De ce fait, il fournit des données jusque vers 1400 concernant surtout le territoire de l'actuelle province d'Utrecht, qui était gouverné alors par le Prince-Evêque. Bien que l'origine de ces biens ne soit pas mentionnée, il y a parmi eux des complexes si étendus qu'on a tendance à penser à des donations venant de l'évêque. L'exemple le plus frappant en est la cour de Ter Weide à Vleuten près d'Utrecht. Celle-ci n'est jamais devenu un *membrum* autonome, mais était, encore en 1560, administrée par le couvent d'Utrecht. Ne serait-il pas possible qu'elle tire son origine d'une donation de l'évêque datant d'avant 1122 ?

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13. « Gedenkschriften van Jhr.Herberen van Mijnden », ed. S. Muller F.zn., *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 11 (1888), p. 43-48.

14. AOM 6340, fol. 9r.

15. AOM 6340, fol. 11v, et GA Utrecht, Buurspraakboek van Utrecht [Livre des ordonnances des bourgeois d'Utrecht], 1518, fol. 194v, d.d. 1518, 19 février ; l'incendie avait sévi l'avant-veille au couvent de Sainte-Catherine.

16. Archives de la ville de Gand, Fonds de la famille Surmont de Volsberghe, Registre de la commanderie de Sainte-Catherine de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean à Utrecht.

Le nom de cette cour, Ter Weide, désigne un complexe de prairies sis à l'ouest de la ville d'Utrecht. A côté se situaient les Hoge et Lage Weide, ou bien les Prairies Haute et Basse, qui appartenaient à la ville et faisaient partie de son territoire urbain. La plus ancienne mention de cette large étendue de prairies se trouve dans une donation de Charles Martel à l'église du Saint-Sauveur d'Utrecht, datant du 1er janvier 723. Cette donation comprenait tous les fiscs royaux à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du *castellum* de Trecht, y inclus le fossé des prairies, en latin *cum illo pascue graveningo* [17]. Ce terme de *graveninge* doit être pris dans le sens d'un canal creusé, qui plus tard a reçu le nom de « Vleutense wetering » et qui avait probablement une double fonction : d'une part celle d'une voie d'eau pour le commerce et le transport de troupes, d'autre part celle d'une protection contre les Frisons hostiles [18]. Les prairies sous Vleuten, à l'ouest du *castellum* de Trecht, ont donc été données à l'église d'Utrecht en 723, ensemble avec le canal.

Le moment où une partie de ces prés fut donnée à l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, ne peut être déterminé avec certitude. Il se place évidemment après la première croisade, mais à mon avis pas trop longtemps après, car plus tard l'évêque n'était plus en mesure de donner de tels complexes de terres d'un seul tenant. Les cinq collégiales que la ville d'Utrecht comptait entre-temps exigeaient leur part, tout comme l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Paul. L'évêque était obligé de se contenter des biens de sa *mensa*, dont il devait faire un usage de plus en plus parcimonieux. Après le XIIe siècle on ne rencontre plus, dans le diocèse d'Utrecht, de grandes donations épiscopales. La cour de Ter Weide comprenait, d'après le registre de 1368, 150 arpents, en partie affermés [19].

L'année 1122 a dû être une année particulièrement dramatique pour la ville et le territoire épiscopal d'Utrecht. C'était non seulement l'année de la signature du Concordat de Worms, qui mit fin à la Querelle des Investitures et à la politique du roi de nommer des évêques dévoués à sa cause. Utrecht avait pris pendant longtemps le parti du roi et l'évêque Godebald (1114-1127) avait encore été nommé par lui, mais quelques années avant Worms il s'était rangé dans le camp du pape.

Mais il se passa encore autre chose. En vue de ses projets de faire défricher la région du Kromme Rijn (Rhin Tortu) au sud-est de la ville, cet évêque fit construire, cette même année, un barrage dans le Kromme Rijn

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17. *OSU*, I, n° 35, 723, 1er janvier.

18. C. Dekker, « Afwatering en scheepvaart ten westen van de stad Utrecht tot de XIVe eeuw », dans *Feestbundel aangeboden aan prof. dr.D.P.Blok*, Hilversum, Verloren, 1990, p. 60-75.

19. Archives de la ville de Gand, Registre fol. 60r.

près de l'ancienne Dorestad. Du fait une voie de commerce était coupée qui, pour les habitants d'Utrecht, était l'une de leurs artères vitales [20]. Les bourgeois exigèrent et obtinrent comme alternative de creuser le canal du Vaartse Rijn, qui reliait leur ville à l'Issel Hollandais et au Rhin Inférieur, et obligèrent l'évêque de leur accorder une charte de franchises. Tout cela n'alla pas de bon gré, semble-t-il, car il fallut l'intervention de l'empereur pour rétablir la paix. A cette occasion il confirma les privilèges donnés par l'évêque Godebald aux habitants d'Utrecht et de Muiden et accorda l'exemption de tonlieu à tous ceux qui devaient contribuer à la construction des remparts d'Utrecht, lorsqu'ils se rendaient à cette ville pour des buts commerciaux. La liste des témoins de cette charte se termine par les noms de sept *Jerosolimitani* [21].

S'agit-il ici de frères de l'ordre de Saint-Jean ? Je le pense, pour ma part. Et ceci surtout parce que la situation de leur couvent démontre l'intérêt qu'ils pouvaient avoir à ces remparts, dont le tracé occidental, en effet, coupait à travers leur terrain. Le nom du boulevard actuel, boulevard de Sainte-Catherine, est d'ailleurs emprunté à leur couvent. A mon avis l'Ordre de Saint-Jean fut déjà présent à Utrecht en 1122, probablement sur l'invitation d'un évêque qui devait rentrer dans les bonnes grâces des habitants de sa ville et leur procura à cette fin les facilités d'un hôpital. Il fut probablement le premier, au nord des Alpes, de s'adresser pour cela aux frères de Saint-Jean, car on ne connaît pas d'autre fondation d'une date si avancée dans l'Europe du nord-ouest.

On s'étonne de n'avoir, pendant plus d'un siècle, aucune autre mention de leur présence à Utrecht, sauf les restes en tuf de leur église sur le Vredenburg actuel. Toutefois, ceci ne me semble pas une objection insurmontable, vu la rareté des données de cette période et le fait que leurs archives ont été perdues pour la majeure partie. On suppose qu'ils ont soigné sans grand bruit les voyageurs et les malades, auxquels, dans les premières décennies de son existence, leur Ordre se consacrait totalement.

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20. C. Dekker, « De dam bij Wijk », dans *Scrinium et Scriptura. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof.dr.J.L.van der Gouw*, Groningen, Erven B.van der Kamp, 1980 [= *Nederlands Archievenblad*, 84 (1980), p. 248-266].

21. *OSU*, I, n° 308, 1122, 2 juin.

Karl BORCHARDT

MILITARY ORDERS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE : THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

East Central Europe was, next to the Levant and to the Iberian Peninsula, the third region of Latin Christendom in which in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries military orders were set up to fight the infidel. The parallel between crusades to Jerusalem and campaigns against heathen peoples in East Central Europe may already have been exploited by the Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1108 [1], but still during the Second Crusade in 1147, when the holy war was preached against the heathen Slavs south of the Baltic, no one, not even Bernard of Clairvaux [2], contemplated the use of military orders in this region. A hundred years later, however, the Teutonic Knights were firmly established in Prussia and Livonia relying upon crusaders to support them. Outside these two areas they had some 10 houses, the Templars also some 10 houses, the Hospitallers some 20 houses with small convents of brethren in the regions between the Baltic and the Adriatic, from Carinthia, Styria and Austria, Croatia, Slavonia and Hungary through Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia and Poland to Pomerania, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. From these 40 or so houses the military orders administered various estates, churches and

1. Ed. W. Wattenbach, *Neues Archiv*, 7 (1882), p. 624-626 ; on the authenticitiy, M. Bünding-Naujoks, « Das *Imperium Christianum* und die deutschen Ostkriege vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert », in H. Beumann (ed.), *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, Damstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963 [2nd ed. 1973], p. 87-93.

2. F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzuges : Ideengeschichtliche, kirchenrechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1977. See also E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, London-Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1980.

hospitals [3]. The sources, most of them charters, are well known [4], although sometimes printed in remote or rare editions. Instead of discussing particular charters, this paper presents a few general points on the spread of the military orders in East Central Europe.

The possessions of the military orders were the result not of purchases, but of donations made for the benefit of the Holy Land, in the XIIth century in most cases to the Hospital, sometimes to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem [5]. The donors were usually people who had been in the Holy Land as crusaders or pilgrims and had been impressed by services rendered to them [6]. Donation charters and privileges mention such services ; these might include military protection even though only medical care is expressly referred to. The donations began in Austria [7], and received an impulse from the Second Crusade, when Vladislav of Bohemia and Bolesław of Poland went to the Levant. Later they were hampered by the papal schism from 1159 to 1177 [8], when, contrary to the Hospital, many rulers in East Central Europe supported the imperial party. The crisis of the Holy Land in the 1180s and especially the Third Crusade prompted a new flood of donations, this time not only to the Hospitallers, but also to the Templars and after 1190 to the recently founded Teutonic Knights, who should be seen not as a German but as an imperial order, since Staufen partisans were their main benefactors, including the Przemyslids and Czech nobles in Bohemia and Moravia [9].

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3. W. Kuhn, « Ritterorden als Grenzhüter des Abendlandes gegen das östliche Heidentum », *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft*, 6 (1959), p. 7-70.

4. *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem 1100-1310*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx., Paris, Leroux, 1894-1906, 4 vols ; W. Irgang (ed.), *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Templerordens im Bereich des Bistums Cammin und der Kirchenprovinz Gnesen, bearbeitet nach der Vorlage von Helmut Lüpke*, Köln-Wien, Böhlau, 1987.

5. K. Elm, « Kanoniker und Ritter vom Hl. Grab », in J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1980, p. 141-169 with further bibliography.

6. R. Röhricht, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck, Wagner, 1894.

7. *Cartulaire*, nos 81, 245s. ; K. Lechner, « Die Kommende Mailberg », in A. Wienand (ed.), *Der Johanniterorden – Der Malteserorden*, Cologne, Wienand, 1970 [3rd ed. 1988], p. 414-416 redates n° 81 to 1245/60.

8. Prague : M. Skopal, « Založení komendy Johanitů na Malé Straně », *Pražký sborník historický*, 26 (1993), p. 7-36. Werben (1160) : *Cartulaire*, n° 289 was written a few decades later according to G. Knoll, *Zur Entstehung und Geschichte der Johanniterkommende Werben im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1971, p. 21-34.

9. D. Wojtecki, « Der Deutsche Orden unter Friedrich II. », in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Probleme um Friedrich II*, Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1974, p. 187-224.

The Hospitallers had received the bulk of the early donations, and by the 1180s they already had two regional officials in Central Europe, one for Germany in the West, the other for Moravia, Austria, Bohemia, Poland and Pomerania in the East [10]. The Templars on the other hand still had no regional official for Central Europe in 1208, and as late as in 1241 they required only one regional official for Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Poland [11]. The Teutonic Knights established two regional commanders, one for Bohemia and one for Austria in the 1230s [12].

All three orders were primarily interested in supporting the Holy Land. For this reason they were reluctant to accept costly responsibilities in the West and usually contented themselves with collecting alms. Money in the form of cash being rare in East Central Europe, they often had to accept estates [13]. As a consequence, more early charters are extant for the Eastern than for other parts of Central Europe. Our picture of the spread of the military orders is thus somewhat distorted. We know about acquisitions of small villages and estates, but we do not know when and how centres for alms collectors in such towns as Vienna or Breslau came into existence. Moreover, many XII[th]-century donations of estates in East Central Europe were still implemented orally without charters being issued. In many cases estates are not recorded for the first time when they were acquired but when quarrels, for example about tithe exemptions claimed by the orders, were settled [14]. Thirdly, many charters for estates in East Central Europe were rewritten in the XIII[th] century when, owing to intensified rural settlement, greater precision was felt to be necessary in describing estates [15].

The fact that the military orders were primarily interested in supporting the Holy Land should warn us not to exaggerate their rôle in settling the countryside. If the donor wanted the recipient to invest in cultivation, he usually turned to other orders such as the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians. This changed only in the XIII[th] century when donations

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10. *Cartulaire*, n°s 643, 825, 860s., 959 ; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, vol. 1, ed. G. Friedrich, Prague, Comitia regni Bohemiae, 1904, p. 262.

11. Donation at Halberstadt in 1208 to the « minister citra mare » ; 1241 « mestre en Bohaine, en Hongrie, em Poulaine, en Alemaigne et en Morainne » : M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974, p. 211s.

12. K. Militzer, *Die Entstehung der Deutschordensballeien im Deutschen Reich*, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1970, p. 57-69.

13. Zagosc : P. Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland 1100-1250*, New York-London, Holmes & Meier, 1992, p. 89-91, 126-128, 140s.

14. Groß Tinz and Wartha : *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, ed. H. Appelt, Wien-Köln-Graz, Böhlau, 1971, p. 32-34 n°s 56s.

15. Liebschau 1198 : *Cartulaire*, n°s 1042s.

for the support of the Holy Land became less frequent and the military orders began to buy, sell and exchange possessions like other ecclesiastical institutions. From the 1220s onwards, endowments include licences to settle colonists and to found markets. An additional incentive for giving barren borderlands to military orders may perhaps have been furnished by the dire censures fulminated by canon law against anyone who raided their possessions [16]. From this time onwards the military orders also received parishes in expanding towns, probably because they, like collegiate churches, could increase the number of priests in their convents without the difficult procedure of founding a full ecclesiastical benefice. The fame of the medical expertise of both the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights lead to donations of hospitals. In cases such as that of Brünn local fraternities running a hospital asked to be annexed to a military order [17], but the orders did not always welcome this *cura hospitalium*, very much as mendicant orders tried to escape the *cura monialium*. Even the Templars were given a hospital, at Gniezno in 1232 by Duke Władysław, but they failed to do what the donor expexted them to do, and nine years later the canons of the Holy Sepulchre from Miechów took over that hospital [18].

In the XIII[th] century the transfer of men, money and equipment from East Central Europe to the Holy Land went via Venice, but in the XII[th] century the trade route along the Danube that started at Regensburg or Vienna and terminated at Constantinople may also have been used. The Hospitaller prior in East Central Europe in the 1180s, Fr. Bernhard, may have had relations with the Hungarian court [19]. The route through Hungary was taken by the mother of a Bohemian nobleman P., who on entering the Hospital had made large donations and had later died in the Levant. His mother and other female relatives had become sisters of the order, but after P.'s death they were dissatisfied with the prior who may have imposed on them a life-style they regarded as too austere. So the mother left her convent in Prague with the excuse of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When she reached Hungary she threw off the habit she had worn for more than six years and revoked the do-

16. W. Kuhn, « Kirchliche Siedlung als Grenzschutz 1200 bis 1250 am Beispiel des mittleren Oderraumes », *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft*, 9 (1962), p. 6-55.

17. *Cartulaire*, n° 2294 ; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, vol. 4, ed. J. Šebánek and S. Dušková, Prague, Academia scientiarum Bohemosolvenicae, 1962, p. 88s. n° 18.

18 Gnesen : W. Irgang, *op. cit.*, p. 12s. n° 6 ; M. Starnawska, « Notizie sulla composizione e sulla struttura dell'ordine del Tempio in Polonia », in G. Minucci, F. Sarda (eds.), *I Templari : Mito e Storia*, Sinalunga-Siena 1989, p. 144s. The Hospitallers had the right to appoint a canon to the cathedral of Poznań (1201) : *Cartulaire*, n° 1149, the Templars to the cathedral of Lebus (1244) : Irgang,, *op. cit.*, p. 28s. n° 26.

19. It is not clear, however, whether the prior Fr. Bernhard, *Cartulaire*, n[os] 643, 839, is identical with the Fr. Bernhard negotiating in Hungary in the 1160s, *Cartulaire*, n° 309.

nations made by her family. The Hospitallers appealed to Clement III whose letter of 1188 sums up this story [20]. The Hospitaller prior of Constantinople sent 200 textiles made from sheep's wool (*feautres*, *fibrorum*, *feutros*) to the hospital at Jerusalem according to statutes issued by the Master Fr. Roger des Moulins in 1181 or 1182 [21]. In 1163 Petrus *dictus Alamannus* was prior of the Hospital's house and church in Constantinople [22]. Together these facts might suggest that at this time Constantinople collected dues from East Central Europe, but in the XIII[th] century a German translation of the same statutes has Compostela for Constantinople [23]. Clearly, the translator knew nothing about the importance of Constantinople in the XII[th] century, before the break-down of Byzantine control in the Balkans rendered the route through Hungary useless.

In the XIII[th] century, therefore, both Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights were eager to establish houses along the roads from Venice through Carinthia and Styria to Vienna. Their establishments in Moravia apparently collected the dues from adjacent territories to be sent via Vienna to Venice, and this explains why Moravia often occupies a prominent place among the titles of regional officers. It was the Hospitaller prior of Moravia who in 1238 received papal confirmation for possessions as far north as Pomerania [24].

By the end of the XII[th] century princes and bishops in East Central Europe began to look for the assistance of military orders in protecting lands against heathen raids or in subduing heathen peoples. The idea occurred first to bishops such as Albert of Riga and Christian of Prussia who had close relations with the Cistercians. And it was then pursued by rulers such as Andrew II and Bela IV of Hungary or Conrad of Masovia. The key rôle of the Cistercians in the employment of military orders, well known on the Iberian Peninsula, is attested for East Central Europe by a branch of Calatrava installed in the 1220s at Thymau in Eastern Pomerania with the purpose of deterring the heathen Prussians [25].

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20. *Cartulaire*, n° 861.

21. *Cartulaire*, n° 627 (p. 427), dated 1182 March 14 ; the correct date is either 1181 March 15 or 1182 March 7 (1181 Sunday Letare depending on the beginning of the year).

22. *Cartulaire*, n[os] 321, 323, 326.

23. Munich, Clm 4620 fol. 84r ; facsimile and transcription in G. Lagleder, *Die Ordensregel der Johanniter/Malteser*, St. Ottilien, EOS-Verlag, 1983, p. 123-129, 154-181.

24. *Cartulaire*, n° 2192 ; *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, 2[nd] ed., ed. K. Conrad, Köln-Wien, Böhlau, 1970, p. 427 no. 355.

25. R. Frydrychowcz, « Der Ritterorden von Calatrava in Thymau bei Mewe », *Altpreußische Monatsschrift*, 17 (1890), p. 315-320 ; G. Labuda, « Ze studiow na najstarszymi documentami Pomorza Gdanskiego », *Zapiski Towarzystawa Naukowego a Toruniu*, 18

Rulers in East Central Europe are said to have been reluctant to call in the great military orders, since their privileges made these orders potential rivals, and to have preferred smaller military orders which they could more easily control. Andrew II of Hungary expelled the Teutonic Knights from Transylvania in 1225 [26]. When he could not reach agreement with the Teutonic Knights over Prussia, Conrad of Masovia tried to found a military order for himself in 1228 at Dobrin and later at Drohiczin [27]. This can be compared to the policy of the kings of Aragón, Castile, Leon and Portugal towards their military orders or of the Latin emperors of Constantinople towards the Order of St. Samson [28]. But three points should be born in mind :

Firstly, even in the Levant the great military orders were never exempt from all obligations to temporal lords. Despite papal and other privileges, they paid homage for castles and provided military or financial support, although such instances may have become rarer in the XIIIth century [29]. The position of the military orders was not radically different from that of other feudal lords, and hence the example set in the Levant cannot have been a strong deterrent in East Central Europe.

Secondly, small and newly founded military orders could also grow so indispensable for their military services that they came to dominate their founders. The Sword Brothers in Livonia and their relations with the bishop of Riga are a good example for this. Since both Bishop Albert in Livonia and Bishop Christian in Prussia complained that crusaders who came merely for

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(1959), p. 105-155. On Calatrava, B. Schwenk, *Calatrava : Entstehung und Frühgeschichte eines spanischen Ritterordens zisterziensischer Observanz im 12. Jahrhundert*, Münster, Aschendorff, 1992.

26. H. Zimmermann, « Der Deutsche Ritterorden in Siebenbürgen », in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, op. cit.*, p. 267-298.

27. Z. Nowak, « Milites Christi de Prussia : Der Orden von Dobrin und seine Stellung in der preußischen Mission », in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, op. cit.*, p. 339-352 ; Id., « Der Anteil der Ritterorden an der preußischen Mission », in *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes, Ordines militares*, Toruń, Uniw. Mikolaja Kopernika, 1983, vol. 1, p. 79-91.

28. The Order of St. Samson, mentioned in papal registers, e. g. P. Pressutti (ed.), *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, Rome, 1895, repr. Hildesheim-New York, Olms, 1978, n° 4088, would deserve a closer study. On the Iberian Peninsula, M. Cocheril, « Essai sur l'origine des ordres militaires dans la péninsule ibérique », *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensis Reformatorum*, 20 (1958), p. 228-250 ; D. W. Lomax, « Las Ordenes Militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media », *Instituto de Historia de la Teología Española, Subsidia*, 6 (1976), p. 9-109 ; review of recent studies by F. Novoa Portela, « La historiografía sobre la Orden de Alcántara en la Edad Media (siglos XII-XIV) », *Hispania Sacra*, 45 (1993), p. 487-502.

29. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050-1310*, London, Macmillan, 1967, p. 451-469 ; Id., « The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia », in T. S. R. Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, Edinburgh, St. Martin's Press, 1978, p. 92-117.

one fighting season were no basis for establishing permanent control [30], collaboration with an established military order that commanded great resources might seem preferable.

Thirdly, the great military orders themselves were reluctant to go to East Central Europe [31]. When the Hospitallers were given parts of Valachia in 1247 by Bela IV, they did not go there [32]. And when the Templars were given Łuków by Duke Bolesław in the 1250s [33], they did not stay there. Up to the second half of the XIII[th] century almost all Hospitallers mentioned in East European charters were priests or chaplains, probably because the knights had been sent to the Holy Land like that Bohemian P. in the 1180s. The military orders in East Central Europe did contribute to defence against the Mongols in 1241, but at Liegnitz the Templars had merely nine brethren ; six of them were killed and only three escaped. Their other losses mentioned by the Preceptor of France in his letter to Lewis IX were three knights, two sergeants and 500 men, who should be seen as the peasants from the order's estates in Poland with their leaders and not as members of the order [34]. Opposition among the Teutonic Knights against going to Transylvania and Prussia may have been provoked not only by the fear that they might not have enough concessions from Andrew II of Hungary or Conrad of Masovia, but also by the feeling that fighting in East Central Europe would not attract the same prestige and support as fighting in the Holy Land. Prussians, Livonians, Lithuanians, Cumanians, Tatars or other enemies of the faith in East Central Europe were not usually called Saracens, a term used only by Emperor Otto IV in 1211 for Livonia and then adopted by Frederick II and thereafter by the Teutonic Order for Prussia [35].

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30. Albert and the Sword Brothers : F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, Köln-Graz, Böhlau, 1965 ; Christian : *Preußisches Urkundenbuch, Politische Abteilung*, vol. 1, ed. R. Philippi, C. P. Wölky, Königsberg/Preußen, Gräfe & Unzer, 1882, p. 11s. n° 16, p. 18s. n[os] 26, p. 22 n° 31.

31. H. Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II*, Marburg, Elwert, 1987, with further bibliography.

32. *Cartulaire*, n° 2445 : the Hospitallers were to serve the king with 100 brethren against schismatics, 50 brethren against Christians, or 60 brethren against Tatars.

33. Irgang, *op. cit.*, p. 42 n° 41 ; Starnawska, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

34. Irgang, *op. cit.*, p. 25 n° 21 ; Bulst-Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 212s. ; Starnawska, *op. cit.*, p. 147s.

35. *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, ed. F. G. v. Bunge, vol. 1, Reval, 1853, repr. Aalen, Scientia, 1967, col. 25s. n° 19, col. 32s. n° 25. The charter allegedly issued by Duke Conrad of Masovia at Kruświca in 1230, in *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 58-60 n° 78, also uses this term, and this may suggest that it was forged by the Teutonic Knights ; on that problem in general, G. Labuda, « Über die angeblichen und vermuteten Fälschungen des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen », *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, Hannover, Hahn, 1988, vol. 4, p. 499-522.

In general the military orders owed their existence in East Central Europe to donations made with the intention of supporting the Holy Land. Alms and surplusses from possessions were sent to the Holy Land at first perhaps via the Danube and Constantinople, later via Venice. Some military orders took up fighting the infidel in East Central Europe, especially the Teutonic Knights in Prussia and Livonia. Outside these two areas the Teutonic Knights themselves, the Hospitallers and the Templars of East Central Europe had lost their special character by the middle of the XIII[th] century. They began to behave, and to be looked upon, as ordinary religious houses. The later history of the military orders is therefore different from that of their first hundred years in East Central Europe.

Jochen BURGTORF

THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL'S HIGH DIGNITARIES and their claims on the inheritance of deceased brethren - regulations and conflicts

Disputes over a dead person's inheritance are probably as old as mankind itself. The Old Testament conflict between Jacob and Esau over their father Isaac's inheritance may be the earliest recorded example (Genesis 25-33). Wars have been waged over the inheritance of kings and princes and the fact that to this day people draw up wills illustrates that inheritance and its distribution continues to be an issue.

One would think that this was not a problem in the military orders of the high middle ages since their members had to vow a life without property [1]; whatever they had was not theirs but their order's property entrusted to them, and they were not allowed to draw up wills. Warfare in the Latin East required considerable funds ; thus, the orders had to use their resources carefully. Horses, armour, clothes and other items had to be « recycled », passed on to new members after old members had died. The recycling of a dead brother's belongings had to be organized. In the order of the Hospital those who had claims on these belongings were the high dignitaries : master, grand-commander, marshal, hospitaller (and his subordinate official, the infirmarian),

1. For the order of the Hospital : J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, Paris, Leroux, 1894-1905, 4 vol. ; repr. Munich, 1980 (DC), 1, 70, § 1.

drapier, treasurer and conventual prior [2]. Their claims and how the order resolved conflicts arising from these claims shall be discussed in this paper.

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According to the order's XIII[th]-century usances (customs) and the statutes of the 1262 chapter general an exact procedure had to be followed when a brother of the central convent had become critically ill : the prior was called to his bedside to hear his confession and to ask him whether he had any debts or anything entrusted to him, whether anybody owed him something, where he kept his armour and his other belongings, how much money and how many plates and jewels he had. Following this interrogation the prior administered communion to him and then took his keys which after his death he would hand to the deceased's superior. The master received the keys of all dead bailiffs, the marshal those of all brethren-at-arms (knights and sergeants) and the grand-commander those of all brethren-at-office, i.e. of all non-military sergeants and all brethren-at-arms who held a non-military office in the order's supply-organisation and thus, at least temporarily, were not under the marshal's but under the grand-commander's or, in some cases, the hospitaller's command. Finally, the master esquire, the brother of the « parmentarie » and the infirmarian — subordinates of marshal, drapier and hospitaller respectively — put the dead brother's belongings into sacks which they sealed ; the sacks could only be reopened in the presence of these three officials — one of the few examples of cooperation between the high dignitaries' offices [3].

Concerning the distribution of a dead brother's inheritance the 1262 statutes plainly state : *ea, que tradenda fuerint thesauro, tradantur ei, et ea, que reddenda marescallo, sibi reddantur, et ea, que exhibenda draperio, exhibeantur eidem* [4]. It was probably not necessary to be more precise as the

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2. Admiral and turcopolier did not have comparable claims as they did not receive high-dignitary-status until the late XIII[th]/early XIV[th] century.

3. DC, II, 2213, § 110 (obviously refering to the order's central convent as the officials mentioned are headquarter-officials) ; III, 3039, § 37 (1262). The 1262 chapter general did take place during the magistracy of Hugh Revel, 1258-1277, but the date is not certain, *cf.* preamble and mss. variations of III, 3039. According to II, 2213, p. 536, n. 1, the usances date « vers 1239 » while J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus (c. 1050-1310)*, London, Macmillan, 1967, p. 261 holds that « one cannot in general date them more accurately than from the period before 1290 ». Still, it could be argued that the usances (at least §§ 110-118) are older than 1262 because the vague wording of the 1262 statutes (§ 37) seems to take the existence of the usances' detailed provisions for granted.

4. DC, III, 3039, § 37.

usances may already have been available in 1262 [5]. There are eight usances containing lists of items that one might find in the sealed sacks of belongings mentioned above [6]. There is a total of 169 items (including horses) and since some are mentioned repeatedly there are in fact 93 different items which may roughly be grouped into six sections : horses and related equipment ; arms and armour ; bedding, cloth and clothes [7] ; items pertaining to table and kitchen ; books and liturgical items ; finally, miscellaneous other items. The table (see appendix below) shows these 93 items regrouped accordingly, the inheritance they came from and who they would escheat to [8]. According to these usances the marshal received all armour and horses [9] while the drapier received most of the clothes. The other belongings of high-ranking bailiffs (e.g. capitular bailiffs) and of his own companions escheated to the master ; the other belongings of all « regular » bailiffs (e.g. local commanders) and of all brethren-at-office escheated to the grand-commander, of all brethren-at-arms to the marshal. The treasury was not mentioned as it was probably taken for granted that all money and other valuables (e.g. jewels) would automatically be delivered to the treasury [10]. Finally, a set of bedding would remain with the infirmarian while all valuable cloth (gold-cloth) escheated to the conventual church and the hospitaller [11]. These detailed lists reflect that

5. Cf. *supra* n. 3

6. DC, II, 2213, §§ 111 (capitular bailiffs and master's companions), 112 (all bailiffs and master's companions), 113 (brethren-at-arms), 114 (all), 115 (brethren-at-office), 116 (« regular » bailiffs and brethren-at-office), 117 (capitular bailiffs ; as printed in DC this usance is rather ambiguous, however *cf.* DC, IV, 4612, § 2 of 1303), 118 (all).

7. For the many statutes concerning dress (overruling the rule's demand for simplicity), *cf.* Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 257 n. 5.

8. The translation offered by E. J. King, *The Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099-1310*, London, Methuen, 1934, p. 189-191 has been followed for most parts ; however the mss. variations of the usances leave some problems unsolved : e.g. for DC, II, 2213, § 112 : 11 Ms. B adds « et guarelles, et profinels, et resnes, et chevesines » (the meaning of « guarelles » is uncertain, « profinels » are packsaddles, « resnes » are reins and « chevesines » are halters). The « epaulettes » of § 113 : 20 (espallieres) escheating to the marshal are certainly not King's « bed-testers » ; they could be « metal shoulder protectors », *cf.* M. Barber, *The New Knighthood - A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 190 ; however, since DC, 2213, §§ 113-114 list them among the clothes they have to be part of the vestment (shoulder-pieces).

9. It was ordered later that the master and his companions could take whatever armour or horses they liked : DC, IV, 4549, § 32 (1301).

10. From later statutes we know that the money of capitular bailiffs, brethren of the central convent and brethren-at-arms killed in combat escheated to the treasury : DC, III, 4515, § 10 (1300), IV, 4549, §§ 2, 8 ; of dead masters also (since 1288 at the latest) : III, 4022, § 1. The 1262 statutes stipulate that certain books of the dead had to be given to the treasury — it seems that the treasurer also served as librarian : III, 3039, § 42.

11. The order's hospital (or « Palais des Malades ») was essentially open to all (there are several hints in western sources that it was even held in high esteem by the Muslims), while

at the end of the XIIIth century the standard of living at the central convent was far from being a life in poverty [12].

In 1301 the high dignitaries' claims were again discussed by chapter general. Among the various regulations two are particularly interesting : first, from the inheritance of a dead brother-at-arms who had served under the grand-commander (i.e. a temporary brother-at-office) all jewels would escheat to the grand-commander, all arms and armour to the marshal and all money to the treasury [13] ; second, based on the fact that the master had at some point granted to the marshal the privilege to claim up to 100 besants from the inheritance of every dead brother (probably meaning : dead brother-at-arms at the central convent), it was now decided (§ 3) that instead the marshal would henceforth receive 300 besants per year from the treasury. The new provision may have made for a much more reliable annual income (but not much is known about the number of dead brethren per year and their wealth). Above all it is important to note that precise lines were drawn between the claims of the grand-commander and those of the marshal [14].

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Despite these detailed provisions there was potential for conflict. Brethren-at-arms holding a non-military office in the order's supply-organisation were not under the marshal's command ; since they were brethren-at-arms with temporary brother-at-office status their superior was the grand-commander (in some cases the hospitaller). When one of these brethren (who nevertheless retained their horses and armour) died the question was whether the marshal's claims would overrule the claims of the deceased's (however temporary) superior, since the marshal was entitled to all horses and armour.

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the infirmary was restricted to the order's members, *cf.* Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 332, n. 3, 337sq.

12. The regulations may have been different for houses in the West. There were further stipulations concerning inheritance in the following years ; cloth was an issue in 1263 and 1264 : DC, III, 3075, § 8, 3104, § 2, *cf.* IV, 4612, § 2 ; money was an issue in 1288 and 1300 : III, 4022, § 1, 4515, § 10.

13. DC, IV, 4549, § 37. From the inheritance of « regular » brethren-at-arms (except for all capitular bailiffs) all tableware and jewels would escheat to the marshal : §§ 30, 37. For capitular bailiffs' inheritance : § 2 which confirmed II, 2213, §§ 111-112 and would in turn be confirmed by IV, 4672, § 1 (1304).

14. Concerning the marshal's 1301-claims see : DC, IV, 4549, §§ 11, 29, 34, 35 (§ 35 suggests that armour from all members of the order escheated to the marshal or his officials).

In the order of the Hospital internal disputes were decided by « esgart de freres » (judgement of the brethren) ; every brother had the right to demand esgart (even against his superior or the master). Usually an esgart was demanded when a brother felt that he had been wronged, thus very often they were defensive on the initiator's part. During these esgarts the brethren repeatedly took the opportunity to create new regulations. There is a collection of 87 esgarts dating from the XIIIth century [15], however they do not contain the names of the brethren involved ; one esgart from 1301 and 11 from 1303 do contain names, though.

With 11 esgarts the year 1303 appears to be a heyday of litigation. While attempting to contextualize these esgarts I found a striking spin of the high dignitaries' « career-carousel » in 1302/1303 : in 1302 Simon le Rat took over the marshalcy from one-time hospitaller Raymond de Beaulieu, the office of grand-commander passed from Fulk de Villaret to Raymond de Ribells and hospitaller was now Gerard de Gragnana. In 1303 Fulk de Villaret got the grand-commandery back, Gerard de Gragnana went up from hospitaller to marshal and Simon le Rat became commander of Cyprus. Since every official (except for the master, the only life-time official) had to surrender his office during chapter general and give a report which could be challenged by esgart [16] it is not surprising, with three marshals in less than two years, that of the 11 esgarts dating from 1303 six involve the marshal or his office. Whether, on the other hand, new marshals had to be chosen because of the outcome of esgarts concerning their predecessor's conduct of office is open to debate (if, on the basis of the report, the conduct of office was deemed satisfactory there would have been no reason for appointing a new marshal). Many reasons for personnel-changes are conceivable but my hypothesis is that the personnel-changes of 1303 took place because of all the litigation among the high dignitaries.

On February 5, 1303, hospitaller Gerard de Gragnana demanded esgart against marshal Simon le Rat [17]. Thomas l'Engles, seneschal of the hospital, had died and the hospitaller claimed his armour as Thomas (i.e. a brother-at-arms with temporary brother-at-office status) had served under him ; the marshal argued that since Thomas had been a brother-at-arms his armour should escheat to the marshalcy and invoked the order's statutes [18] ; the brethren essentially agreed to the marshal's reasoning but then decided to define his claims more closely : no bailiff, except for the grand-commander, should receive the armour of a dead brother-at-arms that had been in his

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15. *Cf.* DC, II, 2213, p. 536, n. 1 ; Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

16. DC, II, 2213, § 109.

17. DC, IV, 4586.

18. He may have referred to DC, II, 1193, p. 38 (1204/1206), 2213, § 113.

service. The fact that the grand-commander was excepted from this ruling becomes less surprising as we learn that grand-commander Raymond de Ribells had been instrumental in finding this decision.

During the chapter general held in November 1303 grand-commander Raymond de Ribells demanded esgart against Daniel Lombard, vice master esquire (one of the marshal's officials) [19]. Geoffrey, a brother-at-arms serving under the grand-commander (i.e. with temporary brother-at-office status) [20] had died. The vice marshal had ordered the vice master esquire to confiscate Geoffrey's horse. The grand-commander viewed that as an infringement upon his office and demanded the horse back since Geoffrey had been under his command. Raymond may have had the ruling of case 1 in mind which had excepted the grand-commander from the « all-armour-to-the-marshal »-rule and even though there was a horse at stake now he may have considered it worth the try. For the marshal's party the vice master esquire argued that he had simply complied with his superior's orders. The brethren deliberated for two days before they came up with a ruling : they announced that no bailiff should ever infringe upon another bailiff's office and that a brother considering his superior's orders as contrary to the order's rule and good customs should not execute them but demand esgart instead. Since technically the marshal's official had wronged the grand-commander the horse was given to Raymond. However, the marshal received the opportunity to challenge this decision by demanding a new esgart which he promptly did.

Not only the horse of case 2 was at stake in this following esgart : marshal Simon demanded that the grand-commander should also surrender those Turkish saddles that he had kept for himself from the inheritance of some dead brethren-at-office [21]. It seems that the grand-commander realized that he would lose the horse in this appeal-esgart so he focused on the Turkish saddles and challenged Simon by claiming that Turkish saddles were prohibited for use in the order to begin with. The brethren disregarded this attempt at judicial « detour » and came up with a new ruling : all armour and everything else that the marshal could use for his office should escheat to the marshal ; thus, the ruling of case 1 which had excepted the grand-commander had been turned over. Only one year later the new ruling was transfered from case-law to statutary law by the 1304 statutes : the marshal was awar-

19. DC, IV, 4613.

20. Geoffrey had been an official of the *arbalesterium* (i.e. the crossbows-department, supervised by the grand-commander).

21. DC, IV, 4617.

ded all armour, including Turkish saddles [22], which neatly shows the connection between the 1303 esgart and the 1304 statutes, between case-law and statutory legislation.

Other cases were tried by esgart in 1303 [23] before the chapter proceeded to new appointments. The hospitaller of case 1, Gerard de Gragnana, now became marshal. One of the first things he did was challenging Simon, his predecessor in office, on account of his conduct-of-office report because Simon had obviously withheld some things pertaining to the marshalcy from the new marshal (here we have an obvious connection between personnel-change and in-chapter litigation). Simon and Gerard had been adversaries in case 1 and there may have been an ongoing animosity but above all it is fascinating to see how quickly Gerard took over his new responsibilities as marshal [24].

After all the litigation of 1303 the high dignitaries' claims were defined again in the 1304 statutes by distinguishing seven types of members : capitular bailiffs, brethren-at-arms, master's companions, brethren-at-office, brethren serving the hospitaller, envoys of priors from Outremer (i.e. the « west ») who had died in the east and brethren from Outremer who had died in the east. Money would henceforth escheat to the treasury ; armour, horses and saddles to the marshal ; gold-cloth to the church ; and all beddings and silk sheets to the hospitaller. The claims of the drapier were recorded in great detail. All other items from capitular bailiffs and master's companions would escheat to the master, from brethren-at-arms to the marshal, from brethren-at-office to the grand-commander, from brethren serving under the hospitaller to the hospitaller and from priors' envoys to their priors. No detailed provisions were made with regard to the brethren from Outremer who had died in the east [25].

A few observations may serve as a conclusion. The lists of items found in the usances indicate that life without property did not necessarily mean life in poverty. There was, however, a major reservation as each candidate for

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22. DC, IV, 4672, §§ 1-7 ; § 1 : ... *exceptis armaturis, bestis, sellis armatorum aut sellis turquesis, sive aliis, que ad manus veniant maraschalli*.

23. DC, IV, 4614, 4615, 4616, 4618, 4619 ; later in the year : 4620, 4621, 4624.

24. DC, IV, 4620.

25. DC, IV, 4672, §§ 1-7 ; concerning brethren from Outremer only provisions were made with regard to treasury, marshal, drapier, church and hospital ; group 1 included the seven conventual bailiffs, all bailiffs and castellans of Syria (provided there be a reconquest), all priors from Outremer and the capitular commanders of Holy Trinity of Venosa, S. Eufemia and the Morea. The drapier's influence was slowly declining since the brethren had received permission to take care of their outfits themselves, *cf.* DC, III, 3075, § 3 (1263), 3317, § 5 (1268), IV, 4549, §§ 24-25, IV, 4574, § 18 (1302), but the parmentarie continued to exist.

admission to the order was reminded : « ... though it be that you see us well clad and with fine chargers, and all things for our comfort, you are warned that ... it will be necessary to abandon all your own desires to do those of another » [26]. Certain comforts may have been available but there was probably not ample opportunity to enjoy them.

A fair number of esgarts and statutes deals with the distribution of armour or horses. The order of the Hospital was a military order after all. The marshal was quite often involved in litigation and as his claims were better established than anybody else's he eventually emerged victorious. Even though he came only third in the order's hierarchy the marshal was able to overrule the claims of other high dignitaries because whenever any equipment of military value was at stake he successfully insisted that the deceased be viewed as a brother-at-arms even if upon his death he had held office under another high dignitary.

When one of the high dignitaries was challenged by an esgart he would try to uphold his claims against all odds — perhaps out of personal ambition, perhaps simply « in the interest of his office » [27]. With each new esgart legal clarity increased. Each esgart could be tied to past statutes or cases and would create new case-law which in turn could serve to prepare future statutory law. Thus, the potential for conflict ensuing from the high dignitaries' claims in the long run proved to be a rather beneficial potential for legislative improvement.

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26 King, *op. cit.*, p. 192 ; DC, II, 2213, § 121. A similar warning can be found in the rule of the Templars : H. de Curzon (ed.), *La Règle du Temple*, Paris, Renouard, 1886, § 661 ; *cf.* A. Forey, « Recruitment to the Military Orders (XII[th] to mid-XIV[th] centuries) », *Viator*, 17 (1986), p. 139-171, p. 164sq.

27. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)*, Paris, Leroux, 1904, p. 338.

Appendix
The claims of the order of the Hospital's high dignitaries (according to the usances : DC, 2213, §§ 111-118)

Abbrev. (recipients) : d-drapier
g-grand-commander
h-hospitaller
i-infirmarian
M-master
m-marshal
p-conventual prior

Example : « 112:9 » read : usance n. 112, item n. 9

↓ items to be distributed	from the inheritance of : capitular bailiff master's companion	bailiff	brother at arms	brother at off.
1. Horses and related equipment				
battle horses 112:9 113:38	m	m	m	
saddle horses 112:10 113:39	m	m	m	
mules 112:11 113:40	m	m	m	
saddles 112:2 113:33 115:6	m	m	m	m
horse-harness 113:47			m	
headstalls 112:3	m	m		
2. Armour				
armour 112:1 113:46 113:53 115:1	m	m	m	m
plate armour 115:7				m
breast-plates 115:10				m
stomach-plates 115:9				m
cuirasses, leather 115:5				m
hauberks 115:8				m
helmets 115:13				m
iron hats 115:11				m
banners 113:36			m	
pennants 113:37			m	

swords 115:3				m
Turkish arms 112:12 113:41 115:2	m	m	m	m
darts 112:6 113:34 115:12	m	m	m	m
lances 112:5 115:4	m	m		m
bards 113:35			m	
crossbows 112:4 113:54	m	m	m	
long-bows 113:48			m	
axes 113:45			m	
crow-bars 113:44			m	
3. Cloth, clothing and bedding				
bedspreads 114:3	d	d	d	d
bedspreads, silk 117:4	h	h	h	h
blankets 114:17 118:1	one to	i -	rest to	d
sheets 114:4 118:2	two to	i -	rest to	d
cushion 118:3	i	i	i	i
pillows 114:18	d	d	d	d
curtains 114:2	d	d	d	d
mattresses 114:16	d	d	d	d
sacks 114:15	d	d	d	d
tapis 111:15 113:21 116:21	M	g	m	g
carpets 113:42			m	
Turkish carpets 111:11 113:13 116:11	M	g	m	g
rugs 111:12 113:15 113:43 116:13	M	g	m	g
livery rugs 112:8	m	m		
mats 113:14 116:12		g	m	g
buckrams 114:10	d	d	d	d
camlet, uncut 111:13 113:13 113:16 116:14	M	g	m	g
cloth, calendered, uncut 111:19 113:25	M		m	
cloth, cut 114:1	d	d	d	d
cloth, gold 117:1 117:3	from	all to	h or	p
cloth, uncut 111:7 113:9 116:8	M	g	m	g
cloth, flax, used 114:12	d	d	d	d
linen, cut 114:6	d	d	d	d
linen, uncut 111:8 113:10	M		m	
samite, uncut 113:18 116:15		g	m	g
sendal, uncut 111:14 113:17 116:16	M	g	m	g
silk, cloth, uncut 111:20 113:19 116:20	M	g	m	g
silk, cloth, used 114:11	d	g	d	d
wool, cloth, used 114:13	d	d	d	d
kerchiefs 114:21	d	d	d	d
table napkins 111:9 113:11 116:9	M	g	m	g
towels 111:25 113:31	M		m	

hand towels 111:10 113:12 116:10	M	g	m	g
epaulettes 113:20 114:5	d	d	m	d
headbands 114:23	d	d	d	d
birettas 114:9	d	d	d	d
hats, brimmed 114:8	d	d	d	d
turbans, embroidered 114:7	d	d	d	d
robes, fashioned 114:19	d	d	d	d
cassocks 114:20	d	d	d	d
mantle-cords 114:22	d	d	d	d
belts, woven 114:24	d	d	d	d
4. Items pertaining to table and kitchen				
goblets, silv., w. feet 111:1 113:1 116:1	M	g	m	g
goblets, silv., no feet 111:2 113:2 116:2	M	g	m	g
drinking-tubes 111:17 113:23 116:19	M	g	m	g
plate, gold 113:4			m	
plate, silver 111:3 113:3 116:3	M	g	m	g
table-knives 113:49			m	
spoons, silver 111:5 113:6 116:5	M	g	m	g
basins 111:16 113.22 116:18	M	g	m	g
kitchen-utensils 111:24 113:30 116:29	M	g	m	g
skewers 111:26 113:32	M		m	
wine 113:26 116:30		g	m	g
5. Books and liturgical instruments				
breviaries 111:27 113:50 116:25	M	g	m	g
« chapelles » 117:2	p			
missals 116:26		g		g
psalters 111:28	M			
psalters, Roman 113:51 116:27		g	m	g
cups, (fine) silver 111:29 113:52 116:28	M	g	m	g
holy-water-vessels 111:18 113:24 116:17	M	g	m	g
6. Miscellaneous items				
amber 111·6 113:7 116:6	M	g	m	g
money-belts 113:8 116:7		g	m	g
rings 111:4 113:5 116:4	M	g	m	g
wallets 112:7	m	m		
boxes 111:23 113:29 116:24	M	g	m	g
chests 111:22 113:28 116:23	M	g	m	g
coffers 111:21 113:27 116:22	M	g	m	g
soap 114:14	d	d	d	d

Jürgen SARNOWSKY

THE OLIGARCHY AT WORK
The Chapters General of the Hospitallers in the XVth Century (1421-1522)

The idea of crusading survived into the XVth century in a changed form [1]. The main objective became the defence of Christianity against the Ottoman Turks, and in this context only one of the military orders continued to play a crucial role in many of the crusading schemes : the Hospitallers at Rhodes. During the last century of their domination of the island there were at least five major attacks on Rhodes, in 1440 and 1444 by the Mamluk sultanate in Egypt, and in 1455, 1480 and 1522 by the Ottomans, the last one finally leading to the surrender of the island [2]. The constant threat necessitated the continuous maintenance and renewal of authority within the order to organize an effective defence and to secure the flow of men and money from the West. In the efforts of master and convent at Rhodes to maintain their control over the houses in the West the chapters general of the order were the most important instrument. Originally the solemn assembly of all or at least the greater part of the brethren in the central convent, the geographic expan-

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1. See e.g. N. Housley, *The Later Crusades. From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274-1580*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992 ; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, London, The Athlone Press, 1987. – I wish to thank Dr Anthony Luttrell, Bath, for correcting the first English version of this paper and for very helpful suggestions ; the faults that remain are mine. The research for this article has been made possible by a Heisenberg scholarship of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

2. Cf. E. Rossi, « The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421-1523 », *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, Madison, Wisconsin, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1975, vol. III, p. 314-39 ; H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1994, esp. p. 50-63.

sion of the order had changed the chapter general into the meeting of the representatives of the regions in which the order had its possessions [3]. The chapters discussed and confirmed the order's legislation, the *stabilimenta* ; decided on remedies for the most pressing problems, for example on additional payments from the houses in the West to solve the debts which the order frequently incurred ; and acted as a « supreme court » for internal quarrels. Since the XIII[th] century the main decisions had been prepared, and in fact determined, by a group of the most experienced brethren from each of the *langues* or tongues, that is of groupings of brethren from the same area of Europe living in the convent [4], so that the chapters were dominated by a veritable oligarchy.

It is the main purpose of this paper to demonstrate how the oligarchic structures within the order worked and how the chapters general both reflected and determined the order's policies, but only three aspects can be treated within the available space : 1. I will give a short survey of the chapters general in the XV[th] century down to 1522 ; 2. some remarks on the regulations in the statutes concerning chapters will follow ; and 3. I will deal with one quite « normal » chapter general, the fifth chapter of the master Fr. Pierre d'Aubusson held in 1498.

1. Compared to the preceding decades [5], the chapters general of the XV[th] century were held more frequently ; from 1421 to 1522 there were at least 22 chapters. This matches the regulation in the statutes of Fr. Philibert de Naillac from 1420, that there should be a chapter every five years — though this was only a kind of provisional regulation to ensure the observation of the statutes passed in that year [6]. In fact, the intervals between chapters var-

3. Cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St.John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310*, London, Macmillan, 1967, p. 285-90.

4. See Riley-Smith, *Knights, op. cit.*, p. 283-84 ; cf. also J. Sarnowsky, « Der Konvent auf Rhodos und die Zungen (lingue) im Johanniterorden (1421-1476) », in Z.H. Nowak (ed.), *Ritterorden und Region - Politische und soziale Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, Toruń, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995 (Ordines militares, 8), p. 43-65.

5. Due to the schism there were only four chapters between 1383 and 1420, one of Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia in 1383, two of Fr. Philibert de Naillac in 1410 and 1420 and one of the anti-master Fr. Ricardo Caracciolo in 1384 (J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac [1310-1421]*, 1913, repr. London, Variorum Reprints, 1974, p. 215, 249, 311 and 350). This was quite different e.g. in the time of Fr. Hélion de Villeneuve when between 1324 and 1344 there were seven chapters general : NLM, Arch.280 and Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, *op. cit.*, p. 54, 56 ; for one of these chapters, cf. C. Tipton, « The 1330 Chapter General of the Knights Hospitallers at Montpellier », *Traditio*, 24 (1968), p. 293-308 (with an edition of the acts of the chapter).

6. ... *Est establi que dedens .5. ans a compter du premier jour de Janvier prochain venant soit celebre chappitre general pour veoir, recougnoistre et reformer comment seront gardees et observees les matieres traicties et concluses en cestui present chappitre ...*, Paris, Biblio-

ied considerably from one to six or even seven years [7]. Many of the chapters are well documented ; for about half of them the registers have survived [8]. Nearly all chapters general were held at Rhodes [9], with two exceptions, in 1446 and 1466, which the pope summoned to Rome.

After three less troubled chapters from 1428 to 1440, two in the time of Fr. Antoni Fluviá [10] and the first of Fr. Jean de Lastic, those following proved more difficult. The Mamluk attacks from 1440 to 1444 had caused profound financial problems. The chapter general at Rhodes in July 1445 achieved little because of a conflict between the smaller *langues* and the French [11]. In this situation the pope, Eugenius IV, summoned another chapter to Rome, which began in February 1446 [12]. But a reform of the order proved difficult to achieve and discussions on a revised version of the statutes continued till February 1447, when the pope died and when there where still some controversial points to be settled. When the statutes were finally confirmed by the new pope, Nicholas V, it seems that they were never really accepted by the order. It was not until forty years later in 1489,

thèque Nationale (henceforth cited as BN), Franç. 1080, fol.73v, cf. National Library of Malta, Valletta, Archives of the Order of St.John (henceforth cited as NLM), Libr. 501, fol.189r; perhaps there is an association with the decree Frequens at the Council of Constance. B. Waldstein-Wartenburg, *Rechtsgeschichte des Malteserordens*, Vienna, Munich, Verlag Herold, 1969, p. 110, thought that the statute was observed until 1522 (or even longer), but it was left out in Guillaume Caoursin's version of the statutes, here used in the good and early manuscript in NLM, Libr.244, fol. 59v. In 1446, the general chapter at Rome decided to celebrate chapters every seven years : cf. M. Barbaro di San Giorgio, *Storia della Costituzione del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta*, Rome, Tipografia del Senato, 1927, p. 233, n.xi (with wrong date; should also be cited after NLM, Arch.1698).

7. The most complete account for this period is still I. Bosio, *Dell'istoria della sacra religione et illustrissima militia di S.Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, Rome, Stamperia di Guglielmo Facciotti, 1629², vol. 2, which deals with 20 chapters in 1428, 1433, 1445, 1446, 1449, 1454, 1459, 1462, 1466, 1471, 1475, 1478, 1483, 1489, 1498, 1501, 1504, 1510, 1514 and 1520. Two additional chapters where held, one in 1440 (cf. e.g. NLM, Arch. 354, fol.236r) and another in 1493 (cf. NLM, Libr. 244, fol.119v-126r).

8. Mainly in NLM, Arch. 282-285 (for 1454-1478, 1498-1504 and – at least partially – 1514).

9. Thus Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, *op. cit.*, p. 111, is wrong in asserting the opposite.

10. For the chapters of 1428 and 1433, cf. e.g. G. Bottarelli, *Storia politica e militare del sovrano ordine di S.Giovanni di Gerusalemme detto di Malta*, 1, *Dalle origine alla caduta di Rodi*, Milano, Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1940, p. 186-87, nn. 5-6 (based on Bosio and Barbaro di San Giorgio).

11. Bosio, *Istoria*, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

12. See R. Valentini, « Un capitulo generale degli Ospitalieri di S. Giovanni tenuto in Vaticano nel 1446 », *Archivio Storico di Malta*, 7 (1936), p. 133-68.

after at least four more chapters had dealt with the problem of reform [13], that a version of the statutes revised by the vice-chancellor, Guillaume Caoursin, was passed. It soon circulated in printed form, after being confirmed by pope Innocent VIII in 1492 [14] and by the chapter of 1493.

After 1447 four successive chapters were held at Rhodes, from 1449 to 1462, passing new statutes and repeatedly dealing with the order's financial problems. The first chapter of the master Fr. Pere Ramon Zacosta in 1462 accepted the division of the Spanish into two *langues*, the Aragonese-Catalan and the Castilian-Portuguese, following new quarrels between the French and the other *langues* [15]. The Roman chapter of 1466/67, after which Fr. Giovanbattista Orsini was confirmed as master by pope Paul II following the death of Zacosta in Rome, was already overshadowed by the increasing danger of an Ottoman attack, as were the three chapters in the seventies from 1471 to 1478. After the order had survived the siege of 1480, the improvement of the defence of Rhodes continued to be main topic of the chapters. Not only was a revision of the statutes intended to strengthen the order's discipline and to increase the payments from the West, but in addition the administration of the treasury and of the convent were periodically conferred to the master, for example in the chapter of 1501 [16], when an aging Fr. Pierre d'Aubusson was able to impose several conditions. Similar measures were taken during the masterships of Fr. Émery d'Amboise and Fr. Fabrizio del Carretto in four chapters held between 1504 and 1520.

2. A revision of the statutes became necessary because since the XII[th] century the decisions of masters and chapters had been added chronologically to the earlier decisions contained in the existing manuscripts but without the necessary revisions [17], and that lead to some confusion. The revised statutes of 1447 and 1489 were therefore arranged systematically. For a survey on the regulations for chapters, it seems best to start with the statutes of 1489 which summed up earlier legislation and still remained in force even when the order had to leave Rhodes.

The main regulations for procedure at chapters came from the ancient customs of the order and were based on decisions of a chapter of about

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13. According to the bull of master and chapter of 10 October 1489, the revision of the statutes began ... *quatuor generalium capitulorum vestigiis inherentes*, NLM, Libr. 244, fol. 2v-4r, here fol. 3r.

14. Also in Caoursin's version of the statutes, NLM, Libr. 244, fol. 1r-2v.

15. Cf. Sarnowsky, *Konvent*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

16. Bosio, *Istoria*, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

17. Cf. the collections of statutes e.g. in BN, Franç. 1080 (up to 1440) or NLM, Libr. 501 (up to 1467).

1206 [18], though they were revised to fit the situation in the XV[th] century. According to these regulations, the chapter begins with the mass of the Holy Spirit which is sung in the conventual church, the procession at the sound of the bell into the room where the chapter assembles, the prayer of the Holy Spirit, chants from the Gospels, the reading of the rule and, finally, a sermon. After that the chaplains and others whose presence is « not necessary » leave, and the master has an opportunity to outline the problems to be discussed. Then the conventual bailiffs, the priors and the capitular bailiffs « render » their purses, their seals and account rolls in sign of the resignation of their offices ; the marshal also « renders » the standard of the order. When a list of participants, especially of officials and their lieutenants or proctors, has been made and read by the vice-chancellor, a group of sixteen *capitulares* is elected, each of the *langues* choosing two of its most experienced brethren [19]. Then the sixteen take a solemn oath that they will take decisions solely in consideration of the honour and the profit of the order and its members, while the master and the remaining brethren swear that they will accept and act upon what is discussed and determined by the sixteen *capitulares*. After that they are locked up in a separate room, together with the proctor of the master, who has no vote, and with the vice-chancellor, who makes notes of the discussions and the decisions taken. The main topics determined by the statutes are the imposition of additional payments and decisions on the administration of the treasury, on the order's legislation and on other urgent problems. During this *conclave*, in which the oligarchy determines the most important issues, the master and the remaining brethren deal with lesser affairs [20]. When the sixteen *capitulares* return to the chapter at the sound of the bell, their deliberations, decisions and statutes are made public by the vice-chancellor who reads them aloud. After that the master makes known his retentions, that is the reservations of brethren for his personal service. Then follow the election of the conventual bailiffs, the priors and the capitular bailiffs chosen separately by each of the eight *langues*. When the officials have received their purses, seals and — in the case of the

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18. *Stabilimenta, Secunda pars. De capitulo, i. Consuetudo. Quomodo capitulum generale celebratur*, NLM, Libr. 244, fol. 57r-58r; cf. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, *op. cit.*, p. 288-89 ; statutes of Fr. Alfonso de Portugal, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1894-1905, here vol. 2, p. 33-34 ; cf. BN, Franç.1080, fol. 16r-17r (slightly different) ; revised in the customs, *Cartulaire*, 2, p. 552-54, cf. NLM, Libr. 501, fol. 387v-391r.

19. Of course, this refers to the period after 1462 ; before that there were only seven langues (i.e. normally fourteen *capitulares*), and the vice-chancellor held still the title of chancellor.

20. *Alii vero capitulantes cetera negotia pro rerum ingruentia tractant*..., NLM, Libr. 244, fol. 58r.

marshal — the standard of the order, the chapter closes with a series of prayers by the chaplains who have returned in procession [21].

To these fundamental regulations nine statutes from the time of the masters from Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia to Fr. Pierre d'Aubusson were added. It was stated that the lieutenants and proctors of the officials of the order are only admitted to the chapter if they have sufficient and authentic proofs of their appointment ; that it is impossible to protest or appeal against the decisions of the sixteen *capitulares* ; and, finally, that the chapter is limited to fifteen days, feast days not included [22]. This may refer to the working-sessions of the chapter, because many chapters in the XVth century lasted longer than fifteen or even twenty days ; of course, the time limit may frequently have been exceeded [23]. But problems which had not been solved were normally transferred to the so-called « complete council » which had forty days to discuss and decide on urgent matters with capitular authority and which resembled the « ordinary council » since it consisted of the master, the bailiffs, the priors and the most experienced brethren in the convent. The « complete council » often preceded the chapter general, especially when it was necessary to postpone its opening session [24].

It seems that Caoursin's collection of the statutes omitted nothing really important from earlier regulations passed after 1421. For example, when the chapter of 1454 under Fr. Jacques de Milly defined the authority of the brethren in the *conclave* [25], this resembles the main topics determined by Caoursin's statutes. After 1489 some additions were made ; thus the chapter of 1501 determined that brethren should be excluded from the sixteen *capitulares* if they were personally involved in issues to be decided [26]. There were, however, no substantial changes, and Caoursin's statutes described very well the proceedings at the subsequent chapter of 1498.

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21. The prayers are for peace and harvests ; for the pope, cardinals and prelates ; for the emperor and the princes ; for the master, officials and brethren of the order ; for the sick, the captives and sinners ; for the benefactors and *confratres* of the order, *ibid.*, fol. 58r-59r.

22. *Ibid.*, fol. 59r-61r. Other statutes refer also to provincial chapters or to assemblies on Rhodes.

23 Thus Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

24. See the chapter general of 1475, when the « complete council » began its sessions on 28 August, while the opening session the chapter was postponed to 6 December ; the chapter ended on 30 December 1475, and there were sessions of the « complete council » from 2 January to 26 February 1476 ; NLM, Arch. 283, fol. 92r, 94v, 110v, 124r.

25. Cf. NLM, Libr. 501, fol. 296v-297r.

26. NLM, Arch. 284, fol. 28r-v.

3. In 1498 Fr. Pierre d'Aubusson was still on the height of his influence, though prince Djem, whose captivity had helped to reduce the Ottoman threat, had died in 1495. Despite occasional attacks by pirates, relations with Bayazid II remained relatively peaceful, because in 1497 the truce between the Turks and the order was renewed [27]. The chapter of 1498 was therefore not very « dramatic », but was rather a typical chapter general of the XVth century.

It began on 16 September with the customary liturgies : the mass of the Holy Spirit, prayers, the reading of the rule and a sermon by the master's chaplain [28]. Participants were the master ; four of the conventual bailiffs, namely the marshal, the admiral, the drapier and the turcopolier ; two priors, the castellan of Amposta who was the prior of Aragon and the prior of Toulouse ; two capitular bailiffs, the bailiff of Morea and the bailiff of Caspe in Aragon ; the lieutenants of the other conventual bailiffs ; other officials ; and the proctors of the priors, of the preceptors in each priory and of the *langues*. After the officials had « rendered » their purses to signify their resignation « in virtue of the vow of poverty » [29] and after a commission consisting of the drapier, the bailiff of Morea, the proctor of the prior of Champagne and the vice-chancellor had checked the proofs of the lieutenants and proctors, on 18 September the sixteen *capitulares* were elected. It is worth noting who these brethren were : the *langue* of Provence elected the prior of Toulouse and the lieutenant of the grand preceptor ; that of Auvergne the marshal and the proctor of the preceptors in the priory ; that of *Francia* chose the bailiff of Morea and the lieutenant of the treasurer ; Italy the admiral and the proctor of the prior of Lombardy ; Aragon the drapier and the castellan of Amposta ; England the turcopolier and the proctor of the prior ; Germany the lieutenant of the grand bailiff and the proctor of the *langue* ; Castile the proctor of the *langue* and one brother who did not appear in the list of officials, lieutenants and proctors present in the chapter [30]. With this one possible exception, the sixteen *capitulares* were therefore elected from the most distinguished brethren of the order. All those conventual bailiffs and priors present in the chapter were among the sixteen, and where the most important officials were not there, in most cases their lieutenants or proctors, or at least the proctors of the *langues*, were nominated. If the list of participants made it clear who were the most important brethren, the rank of

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27. Cf. N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes 1480-1522*, Paris, Ed. Peeters, 1994 (Coll. Turcica, 7), p. 237-38.

28. For the acts of the chapter, see NLM, Arch. 284, fol. 1r-5v.

29. ... *In signum abdicationis beneficiorum et despropriacionis bonorum vigore voti paupertatis* ... : *ibid.*, fol. 1v-2r.

30. *Ibid.*, fol. 2v.

the sixteen *capitulares* demonstrated that it was always the same small group of officials which dominated the policies of the order.

When the acts of the sixteen *capitulares* were revised at the end of their *conclave*, they were divided into statutes (*stabilimenta*), temporary regulations (*ordinationes*), deliberations, sentences and reservations for the following « complete council » [31]. The most important statute concerned the decisions of the sixteen themselves, especially that defining the imposition of additional payments from the houses in the West, and it was determined that these regulations should be followed with absolute obedience in order to secure the defence of Rhodes against « Christ's most cruel enemies » [32]. After this and other statutes, regulations and deliberations had been read out by the vice-chancellor, Guillaume Caoursin, on 6 October 1498 and after the bailiffs and priors had been elected by the *langues*, the chapter closed with the customary prayers, while several issues were left to be determined by the « complete council » during the following forty days, feast days not included [33].

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It is evident from the proceedings at the chapters general that in the XVth century the Hospitallers of St. John were governed by an oligarchy which maintained itself by always electing the same kind of brethren into the important commissions and offices. All this says little about the men who constituted this oligarchy, but other sources indicate that they mostly came from the lesser nobility and had to serve a long time within the order, mostly on Rhodes, to reach the higher ranks of the order's hierarchy. Though the documents spoke mostly of money, offices and regulations, it seems clear that the idea of crusading still remained one of the motives which encouraged them to serve in the Eastern Mediterranean.

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31. See the appendix below ; for the « history » of this division, cf. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

32. *Statuimus et sancimus, quod jura thesauri per venerabiles 16 capitulares pro tempore imposita plenariam roboris firmitatem obtineant omnesque... fratres irrefragibiliter ex(s)olvant secundum modum et ordinem designatum...*, NLM, Arch. 284, fol. 3v-4r ; this statute was changed even during the same chapter but is not clear how.

33. *Ibid.*, fol. 3v.

Appendix
Statutes, decisions, deliberations and sentences passed by the sixteen *capitulares* of the chapter general at Rhodes, 6 October 1498[34]

National Library of Malta, Valletta, Archives of the Order of St. John, Arch.284, fol.3v-5v.

(3v) *Sequuntur stabilimenta.*

Quod deliberationibus, ordinationibus et institucionibus super juribus thesauri venerandorum 16 capitularium obediatur et stetur et de pena inflicta contravenientibu.s.. [35] /

(4r) ... *Contra discolos* [36] *capelanos et eorum incompositos mores...* /

(4v) *Ordinatio* [a] . *Quod stabilimenta mittantur per prioratus sub bulla communi et signatura vicecan(cellarii) ac duorum notariorum....*

Ordinatio [a]. *De ambaxiatoribus religiosis ordinis nostri admittendis...*

Ordinatio [a]. *Prohibicio de alienacione et obligacione bonorum spoliorum mortuariorumque et vacancium jurium...*

Sequuntur acta reverendorum dominorum 16, per articulos que sunt registrata in registro huius anni 1498 [37] *sub suis rubricis consuetis et duabus novis aditis, videlicet thesaurus et deliberaciones reverendorum dominorum 16 capitularium, quod factum est per me vicecancellarium* [38], *quia non poterant hec continuari in presenti registro, presertim quod prepeditus aliis negociis fuerunt registranda manu aliena.* /

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34. Here only the headings can be edited.

35. For this statute, cf. also the papal confirmation of Alexander VI of 30 Apr. 1499 : Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City, Reg.Vat. (henceforth : Reg.Vat.) 847, fol. 295v-298r ; *supra*, n. 32.

36. Luxurious, lustful, licentious : cf. J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1976, p. 338, s.v. « dyscolus ».

a In the margin.

37. This register is lost.

38. Vice-chancellor was still Guillaume Caoursin.

(5r) *Horum dinumeratio est hec :*

Impositio terciorum pro quinque annis[39]. *Administratio thesauri pro duobus annis. Particio terciorum et iurium thesauri. Bulla complectens succincte supradicta missa ad prioratus. Calculum terciorum sub bulla missum ad prioratus. Procurationes reverendissimi domini cardinalis et magni magistri*[b] *misse ad prioratus ad recipiendum arreragia et tercia pro 2 annis. Sentencia de juribus ex(s)olvendis per prioratum et preceptorias Anglie. Bulla cerea ad prioratus pro exequucione solucionis.*

Sentencia particionis preceptoriarum dominorum fratrum militum et dominorum fratrum capellanorum et serviencium armorum prioratus Francie sub bulla capitulari. Sentencia in differencia domini fratris Francini Pezzo super privilegio. Sentencia in differencia domini Francini Ferrier. Sentencia super juribus ex(s)olvendis per preceptoriam Argentiniensem prioratus Alamanie. Imposicio juris thesauri super preceptoriis Templi Cipri, Nixie, Fenice[40], *Moree, Sardinie. Deliberatio et remissio pro diffinicione computorum reverendi domini p(rioris) Anglie*[41]. *Deliberacio pro quarto infirmarie ex(s)olvendo. P(aten)tas data reverendissimo domino*[42] *de fundandis capellis in occidente sub bulla. Confirmatio capellarum fundatarum in Rhodo per reverendissimum dominum cardinalem et magnum magistrum sub bulla, in qua complectuntur omnes fundacione*[43]. *P(aten)tas data reverendissimo domino francos faciendum 20 paricos religionis. Deliberacio super vocacione baiulivorum et priorum reverendorum ad conventum Rhodi. Quedam acta et deliberaciones, que in dicto registro sunt registrate.*

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39. The text of the bull of master and chapter concerning the third is inserted in the papal confirmation of Alexander VI of 30 Apr. 1499 : Reg.Vat., 847, fol. 122r-124r.

b Missing in the text.

40. Possibly the preceptory of Anoyira and Phinikas on Cyprus , then *Nixie* (of Naxos?) may be a mistake for *Noghere*.

41 Fr. John Kendall, prior of England 1489-1501.

42. The master, Fr. Pierre d'Aubusson.

43. For this bull, cf. NLM, Arch. 53, fol. 45v-46v.

— IV —

LES CROISADES DES XIIe-XVe SIÈCLES

LA PRÉDICATION ET SES RÉSULTATS

Christopher G. LIBERTINI

PRACTICAL CRUSADING : The Transformation of Crusading Practice 1095-1221

In one of the many memorable passages found in the pages of *The Alexiad*, the Byzantine historian Anna Comnena made the following observation : « Thus the [Latin] race is no less devoted to religion than to war » [1]. In making this assessment of the First Crusaders whom she had observed traveling through her homeland, Anna hit upon, perhaps unwittingly, the essence of crusading and the nature of its success, the subjects that will comprise the focus of this article. Yet, what Anna had noted with horror and indignation, Pope Urban II had recognized as a vital and potent characteristic of the peoples of western Christendom that if properly channeled could prove to be a powerful tool in the achievement of ecclesiastical objectives. Herein would lie the unrivaled genius of Urban II as an architect of the crusades. In seeking to win back for Christianity the Holy Land, unity within the Church, peace throughout Europe, reformation of the laity, and defeat of the Muslim advance in the East, he created an unprecedented institution, the armed pilgrimage known as crusading, that united two of the most vital and deeply cherished interests of the western people – religion and war [2]. The

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1. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E. Sewter, London, Penguin Books, 1960, p. 317.

2. F. Duncalf, « The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade », *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, ed. L. Paetow, New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1928, p. 44-45 ; H. Cowdrey, « Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade », *History*, 55 (1970), p. 182-83, 188 ; E. Blake, « The Formation of the "Crusade Idea" », *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21 (1970), p. 17 ; M. Villey, *La Croisade: essai sur la formation d'une théorie jurdique*, Paris, 1942, p. 82-84 ; Urban II, « Urban to the counts of Besalú, Empurias, Roussillon and

combination would prove to be as explosive as it was effective. Unfortunately for the sake of crusading, however, it also proved throughout its long history to be a union that was both fragile and difficult to maintain.

The focus of this paper will be to show that while the Holy Land crusade began and was at its core the union of these two medieval traditions, that of pilgrimage and that of war, this union proved to be volatile and difficult to maintain without effective leadership. As a result the tendency within the crusading movement to the East was to place in the actual conduct of the crusades the predominant emphasis on the military side of the movement to the neglect of its pilgrim aspects. In other words, the Church and the West tended after 1099 to send armies to the East that resembled more that of traditional medieval warriors and less that of strictly speaking armed penitential pilgrims. It was the latter, however, who were more proper to the spirit of the crusading movement as Urban II had conceived of crusading and his papal legate Adhémar of Le Puy had carried it out. As evidence for this assertion, two examples of crusading practices will be presented for consideration, while, of course, keeping in mind the caution that is always necessary in dealing with medieval sources. First, the manner in which discipline and order were maintained in crusading armies will be considered by examining the law codes that were enacted and enforced during crusading campaigns. Second, the manner in which crusaders appear to have interpreted events in which they were participating will be addressed. This will be done by considering their reported experiences of visions and apparitions. Finally, it will be suggested, as a way of conclusion, that it was this transformation of crusading practice to a more practical and less penitential form, as represented in these two examples, that proved to be the most fundamental cause of the failure of the crusades to the East after 1099 in achieving their objective of defending or regaining the Holy City of Jerusalem.

First, let us turn our attention to crusading law codes. In his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Albert of Aachen recorded the camp regulations enacted by the First Crusaders during their difficult siege of Antioch in the winter of 1097-98. The purpose of this enactment was to secure an end to their suffer-

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Cerdaña, and their knights », *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*, ed. J. and L. Riley-Smith, London, Edward Arnold, 1981, p. 40 ; Urban II, « Urban to his partisans in Bologna », *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ; Urban II, « Epistola (III) Urbani II papae ad Bononienses », *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. H. Hagenmayer, Innsbruck, 1901, p. 137-38 ; Urban II, « Urban to the religious of the congregation of Vallombrosa », *Crusades : Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 40 ; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, tr. F. Ryan, ed. H. Fink, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1969, p. 41 ; Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *The First Crusade*, ed. E. Peters, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971, p. 3-5 ; Urban II, « Urban to all the faithful in Flanders », *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 38 ; Urban II, « Epistola (II) Urbani II ad omnes fideles in Flandria commorantes », *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

ings, which they believed to be a punishment from God for their iniquities, or as Albert stated, « so that the people of God might be purified from their sins and from foul things » and also « for the correction and reform of the whole army » [3]. The regulations enacted at Antioch do not appear to have been very elaborate measures and most likely reflect only the most pressing needs of the army at a very desperate hour. According to Albert, the leaders legislated « that no one might deceive a Christian brother in weight or measure nor in lending nor in the business of anything ; that no one might perform theft ; that no one be defiled by fornication or adultery. If indeed anyone might transgress this command, he, having been discovered, might be inflicted with a most cruel punishment » [4]. These punishments, we are told, involved chaining, scourging, or even shearing and branding the guilty. Later, at the battle of Ascalon an entirely different type of punishment, that of excommunication for those who violated the rules concerning the collection of plunder, could be added to this list of known punishments used to govern the conduct of the First Crusaders [5].

Besides recording the disciplinary measures enacted at Antioch, Albert also included in his history a telling example of the violation and subsequent enforcement of this code. The incident involved a man and woman caught in adultery, and it appears from Albert's account that they were subjected to a public punishment designed as much to promote social order as personal morality [6]. Moreover, as Albert noted, these regulations were the product of not just the secular but also the ecclesiastical leadership of the army : « After consultation was made with the bishops and all the clergy who were present [7], they [i.e. the Christian princes] decreed injustice and foulness to be cut off from the army » [8]. It appears, therefore, that both groups of leaders worked together on the code's formulation, and this seems to have resulted in a set of comparatively mild penalties by the contemporary standards of medieval secular and military law.

This seems especially true when this code is compared to a well documented law code from a strictly military campaign from approximately the same period of time, that of the Emperor Frederick I's camp regulations enacted during his Italian campaign of 1158. The chronicler of this campaign

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3. Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, vol. 4, p. 378.

4. Albert of Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 378-79.

5. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill, London, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962, p. 94-95.

6. Albert of Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

7. ... *consilio habito cum episcopis et omni clero qui aderant...*, in Albert of Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

8. Albert of Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

explained the rationale behind this action by the emperor in the following manner : « Summoning the princes, he ordained the following regulations for maintaining order in the army » [9]. Accordingly, in Frederick's code there were measures to regulate internecine violence, hunting or other chivalrous sports, and excesses in plundering and violence directed toward those outside the army. As for punishments there were measures that called for the loss of life, limb, or property [10]. Furthermore, these ordinances were decreed on the emperor's authority alone with apparently little or no prior consultation having been made with ecclesiastical officials [11]. Although perhaps alien to modern sensibilities and concerns, these disciplinary measures were completely consistent with the kinds of secular law codes then prevalent in medieval society. Any serious crime that represented a felony offense, such as murder, burglary, larceny, or arson, made the offender liable in a secular court of law to the loss of life or limb or the forfeiture of lands or possessions [12]. By contrast in ecclesiastical courts, except for spiritual sanctions like excommunication and penance, punishments were much less severe, at worse involving comparatively mild corporal punishments or imprisonments of various durations [13]. When compared to a code such as this, the regulations enacted by the First Crusaders at Antioch seem to suggest that a balance was achieved on the 1096-99 expedition between the two spheres of the crusade, between its ecclesiastical and secular dimensions, between its roots in pilgrimage and its roots in military service. Secular and ecclesiastical leaders appear to have collaborated in formulating a relatively mild law code by the standards of the age that was designed to promote military discipline and social order along with personal morality.

Could the same be said of future eastern crusades ? The evidence of camp regulations for the Second Crusade is indeed very limited, but it is known that those who participated in the siege of Lisbon were bound by a code of

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9. Otto of Freising and his continuator Rahewin, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, tr. C Mierow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 202.

10. Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *op. cit.*, p. 203-04.

11. Otto of Freising and Rahewin, *op. cit.*, p. 202, 204.

12. L. Salzman, *English Life in the Middle Ages*, London, Oxford University Press, 1926, p. 219-22 ; F. Pollock and F. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968, vol. 2, p. 452-53, 460-62, 465-66, 470 ; R. Fraher, « Preventing Crime in the High Middle Ages : The Medieval Lawyers' Search for Deterrence », *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, eds. J. Sweeney, S. Chodorow, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1989, p. 213, 222, 231 ; M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, tr. L. Manyon, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961, p. 364-65 , R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, p. 80-81, 94, 97, 100, 127, 153.

13. *English Life*, *op. cit.*, p. 231 ; *History of English Law*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 126-27, 129-30 ; vol 2, 477 , *Trial by Fire*, *op. cit.*, p. 80-81 ; « Preventing Crime », *op. cit.*, p. 215, 229.

law that embodied a very secular principle for the punishment of offenses, that is, one of vindictive reciprocity. As we are told by the anonymous chronicler of this siege : « Among these people of so many different tongues... they sanctioned very strict laws, as, for example, a life for a life and a tooth for a tooth » [14]. Although the anonymous author recorded no example of the actual enforcement of this code, we do know of a punishment meted out to a Flemish crusader marching with Louis VII's army during the same crusade. Found guilty of stealing from Greek money-changers and disrupting the relationship between these merchants and the crusader army, the man was given a swift punishment. Louis had the man hanged in full view of the city of Constantinople as a gesture of good faith to restore a workable relationship with the Greeks [15]. This punishment, it would seem, was a decidedly secular way to deal with the problem.

A more detailed account of crusader camp regulations can be found in Richard I's legal code promulgated at the start of the Third Crusade, and this proved no less severe. It sanctioned various punishments ranging from execution and dismemberment to abandonment and fines for those found guilty of murder, theft, or disorderliness. For example, we read : « Whosoever should kill a man on board ship, having been bound with the dead man, shall be thrown into the sea » [16]. A violater of the peace was to have his hand cut off while a thief was to be tarred and feathered and then abandoned by the army. Again, it appears to be a code designed more with a purpose of maintaining order and discipline rather than with promoting moral reformation [17]. This is in contrast to the code of the First Crusaders which appears to have sought both these ends, ends that were entirely appropriate to their status on the one hand as soldiers but on the other as pilgrims.

With the Fourth Crusade we are again faced with a dearth of information on the subject of legal measures, but we do know that camp regulations were imposed at least during the siege of Constantinople. The whole tenor of these regulations involved the collection and distribution of plunder from the city. For those found guilty of breaking the ordinance, the punishment was death. This was no idle threat for as we read in Geoffrey of Villehardouin :

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14. *English Life*, *op. cit.*, p. 28 ; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and tr. C. David, New York, Octagon Books, 1936, p. 56.

15. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, tr. V. Berry, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 74-75.

16. Roger of Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, London, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867, vol. 2, p. 110 ; J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, New York, Times Books, 1978, p. 142 ; A. Bridge, *Richard the Lionheart*, New York, M. Evans & Company, Inc., 1989, p. 118.

17. Roger of Howden, *op. cit.*, p. 110-11 ; Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, *op. cit.*, p. 141-42 ; Bridge, *Richard the Lionheart*, *op. cit.*, p. 118-19.

« In cases of theft stern justice was meted out to those proved guilty ; many were hanged » [18]. This is quite a different approach to managing the way crusaders handled the spoils of war when compared to the punishment of excommunication employed during the First Crusade. It is indicative, however, of the extent to which the balance between a military and a pilgrim outlook of crusading had shifted.

It was only with the Fifth Crusade that crusading law codes once more assumed what appears to be a concern beyond that of merely inflicting retribution and discipline. Of one such code enacted at the outset of the crusade we are told that it was designed « for the welfare of souls and for peace » [19]. This would seem to embody, at least in principle, the dual purpose of the code recorded by Albert of Aachen. Yet, even with a reform-minded approach to the Fifth Crusade and even with the greater influence of ecclesiastical leadership on the conduct of this crusade, it seems the influence of the previous century of taking a more military approach to crusading could not be entirely overcome. Hence, the camp regulations imposed during the siege of Damietta involved punishments which imposed a number of secular-like penalties including the rack, loss of limb, expulsion from the army, and loss of possessions, although executions were significantly omitted [20].

In sum this discussion suggests the following conclusion. In so far as crusades were military enterprises, they demanded like any other army of the day to have means by which to regulate and discipline life within the camp. However, in so far as crusades were pilgrimages, they would appear to need more lenient, ecclesiastically tempered measures that were aimed specifically at moral reform rather than retribution. The First Crusade apparently was able to unite secular and clerical leaders in the formulation of a code of law that sought to maintain order and morality without having recourse to the more severe punishments common in medieval secular institutions, such as those imposed by the Emperor Frederick on his army during the Italian campaign of 1158. Subsequent crusades, as they came under the sole command of secular officials, however, appear to have been governed by typical secular or military legal measures, reflecting, it seems, the degree to which the practice of crusading had shifted to a more militarized form.

A consideration of how crusaders over the same period of time interpreted events they were experiencing through visions and apparitions seems to

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18. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, tr. M. Shaw, London, Penguin Books, 1963, p. 94-95.

19. *De itinere Frisonum*, *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. R. Röhricht, Genève, 1879, p. 59.

20. *Gesta obsidionis Damiate*, *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, *op. cit.*, p. 110-11.

suggest much the same conclusion. From examining the eyewitness sources of these five crusades, one could classify the vision experiences of the crusaders, perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, into three main categories : visions of assistance, reassurance, and penitence. By assistance-type apparitions is meant those by which crusaders saw their efforts in battle aided directly by some form of heavenly intervention. Indeed, all the crusades of this period, except perhaps for the Fourth Crusade, admit of apparitions of this kind [21]. One of the more elaborate descriptions of this variety is that recorded by the German chronicler of the Third Crusade who spoke of « 7,000 horsemen dressed in white sitting on snow-white horses » that preceded the army and gave the outnumbered crusaders a stunning victory near Iconium [22].

What is meant by the reassuring type of visions are those apparitions the crusaders reported which gave them encouragement to persevere in the cause of the crusade despite the often bitter conditions which they faced. Sometimes these visions came in the form of seeing the deceased receive a heavenly recompense for their labors or witnessing a heavenly sign, like a fiery cross, in the sky [23]. At other times, however, they might be like the vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary experienced by the Third Crusaders during the siege of Acre. Allegedly, she gave the following encouragement : « Do not be afraid ! I am Mary, the Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ : and He Himself has sent me to you, so that you may say to the kings that... on the fourth day hereafter the Lord will give this city to them » [24].

Finally, there are the penitential or prescriptive visions. By these are meant the heavenly messages claimed by the crusaders which called them to reform and to do penance as a prerequisite for divine assistance in battle.

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21. Cf. *Gesta Francorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 69 ; A. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Account of the Eyewitnesses and Participants*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1921, p. 143, 192 ; Raimond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, tr. J. and L. Hill, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1968, p. 128 ; Odo of Deuil, *op. cit.*, p. 110-13 ; Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, *MGH SS*, vol. 5, p. 81-82 ; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, tr. J. Gavigan, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948, p. 60-62 ; John of Tulbia, *De domino Iohanne rege Ierusalem*, *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, *op. cit.*, p. 132 ; *Gesta obsidionis Damiate*, *op. cit.*, p. 76, 83-86, 103 ; *Gesta crucigerorum Rhenanorum*, *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33.

22. Ansbert, *op. cit.*, 81-82 ; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1951, vol. 3, p. 14-15.

23. Raimond of Aguilers, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ; Ansbert, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ; Roger of Howden, *op. cit.*, p. 142-43 ; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; *Gesta obsidionis Damiate*, *op. cit.*, 76, 103.

24. Roger of Howden, *op. cit.*, p. 177 ; Bridge, *Richard the Lionheart*, *op. cit.*; p. 122 ; cf. *Gesta Francorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 60 ; Raimond of Aguilers, *op. cit.*, p. 56-57, 60, 125-27 ; Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, p. 102-03 ; Ansbert, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63.

Examples of these types of apparitions are well known for the First Crusade, especially in relation to events at Antioch and Jerusalem [25]. However, in all the eyewitness accounts of the four crusades subsequent to 1099 there is only one example of a vision that could even be considered a penitential apparition. It was a vision prescribing moral reform to part of the English fleet of the Third Crusade, but the storm that prompted this heavenly visitation abated immediately upon the vision's conclusion before the penitential prescription could be put into effect [26]. This seems a great difference from the First Crusaders' experience at Antioch and Jerusalem in which heavenly assistance was promised only after rigorous penances had been carried out.

Thus, if we understand all these vision experiences as representing a reflection of the crusaders' own thoughts, perceptions, and practices of crusading rather than actual occurrences, they take on considerable significance as a potential source for understanding the way crusades were conducted during this period. It would seem from the number and type of visions experienced by the First Crusaders that a real balance among the religious, penitential, and military underpinnings of the crusade was achieved. Subsequent crusades, however, reported few such heavenly encounters, and those that were experienced reflected the type of supernatural occurrences that might be claimed by any medieval army of the period, that is, those of divine assistance or encouragement but not of penance and prescription. It is significant that with the Fifth Crusade there was a much greater reporting of supernatural occurrences, but equally significant is that there were no penitential visions. So it seems that the concerted efforts to reform the practice of crusading in the early XIIIth century had some effect, but in the end the crusade continued the trend of placing greater stress on the military as opposed to the pilgrim side of crusading.

Yet, even if it is true that there was a shift in emphasis in how the eastern crusades were conducted after 1099, we must still face the very important question : « Does it really matter ? ». If modern research in the areas of human motivation and combat psychology are considered, it would seem this was indeed a significant transformation. Despite what the popular perception might be, medieval warfare tended to be very limited, cautious, and pragmatic in its scope and in the willingness of participants to accept risks [27].

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25. Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, tr. J. and L. Hill, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1974, p. 74-77, 85-86, 115-16 ; Raimond of Aguilers, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 56, 58, 69, 71-72, 76-78, 99, 110-11, 121-23 ; *Gesta Francorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 57-60, 67 ; Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, p. 102-03, 112-13.

26. Roger of Howden, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

27. J. Bliese, « When Knightly Courage May Fail: Battle Orations in Medieval Europe », *The Historian*, 53 (1991), p. 489 ; J. Beeler, *Warfare in Feudal Europe, 730-1200*, Ithaca,

Crusading warfare, on the other hand, proved to be a tremendously uncertain venture on the part of individual crusaders, one that involved great risks, sacrifices, and sufferings far beyond what was typical for medieval soldiers to willingly accept when so little material advantage was offered as a reward [28]. The great attraction of the eastern crusades, it would seem, was its religious significance [29]. Yet, throughout the XIIth century the crusades became militarized in their three most important elements, that is, in their leadership, their objectives, and their rewards. Secular leaders came to control the prosecution of crusading campaigns, and not surprisingly, they tended to conduct crusades as they knew best, that is, as military enterprises rather than as armed pilgrimages. One of their most important decisions in terms of its ramifications for the history of crusading was to forsake the immediate, religious goal of Jerusalem, which as a military target made little tactical sense, and to seek in its place much more practical objectives like Damascus, Ascalon, Constantinople, Damietta, and Cairo [30]. While these objectives might have possessed a tactical justification, they had little to offer in the way of provoking the kind of motivation and commitment needed to overcome the uncommon difficulties that crusading warfare entailed for temporary volunteers serving thousands of miles from home. As research in the area of combat psychology would suggest, this was a development that proved harmful to the success of crusading [31].

If this were not enough, it was not just the leaders and objectives of the crusades that became militarized. The preeminent reward of crusading, that

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Cornell University Press, 1971, p. 245 ; J. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages from the Eighth Century to 1340*, tr. S. Willard, S. Southern, Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1977, p. 285 : P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, tr. M. Jones, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1984, p. 255, 257-58 ; J. Gillingham, « Richard I and the Science of War in the Middle Ages », *War and Government in the Middle Ages : Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham, J. Holt, Totowa, New Jersey, The Boydell Press, 1984, p. 90-91.

28. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986, p. 73.

29. *First Crusade and the Idea, op. cit.*, p. 47.

30. C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, New York, Bart Franklin Publisher, 1969, vol. 1, p. 255-56 ; H. Belloc, *The Crusades: The World's Debate*, Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937, p. 96 ; « Richard I and the Science of War », *op. cit.*, p. 89 ; A. Forey, « The Failure of the Siege of Damascus in 1148 », *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), p. 13, 17-18, 20.

31. B. Shalit, *The Psychology of Conflict and Combat*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1988, p. 6-7 ; A. Kellett, *Combat Motivation : The Behavior of Soldiers in Battle*, Boston, Nijhoff Publishing, 1982, p. 233-35, 242, 329, 336 ; P. Watson, *War on the Mind*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1978, p. 231, 329, 331, 436 ; E. Locke and G. Latham, « Goal Setting Theory », *Motivation: Theory and Research*, eds. H. O'Neil, M. Drillings, Hillsdale, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 1994, p. 16-17.

is, the indulgence which had served as a great stimulus to participation in the crusades from the beginning, also became militarized out of practical considerations. For the First Crusaders the indulgence could only be obtained by performing an act of pilgrimage, specifically by redeeming their vows by physically visiting the Holy Sepulcher. Subsequent crusades, however, came to substitute military service for the pilgrim act of going to a specific place as a means to gain this spiritual reward [32]. Crusaders had only to perform some undefined service on behalf of the eastern Church to merit the indulgence, regardless of what their service actually achieved [33]. Even worse from a motivational and reward-system point of view, the crusader indulgence, or parts thereof, eventually could be earned by those who never even participated in an actual expedition. By disengaging the reward from performance and by making the goal of a crusade vague rather than specific, performance on later crusades suffered, as modern motivational and goal-setting theory would predict [34].

Finally, in a cause that was supranational and religious at its core, combat psychology would suggest the need of leadership that could provide unity of purpose and vision to a host as diversely composed as crusading armies tended to be [35]. In many ways ecclesiastical officials, at least in theory, were best able to provide this kind of leadership. However, until the Fifth Crusade the Church was content to allow secular leaders essentially a free hand in conducting crusades. Crusading leadership became in the process a source of contention and rivalry rather than a source of peace and unity, as it was during the First Crusade, and the effects of this proved a serious impediment to the successfulness of these later crusading campaigns [36].

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32. J. Brundage, « The Army of First Crusade and the Crusading Vow : Some Reflections on a Recent Book », *Medieval Studies*, 33 (1971), p. 334 ; *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 37, 58.

33. *Crusades: Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 67, 121 ; J. Richard, « 1187, Point de départ pour une nouvelle forme de la croisade », *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Kedar, London, Variorum, 1992, p. 253, 259.

34. Locke and Latham, « Goal Setting Theory », *op. cit.*, p. 15-16 , 22-23, 25 ; J. Gordon, *A Diagnostic Approach to Organizational Behavior*, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1987, p. 119-20, 123 ; E. Locke, « Goal Setting Theory », *Organizational Behavior and Management*, ed. H. Tosi and W. Hamner, Columbus, Grid Publishing, Inc., 1985, p. 260 ; F. Toates. *Motivational Systems*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 161 ; H. Heckhausen, *Motivation and Action*, tr. P. Leppman, Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 1991, p. 130-31.

35. *Psychology of Conflict*, *op. cit.*, p. 14, 24 ; *Combat Motivation*, *op. cit.*, p. 197-98.

36. W. Porges, « The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade », *Speculum*, 21 (1946), p. 5 ; J. France, « The Crisis of the First Crusade : From the Defeat of Kerbogah to the Departure from Arqa », *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), p. 287, 289 ; J. Powell, « Honorius III and the Leadership of the Crusade », *Catholic Historical Review*, 63 (1977), p. 525-26 ; *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, *op. cit.*, p. 144-47 ; Ambroise, *The Crusade of*

By the beginning of the XIIIth century it was clear that the Holy Land crusade had gone astray, and this sparked attempts at reform on several different levels. First, there was a popular effort known as the Children's Crusade of 1212 that sought to restore the religious and penitential side to crusading [37]. Yet, by completely neglecting the military part of crusading the attempt proved a great failure. This is not surprising, for the Holy Land crusade could not be nor was it ever successful when a significant imbalance between pilgrimage and military service was allowed to dominate its practice. Second, there was the ecclesiastical reform effort, spearheaded by Innocent III, that eventually resulted in the Fifth Crusade. Although this effort resulted in a greater emphasis being placed upon religious devotion and ecclesiastical leadership, in the end the reforms proved incomplete [38]. The immediate goal of the crusade remained a military one while the indulgence continued to be granted for basic military service, and often not even for that, rather than for the pilgrim act of visiting a specific place [39]. Although ecclesiastical leadership did have some effect in restoring some balance between the military and pilgrim dimensions of crusading, it proved only a partial restoration. As it was highlighted with the two examples of crusading law codes and visions, the practice of crusading remained essentially militarized. This only underscores how much the balance in crusading practice had changed, for now even Church leadership of the crusades found itself having to follow the military path.

Therefore, this transformation in crusading practice, I would suggest, was indeed a significant occurrence, and it is here in the internal development of the crusades under the light of modern motivational theory and combat psychology, even more than in external causes such as the prevailing state of unity in the Christian or Muslim worlds, that should be given greater consideration when trying to assess why the First Crusade proved so successful and why crusades after 1099 repeatedly met with such great difficulty in trying to defend or regain the Holy City, Jerusalem.

Richard the Lion-Heart, tr. M. Hubert, J. La Monte, New York, Octagon Books, 1976, p. 211, 213, 432-33 ; C. Previté-Orton, *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1952, vol. 1, p. 531 ; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades : A Short History*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987, p. 110.

37. J. Hansbery, « The Children's Crusade », *Catholic Historical Review*, 24 (1939), p. 30-31, 36 ; P. Raedts, « The Children's Crusade of 1212 », *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), p. 289, 296, 298, 300 ; D. Munro, « The Children's Crusade », *American Historical Review*, 19 (1913), p. 521.

38. « Honorius III », *op. cit.*, p. 521 ; T. Van Cleve, « The Fifth Crusade », in K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, vol. 2, p. 377 ; *Crusades : Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 123 ; *Crusades : A Short History*, *op. cit.*, p 144.

39. *Crusades : Idea and Reality*, *op. cit.*, p. 121, 129.

Sophia MENACHE

THE COMMUNICATION CHALLENGE OF THE EARLY CRUSADES 1099-1187

Alongside religious, economic, and sociopolitical factors, the Crusade was an outcome of communication, its success conditioned on a convincing transmission of ideological tenets and changing needs [1]. The Crusade movement further confronted Christendom with the challenge of developing efficient channels of communication with those who departed overseas, a rather difficult goal in itself because of the heterogeneous character of the Crusader armies. Fulcher of Chartres faithfully hints at the communication challenge when he rhetorically asks in regard to the First Crusade, and not without satisfaction :

> « And whoever heard of such a mixture of languages in one army ? There were present Franks, Flemings, Frisians, Gauls, Allobroges, Lotharingians, Alemanni, Bavarians, Normans, English, Scots, Aquitanians, Italians, Dacians, Apulians, Iberians, Britons, Greeks, and Armenians. If any Briton or Teuton wishes to question me, I could neither reply nor understand » [2].

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1. S. Menache, *The Vox Dei : Communication in the Middle Ages*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 98-123.

2. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I-13, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 3, p. 336-37. If not specified otherwise, all quotations of Fulcher's chronicle are from the *RHC* ; translations from F. R. Ryan, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem (1095-1127)*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1969.

Though Fulcher recognized that *sed qui linguis diversi eramus, tanquam fratres, sub dilectione Dei, et proximi, unanimes esse videbamur,* the common religious zeal hardly solved communication problems. Linguistic barriers long remained, characterizing the *diversarum nationum et morum et linguarum gentes* who departed from Dartmouth in 1147 to restore Lisbon to Christian rule [3]. As late as 1188, Gerald of Wales admitted that he preached in French and Latin to a Welsh audience, many of whom could not understand a word he said [4].

Obviously, the encounter with Moslems did not make communication easier. True, on the eve of the First Crusade the Normans of Southern Italy and Sicily had been dealing with Arab-speaking Moslems for a generation ; some of them, like Tancred and Richard of the Principate, were thought to have had some basic knowledge of Arabic. Besides, both Greeks and Armenians could and indeed did serve as interpreters [5]. Still, Crusader sources refer to the knowledge of Arabic and Oriental languages in general as a rather exceptional phenomenon among the Latins. In the Christian delegation to Karbuqa (1098), the *Gesta Francorum* explicitly refers to a priest named Herluin who « knew both languages » — probably hinting at his knowledge of Provencal as well as Arabic, besides Latin — a meritorious talent that allowed him to become *interpres Petro Heremitae* [6]. After achieving complete rule over Antioch, *Boamundus igitur fecit per interpretem loqui Saracenis maioribus* [7]. To what extent such bilingual skills were exceptional we learn from Fulcher's report on the eve of Baldwin II's expedition to Antioch in 1119, when he proudly indicates the presence of *one* Christian who had an elementary knowledge of the enemy's language [8]. Even a man who, according to William of Tyre, was « of rather doubtful repute » because « once before on a similar errand, [he] had acted disloyally toward the people of Christ », was entrusted with a mission to Anar in 1147

3. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi,* ed. C. Wendell David, New York, Octagon Books, 1976, p. 52.

4. Gerald of Wales, *De rebus a se gestis,* in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, Rolls Series., 1861-1891, c. 18, vol. 1, p. 76.

5. C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* New York, World Pub. Company, 1963, p. 280-284 ; R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch,* New York, Ams Press, 1980, p. 38.

6. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum,* ed. R. Hill, London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962, l. ix, c. 28, p. 67 ; see also, C. Morris, « The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History », *Reading Medieval Studies,* 19 (1993), p. 55-71. William of Tyre describes Herluin as *Persarum idiomatis et Partice lingue aliquam habens periciam, Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986, VI-15, p. 326. In Karbuqa's army there were indeed Persians and Turks, but most of them knew Arabic.

7. *Gesta Francorum, op. cit.*, l. 10, c. 33, p. 79.

8. Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, III-4, p. 443.

tamen propter lingue commercium, quod habere dicebatur familiare plurimum[9].

Besides linguistic barriers, the almost complete ignorance of the average « Westerner » about Islam imposed additional difficulties. The Arab chronicler Usamah — who in his later years became a close advisor of Saladin — colorfully refers (*c.* 1140) to the prevailing ignorance about Moslems and Islam among Christian newcomers to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and its regrettable consequences for the delicate web of mutual relations :

> « Everyone who is a fresh emigrant from the Frankish lands is ruder in character than those who have become acclimatized and have held long association with the Moslems. Here is an illustration of their ruder character : Whenever I visited Jerusalem I always entered the Aqsa Mosque, which was occupied by the Templars *(al-dawiyyah)*, who were my friends ; the Templars would evacuate the little adjoining mosque so that I might pray in it. One day, I entered this mosque, repeated the first formula, "Allah is great", and stood up in the act of praying, upon which one of the Franks rushed on me, got hold of me and turned my face eastward saying : "This is the way thou shouldst pray !". A group of Templars hastened to him, seized him and repelled him from me. I resumed my prayer. The same man, while the others were otherwise busy, rushed once more on me and turned my face eastward, saying : "This is the way thou shouldst pray !". The Templars again came in to him and expelled him. They apologized to me, saying : "This is a stranger who has only recently arrived from the land of the Franks and he has never before seen anyone praying except eastward". Thereupon I said to myself : "I have had enough prayer". So I went out and have ever been surprised at the conduct of this devil of a man, at the change in the color of his face, his trembling, and his sentiment at the sight of one praying towards the *piblah* »[10].

One should note the Templars' tolerance and friendly attitude toward Moslems and Islam, which a century later was to bring about serious charges of treachery and sacrilege against the Order and, eventually, its dissolution[11].

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9. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XVI-12, p. 731. Translations from E. Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea by William Arcbishop of Tyre*, New York, Octagon Books, 1976, 2 vols. On the prevailing ignorance of languages and its consequences in daily practice, see the same chapter, p. 732.

10. The direction of the Ka'bah in the holy city, Mecca. See *Memoirs of an Arab-Syrian Gentleman or An Arab Knight in the Crusades - Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh (Kit-ab al-I'tibar)*, tr. P. K. Hitti Beyruth, Khayats, 1964, p. 163-64.

11. The first source was Emperor Frederick II whose accusations against the Templars were echoed by Mattew Paris in his *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. Luard, London, Rolls Series,

The existence of a common Christian faith did not bridge the sociocultural gap with Byzantium, nor did it make the Crusaders' communication with the emperor and his delegates any easier [12]. After tauntingly depicting the imperial messengers, Odo of Deuil reports their embarrassing meeting with Louis VII :

> « ... French flatterers, even if they wish, cannot equal the Greeks. Now, although he blushed at it, the king at first allowed everything to be set forth ; he did not know, however, from what source these compliments came. But finally, when messengers visited him repeatedly in Greece and always began with an introduction of this kind, he could scarcely endure it ; and one time that pious and spirited man, Godfrey, bishop of Langres, taking pity on the king and not able to endure the delays caused by the speaker and interpreter, said, "Brothers, do not repeat « glory », « majesty », « wisdom », and « piety » so often in reference to the king. He knows himself, and we know him well. Just indicate your wishes more briefly and freely". Nevertheless, the proverb "I fear the Greeks, even when they bear gifts", has always been well-known, even among certain laymen » [13].

In the framework of the many Byzantine vices, Odo further emphasizes that *generalis est enim eorum sententia non imputare periurium quod fit propter sacrum imperium* [14], a rather bizarre, public-spirited approach in the eyes of a twelfth-century monk, chaplain to the King of France.

Alongside the many challenges facing communication between Western Christendom and the Crusaders and among the Crusaders, Moslems, and Byzantines, the colonial character of the Latin Kingdoms made it imperative to find the most efficient channels between the Levant and Europe, the major

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1872-1883, vol. 4, p. 302. Cf. Matthew Paris, *Abbreviatio Chronicorum Angliae*, ed. F. Madden, London, Rolls Series, 1866-1869, vol. 2, p. 312-314 ; vol. 3, p. 289 ; and his *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Frederic Madden, London, Rolls Series, 1866-1869, vol. 2, p. 483-484. These accusations played a crucial role later, during the Templars' long trial and eventually brought about the supression of the Order. See *Le Procès des Templiers*, ed. J. Michelet, Paris, 1841-1851, vol. 1, p. 89-96 ; M. Barber, « Propaganda in the Middle Ages. The Charges Against the Templars », *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 17 (1973), p. 57 ff. *Id.*, *The Trial of the Templars*, Cambridge, CUP, 1978, p. 178-92.

12. On the negative image of the Byzantines at the First Crusade, see Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana, RHC, Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 309 ; *Willelmi Tyrensis*, *op. cit.*, II-10, p. 174.

13. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. Gingerick Berry, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 26. On his negative approach to the Byzantines but his admiration and love of their city, see p. 86.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

supplier of logistical assistance [15]. Yet, opposite the communication requirements created by the Crusades, in particular the need for more sophisticated techniques of transmission, stood the archaic stage of Western Christendom. By the late eleventh century, European society still had not yet developed communication channels beyond elementary contacts in the framework of the feudal regime or intermittent commercial links. This study will attempt to reconstruct the main components of the communication process up to the fall of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem (Battle of Hattin, 1187) [16]. Though trade was a major factor in communication developments, it deserves a separate analysis and, therefore, was not included here. Nor have we discussed Crusader propaganda, a subject that has recently enjoyed much scholarly attention [17]. Our analysis will focus on two main issues : the transmission of the Crusade message and the main communication channels. Being structured according to a communication perspective, the chronological sequence is sometimes subordinated to the thematic axis.

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From its initial stages, the Crusade faced Christendom with a new communication reality, first and foremost in the field of message transmission. Though movements like the Peace of God, the Truce of God, and the Gregorian Reform had contributed to the emergence of communication networks, the scope and spread of Pope Urban's message were unprecedented. They such appeared to some contemporaries, who approached the call from

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15. On the colonial aspects of crusader society, see J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London, 1972, preface ; see also, M. Barber, « Supplying the Crusader States : The Role of the Templars », in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem, Yad ben Zvi, 1992, p. 314-326 ; J. H. Pryor, « *In subsidium Terrae Sanctae*. Exports of Foodstuffs and War Materials from the Kingdom of Sicily to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1265-1284 », *Asian and African Studies*, 22 (1988), p. 128-41.

16. J. Riley Smith emphasizes the embryonic state of the Crusades and the Latin States at this period ; see his « History, the Crusades and the Latin East, 1095-1204 : A Personal View », in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller, Leiden, Brill, 1993, p. 10.

17. C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades : Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994 ; J. Pahlitzsch, « Die Idee von der liberatio Orientalium ecclesiarum bei Urban II », in *Miszellen aus dem Schulerkreis*, Berlin, Friedrich-Meinecke Institut, 1994, p. 13-23 ; R. F. Cook, « Crusade Propaganda in the Epic Cycles of the Crusade », in *Journeys Toward God : Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. B. N. Sargent-Baur, Kalamazoo,, MIP, 1992, p. 157-75 ; P. J. Coole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge (Mass), Medieval Academy Books, 1991 ; N. Daniel, « The Legal and Political Theory of the Crusade », in *A History of the Crusades*, eds. H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour, Madison, Wisconsin, 1990, vol. 6, p. 39-97 ; P. J. Cole, « "O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance" (Ps. 78 :1) : The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188 », in *Crusaders and Muslims*, *op. cit.*, p. 84-111.

Clermont in terms of divine intervention. According to Robert of Reims, « the very day on which these things were said and done, the reverberating report of that great decree shook the whole world, even in the maritime islands in the Ocean ». Thus came the unavoidable conclusion « that this was the work of no human voice, but of the spirit of the Lord who fills the whole earth » [18]. According to the *Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusolymam*,

> « When it was God's will and pleasure to free the Holy Sepulcher...from the power of the pagans and to open the way to Christians desiring to travel there for the redemption of their souls, he showed many signs, powers, prodigies and portents to sharpen the minds of Christians so that they should want to hurry there » [19].

Guibert of Nogent, on the other hand, puts emphasis on more « human » means of transmission — either in the framework of the family or the close neighborhood — that made ecclesiastical intervention unnecessary [20]. While recognizing the broad scope of the Crusader message, Pope Urban II himself hints at the utilization of conventional means of transmission :

> « We believe that you, brethren, learned long ago **from many reports** the deplorable news that the barbarians in their frenzy have invaded and ravaged the churches of God in the eastern regions....At a council held in Auvergne, **as is widely known**, we imposed on them the obligation to undertake such a military enterprise for the remission of all their sins » [21].

Thus, no more than a month after the Council of Clermont, the pope assumed that the plan to depart *Outremer* « is widely known » [22].

When summing up the propagandistic success of the papal call, Jonathan Riley Smith has recently defined Urban's preaching tour in 1095 as one with « emphasis on rhetoric and theater », an « appeal to the guts rather than to

18. Robert of Reims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 3, p. 730.

19. *Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusolymam*, in *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 3, p. 173 ; see, also, J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London, Arthlone Press, 1986, p. 13-30.

20. Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, in *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 4, p. 124, 140.

21. [emphasis mine] « Ad omnes fideles in Flandria » (December 1095), in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100, Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, ed. Hagenmeyer, Innsbruck, 1901, p. 136-37 ; tr. L. and J. Riley Smith, *The Crusades : Idea and Reality, 1095-1274*, London, Edward Arnold, 1981, p. 38.

22. Cf. William of Tyre on the spread of rumors and the exchange of « many letters » on the eve of the First Crusade, *Willelmi Tyrensis, op. cit.*, I-16, 17, p. 136, 140.

the head » [23]. Wherever the papal call may have been addressed, preaching was the main medium of crusader propaganda, received in the framework of great assemblies or small meetings, inside princely households, churches, or cathedrals [24]. Urban II preached, *inter alia,* at Clermont, Angers, Tours, and Limoges [25]. Peter the Hermit concentrated his efforts in *urbes et municipia* [26]. On the eve of the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Crusade both in villages and in cities like Speyer, Mainz, and Regensburg [27]. This substantial appeal to urban populations led Tyerman to approach medieval cities as the *foci* for Crusade preaching and recruitment [28].

Whether preached in the framework of cities or in the countryside, the tempo of the First Crusade remains *sui generis.* Though Pope Urban II set 15 August 1096 as the departure date for the army under the leadership of Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy [29], contemporary sources clearly indicate the general readiness to depart on an earlier date [30] :

> « In the year 1096 of the Lord Incarnation and in the month of March following the council, which as has been said, Pope Urban held during November in Auvergne, some who were more speedy in their preparation than others began to set out on the holy journey. Others followed in April or May, in June or in July, or even in August or September or October, as they were able to secure the means to defray expenses » [31].

Analysis of the Second Crusade, however, indicates that European society still faced communication difficulties fifty years after Clermont. According to William of Tyre,

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23. J. Riley Smith, « History, the Crusades and the Latin East », *op. cit.*, p. 16 ; *Id.*, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading, op. cit.*, p. 13-15, 25-27.

24. For a later period, see C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades : Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, CUP, 1994, passim.

25. H. E. J. Cowdrey, « Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade », *History,* 55 (1970), p. 182-88.

26. *Orderici Vitalis Historiae Ecclesiasticae libri tredecim,* l. ix, ed. A. Le Prevost, Paris, Société de l'histoire de France, 1855, vol. 3, p. 478.

27. J. Zulliger, « Bernhard von Clairvaux und Kommunikation : zur Bedeutung von Briefen, Sekretaeren und Boten », *Citeaux*, 1-4 (1993), p. 7-35.

28. C. Tyerman, « Who Went on Crusades to the Holy Land ? », in *The Horns of Hattin, op. cit.*, p. 18.

29. See his letter to all the faithful in Flanders in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, *op. cit.*, p. 136-37.

30. *Willelmi Tyrensis*, *op. cit.*, I-16, 17, p. 136, 140.

31. Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, I-6, p. 327.

> « When the city of Edessa was captured...the story of the ominous disaster was carried by rumor throughout the entire West....Messengers went about to peoples and nations everywhere spreading these reports....Pope Eugenius III...dispatched throughout the various regions of the West religious men, eloquent in exhortation, powerful both in word and deed, to inform princes and people, tribes and tongues everywhere of the intolerable sufferings of their brethren in the East, and to rouse them to go forth to avenge these terrible wrongs » [32].

William's report hints at an additional factor that had played at best but a very marginal role during the First Crusade, namely, the fluent transmission of news between the Levant and the Continent. The news of the fall of Edessa in December 1144 was formally delivered to the pope almost one year later by messengers from Antioch [33]. The arrival of this delegation urged Eugene III to react immediately, and the first bulls calling for a new Crusade were dated December 1, 1145 [34]. The pope reissued *Quantum predecessores* on March 1, 1146 [35], announcing the capture of Edessa by 'Imad-ad-Din Zengi. While evoking the heroic precedent of the first expedition overseas, the pope called the faithful to retaliation [36]. Eugene III also wrote about the Crusade project to Emperor Manuel who replied in August 1146 and again in March 1147, when he evinced some alarm at the renewed prospect of having mobs from the west crossing his territory [37]. In parallel with the papal campaign, Louis VII developed a diplomatic campaign of his own, sending and receiving messengers carrying letters to/from Emperor Manuel Comnenus, Conrad III of Germany, Roger of Apulia, and the King of Hungary [38]. Though Odo of Deuil concludes rather optimistically that *interea fama volat* [39], the Second Crusade hardly suggests any accelerated tempo. The Christian armies eventually left Europe in April 1147, almost

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32. *Willelmi Tyrensis*, *op. cit.*, XVI-18, p. 739-40.

33. One possible factor of this delay was the critical time undergone by the papacy after Innocent II's death, when three consecutive popes occupied the Apostolic See in two years ; namely, Celestine II (3.10.1143 - 8.3.1144), Lucius II (12.3.1144 - 15.11.45), and Eugene III, who began his pontificate on 18 November 1145.

34. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Ph. Jaffé, Leipzig, 1885-1888, 2 vols. ; 2nd ed., Graz, 1956, XV, n° 8796, p. 429.

35. *Ibid.*, n° 8876.

36. See the text of the papal bull in P. Rassow, « Der Text der Kreuzzugsbulle Eugens III », *Neues Archiv*, 45 (1924), p. 302-305.

37. *RHGF*, 15, p. 440-41.

38. Geisa II, king of Hungary (1141-1161), was still a minor at the time of the Crusade.

39. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, *op. cit.*, p. 8-12. Bernard de Clairvaux sent a letter to England, *Epistolae Bernardi*, n° 363-365, *P.L*, 82, cols. 564-71 ; on the letter and its effects, see *Gesta Stephani*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, London, Rolls Series, 1886, pt. iii, p. 122.

eighteen months after the papal call and two and a half years after the fall of Edessa [40].

The considerable delay in departure for the Second Crusade appears unexceptional during the second half of the twelfth century, when the urgent needs of the Crusaders encountered a slow response, if any. The dramatic changes in the organization of the Crusade, first and foremost the development of feudal patterns instead of the spontaneous mobilization that characterized the first Christian enterprise *Outremer*, made it difficult if not impossible to give an immediate response to the calls for help from the Levant. It seems, moreover, that during the second half of the twelfth century the papal message was less assertive, probably because of the many crises that affected the pontificate of Alexander III. In the first months of 1165, several embassies from the Kingdom of Jerusalem conveyed to the pope the discouraging news of Christian defeats on the battlefield [41]. The critical situation brought Alexander III to renew the Crusade call ; a few months later, the pope issued the bull *Quantum predecessores nostri* (14 July 1165), in which he faithfully followed the example of Eugene III [42]. Alexander III had also previously referred to the Crusade project in his letter to the Archbishop of Reims (20 January 1165) [43] while trying to pave the way for a positive reception of the apostolic enterprise. Still, neither the papal bull nor the many missions from the Levant succeeded in bringing about the organization of a new Crusade [44].

Notwithstanding the many difficulties and the archaic communication channels at their disposal, Crusader leaders did succeed in diffusing an up-to-date report of their situation ; they further signaled to Western Christendom the most suitable ways of solution : the immediate mobilization of money and manpower. The Crusader leaders failed, however, to resolve the long delays in transmission ; the considerable gap between actual developments and their reception in Europe, moreover, had the effect of neutralizing

40. Tyerman's emphasizes the fact that « Crusading was not a spontaneous act... Whether we are looking at general *passagia* or the innumerable crusade-pilgrimages... it is clear that all expeditions to the east were planned and structured », C. Tyerman, « Who Went on Crusades ? », *op. cit.*, p. 13.

41. *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht, 1893-1904, reprint New York, Franklin, s.d., [hereafter *Regesta*], n° 410 mentions these messengers, including the Archbishop of Mamistra and high-ranking officials of the Military Orders.

42. *JL* 11218 ; *PL*, 200, cols. 384-386 ; see also, J. G. Rowe, « Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade. An Overview of Problems and Failures », in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

43. *JL* 11105 ; *PL*, 200, col. 328.

44. William of Tyre did not mention at all the Crusader bulls of Alexander III ; the papal crusader bulls of 1181 may be found in *JL* 14360-361 ; *RHGF*, 15, p. 972-73.

the fragile cohesion that prevailed between the two Christian shores of the Mediterranean. Some examples may clarify the slowness of transmission, even when most important considerations were at the stake : The news of Emperor Henry V's death in Germany (23 May 1125) and his succession by Lothair of Saxony was delivered to Jerusalem by pilgrims almost one year later, on Easter day (11 April 1126) [45]. In turn, the disastrous defeats of the Second Crusade became known in Europe before the end of 1147, conveyed orally or through letters carried by deserters and released prisoners [46]. The Würzburg analyst, for example, based his account on the reports of released prisoners [47]. News of the defeat and death of Prince Raymond of Antioch at the Fountain of Murad (29 June 1149) and of the capture of Count Joscelin of Courtenay of Edessa in 1150 proved exceptional, being not long in reaching the West during 1150 [48]. More commonplace, only in July 1187 did Frederick Barbarossa send a letter *Outremer* detailing Saladin's policy ; the contents of this letter had been publicized in Germany eight months earlier (23 November 1186) [49].

The delays in information transmission — often but not only caused by technical factors like navigation limitations [50] — brought about the indiscriminate reception of information, with complete disregard of its reliability. Fulcher of Chartres, for example, reports that the arrival of ships from the West often turned into a communication event, since « *unusquisque nostrum de natione sua et parentela diligenter inquirebamus* » [51]. The lack of trustworthy information sources further affected the reliability of « news », while favoring the spread of rumors. Rumors, *per se* an integral component in traditional societies and a most important channel of information transmis-

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45. Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, III - 54, p. 480.

46. On the role of troubadors in spreading news of the real situation *Outremer*, see E. Siberry, « Troubadors, Trouvères, Minnesingers and the Crusades ». *Studi Medievali*, 3a s., 29-1 (1988), p. 35-37.

47. *Annales Herbipolenses*, *MGH SS*, 16, p. 4-5.

48. *Willelmi Tyrensis*, *op. cit.*, XVII-9, p. 771-72, XVII-11, p. 774-75. Only some of these letters have remained and are enumerated in *Regesta*, *n°* 261.

49. *Regesta*, n° 658 (July 1187) ; see also, *Hugonis chronici continuatio Weingartensis*, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH SS*, 21, p. 475.

50. S. Menache, « The Crusades and their Impact on the Development of Medieval Communication », in H. Kuhnel (ed.), *Kommunikation zwischen Orient und Okzident Alltag und Sachkultur*, Wien, Osterreichischen Adakemie der Wissenschaften, 1994, p. 77-79.

51. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 388 ; Fulcher further emphasizes the many ships provided by the Genoese and the Venetians ; see II-25, p. 407, III-14, p. 449 ; cf. Caffaro, *De liberatione civitatum orientis*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, 5, p. 71.

sion[52], seem to have constituted a continuous, influential factor in medieval society as a whole.

Some examples may clarify the ubiquity of rumors in the Crusader period, in both Europe and the Levant : Pope Urban — in letters to his partisans in Bologna (19 September 1096)[53] and to the religious congregation of Vallombrosa (7 October 1096)[54] — refers to « news » he **heard**. The *Gesta Francorum* refers to the ubiquity of rumors in both Christian and Moslem societies *Outremer* : Bohemond heard **rumors** of a Moslem offensive led by Rudwan, Amir of Aleppo, and Suqman ibn Ortuq[55]. The mother of Karbuqa, the Amir of Mosul, asked her son about his plans to attack the Franks while addressing him : *Fili, suntne vera quae audio*[56] ? William of Tyre, as well, frequently reports the many rumors that, whether accurate or not, played their role in high politics. Thus, in 1098 he states that « ***rumor*** *interea et fama celebris iam universum repleverat Orientem*, nor had it escaped the notice even of the kingdoms of the south and other outside nations, that great forces of Christians had arrived before the city of Antioch »[57]. On the other hand, « news of the deplorable disaster which had resulted in the capture of the count of Edessa [1150] was brought to the King of Jerusalem, and from reliable sources he learned that Edessa, left entirely without a defender, was lying exposed to the wiles of the enemy »[58].

This differentiation between rumors and news was not unique to William of Tyre. Fulcher of Chartres, for example, bitterly complains in 1126 : « How many times during this year did not messengers or pilgrims announce to us, and relate to us, the coming of Bohemond the younger[59] ? But they deceived us by their manifold rumors »[60]. Conversely, « when our king notified us at Jerusalem by letters that Bohemond had already landed at An-

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52. S. Menache, *The Vox Dei*, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 58, 107-108, 235, 264.

53. *Die Kreuzzugsfriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100, op. cit.*, p. 137.

54. W. Wiederhold, « Papsturkunden in Florenz », *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Göttingen, Phil. hist. Kl., 1901, p. 313.

55. *Itaque* ***audiens*** *dominus Boamundus innumerabilem gentem Turcorum venientem super nos .., Gesta Francorum*, l. VI, cap. 17, p. 35.

56. *Ibid.*, l. IX, cap. 22, p. 53 ; see similar instances on p. 64, 70.

57. *Willelmi Tyrensis*, *op. cit.*, IV-23, p. 265. On William's awareness of the ubiquity of rumors in Latin society see, also, X-16 (17), p. 472 ; XIII-22, p. 614 ; XIV-7, p. 638 ; XV-27, p. 711 ; XVI-4, p. 719-20 ; XVII-11, p. 775 ; XVIII-14, p. 831 ; XX-19, p. 936 ; XXII-24 (23), p. 1043.

58. *Ibid.*, XVII-15, p. 780.

59. Bohemond II, prince of Antioch (1126-30), son of Bohemond I and Constance of France.

60. Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, III-57, p. 481.

tioch, all of us were delighted » [61]. Thus, Fulcher makes a clear differentiation not only between rumors and news but also among different sources of information and the different channels at their disposal [62]. In contrast with the king's use of letters, both messengers and pilgrims were associated with oral delivery, a most common practice throughout the Middle Ages [63]. John of Salisbury, while trying to give credence to his sources on the Second Crusade, affirmed that he had written « nothing except what I knew to be true by sight or hearing or what was confirmed by the writings and authority of trustworthy men » [64].

Though the lack of reliable information appears to have been most crucial in regard to current events, it also affected geographical knowledge about the Holy Land and neighboring areas, which remained rather poor. King Baldwin I, for instance, « desired to gain a more intimate knowledge of the adjacent regions and to investigate the condition of the provinces » [65]. This pursuit of information caused contemporary chroniclers to offer some data about the soil, the fauna, and the flora *Outremer,* thus weakening its former mystical essence. After declaring that *igitur secundum divisiones terrarum varietates existunt utique rerum et consuetudinum,* Fulcher of Chartres acquaints his readers with these facts :

> « In Palestine, I have seen neither a whale, nor a lamprey, nor among the birds a magpie or warbler. It has wild asses, porcupines, not to mention hyenas which dig out the graves of the dead. Among the trees, I have seen neither the poplar, the hazel, the elder, the butcher's broom, nor any maple » [66].

One should note Fulcher's special emphasis on the common and distinctive features of the Holy Land and Europe, an approach hinting at the colonial essence of the Latin Principalities and of its inhabitants' *Umwelt,* as well [67]. Odo of Deuil did not conceal his admiration for Constantinople, which he described in some detail together with its main access routes to Antioch [68]. William of Tyre offers his readers reliable information about the

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61. *Ibid.,* III - 61, p. 484-85.

62. See also Fulcher's report of the Venetians arrival, *Ibid.,* III - 20, p. 452.

63. R. Crosby, « Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages », *Speculum,* 11 (1936), p. 88-110.

64. Among his sources were indeed the papal legate Guido of Florence, Cardinal-priest of San Crisogono, Thierry, Count of Flanders, and the Count of Champagne. See John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1927, p. 4.

65. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XI-29, p. 541-42.

66. Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, III-48, p. 474-75 ; III-49, p. 475-76.

67. I have not took into consideration the chroniclers' common references to the holy places which often merely repeats data of contemporary *Itineraria.*

68. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, *op. cit.*, p. 62-64, 88.

topography of various cities in the Holy Land [69], Lebanon [70], and Egypt [71]. And *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* presents the geographical characteristics of twelfth-century Portugal, its flora and fauna [72].

If the average twelfth-century man or woman could make do with the relative stagnation of information, the situation was quite different for the political elite because of its complex links with both shores of the Mediterranean. Princes, Military Orders' Masters, and ecclesiastics appear to have been the most important communication « consumers », their actions and interests spreading beyond the near neighborhood [73]. When Louis VII, for example, was approaching Nicaea (1146-47)

> « He made careful inquiries about the emperor of the Romans, who had preceded him, and was told that the emperor had lost his army, but that he himself, a wanderer and a fugitive, had made his escape with a few of his nobles. At first this was merely a doubtful rumor, without trustworthy foundation. As time went on, however, it received definite confirmation. For a little later Frederick, duke of Swabia, came to the army of the king of the Franks from the emperor's camp. He brought full and detailed information about the disaster, which up to that time had been known merely through vague and unreliable rumors » [74].

Political leaders thus appear to have played a leading role in the development of a communication network, their need for reliable, up-to-date information being most imperative. Letters — very often in the framework of diplomatic missions — served as a main communication channel in this regard, especially between Europe and *Outremer*. One letter served the leaders of the First Crusade to report to Pope Urban II at the beginnings of July 1098 the surrender of Nicaea (19 June 1097), the crucial victory at Dorylaeum (1 July 1097), the conquest of Antioch (3 June 1098), and the victory over

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69. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, VIII-3, p. 385-87 ; *Ibid.*, XVII-22, p. 790-92.

70. *Ibid.*, XIII-3, p. 588-90.

71. *Ibid.*, XIX-24, p. 896-98.

72. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi, op. cit.*, p. 6-68, 90-92.

73. See, for example, the letter of the seneschal Andrew of Montbard to the Master of the Temple, Everard des Barres, in 1150, asking for his immediate return to the Holy Land because of the dangerous situation following Raymond of Antioch's defeat by Nur-ad-Din (29 June 1149) ; *Regesta*, n° 261. On Andrew's role in delivering important information to the West, see M. Barber, *The New Knighthood : A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 71-72.

74. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XVI-23, p. 748.

Kerbogha of Mosul (28 June 1098) [75]. The scope of this letter thus covered the main developments that occurred during the years 1097-1098, and were reported very close to the dramatic events themselves [76]. Godfrey of Bouillon immediately sent notification of his election as Defender of the Holy Sepulcher (22 July 1099) to Bohemond of Antioch [77] and to the Archbishop of Reims in early August 1099 [78]. The promptness of such information was undoubtedly connected with political considerations ; further, it did not *per se* secure immediate reception. Still, the awareness of the weight of reliable information to be transmitted within a short period of time, at least for the political elite, suggests an important stage in the evolution of communication ; namely, the emergence of what could tentatively be categorized a « communication-oriented society ».

Correspondence became common practice among the Crusaders in their dealings with the Moslem and the Byzantine political elite, as well. In December 1097, Malik al-Afdal, suggested to the Latin leaders the formation of an anti-Seldjuk alliance in which they would join forces with the Shi'ite of Egypt against the Sunnite Seldjuks [79]. Again, in 1139, many letters were exchanged between the Frankish princes and the rulers of Damascus in their common efforts to counterbalance Zinki's offensive [80]. Though Malik's early alliance project did not materialize, Emperor Alexius Comnenus warned him against any such treaty on 15 June 1098 ; i.e., only six months after the vizier of Egypt had made his suggestion. The emperor's success in obtaining accurate information within a reasonable period of time implies that Byzantium was at an advanced stage in message transmission, the empire's naval power being a valuable means of rapid communication [81]. An additional letter exchange between the emperor and the Crusaders corroborates the weight of correspondence in far-reaching political negotiations. On 14 July 1098 the Latin princes notified Alexius of the conquest of Antioch

75. *Regesta*, n° 10 ; P. Riant has analyzed the letter in his « Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades », *Archives de l'Orient latin*, Paris, 1881-1884, [hereafter *Archives*] vol. 1, n° 107, p. 175-176, 181-183. Hagenmeyer has edited it twice, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100, op. cit.*, p. 88-93, 161-165, 341-358.

76. Cf. Baldwin of Le Bourg's letter to Archbishop Reims (after July 1098) in which mention was made of the miraculous finding of the Holy Lance (14 June 1098), as well ; *Regesta*, n° 11 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 118, p. 187.

77. *Regesta*, n° 25 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 137, p. 197-198.

78. *Regesta*, n° 26 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 38, p. 198.

79. *Regesta*, n° 4 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 96, p. 162-64 ; William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, IV-24, p. 267.

80. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, in *Chroniques Arabes des Croisades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, tr. V. Paques, Paris, Sindbad, 1977, p. 71.

81. J. Shepard, « Information, Disinformation, and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy », *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 10 (1985), p. 288 ff.

and asked him to carry out the alliance that he had signed with them [82]. On January 1099, Emperor Alexius reclaimed his rule over the city [83] ; and in turn, received the Latins' negative response *c.* 10 April 1099 [84]. In less than one year, therefore, both the emperor and the Latin princes were able to transmit important news while reacting to current events. Though available information does not offer satisfactory data as to the time of reception, this interchange allows one to assume an average of about four to six months in the letter exchange between Byzantium, Antioch, and perhaps, Jerusalem, as well.

Much more efficient, relatively speaking, across short distances in the Levant, letter-exchange between Europe and the Levant encountered many difficulties. Documentary evidence, though very scanty up to the 1160's, improves from the second half of the twelfth century, Louis VII of France being one of the main addressees of correspondence sent overseas [85]. From September 1163 until January 1165, at least thirteen letters were written to King Louis by King Amalric I of Jerusalem [86] ; the Templar Master Bertrand of Blancfort, and Geoffrey Fulcher, the procurator and preceptor of the Temple [87] ; Amaury, Patriarch of Antioch [88] ; Amalric of Nesle, Patriarch of Jerusalem [89] ; and Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch [90]. Amalric of Nesle wrote about the miserable state of the Holy Land in 1164. He mentions in detail the death of the prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers, in his fight against Nur-ad-Din (29 June 1149) ; the imprisonment of Reynald of Chatillon (23 November 1160) ; and, following the Christian defeat at Harenc (10 August 1164), the capture of his successor, Baldwin II of An-

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82. *Regesta*, n° 13 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 109, p. 177-178.

83. *Regesta*, n° 18 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 121, p 189.

84. *Regesta*, n° 20 ; *Archives*, vol. 1, n° 125, p 192.

85. See, for instance, the call for assistance by Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch, *c.* 1155, to the King of France, in which he empowered his messenger to provide further information about the current situation *Outremer*, *Regesta*, n° 319 ; on reports sent to Frederick I of Germany and Henry II of England, see *Regesta*, n° 646 (Dec. 1185) and n° 664 (end September 1187).

86. *Regesta*, n° 382 (end September 1163), n° 384 (Sept-Oct. 1163), n° 394 (early 1164), n° 396 (8 April 1164), n° 411 (14 January 1165).

87. *Regesta*, n° 83 (Sept-Oct. 1163), n° 403 (end August 1164), and a letter with additional information the same month, n° 404. N° 406 (Nov. 1164), and a letter with additional information the same month, n° 407. In both cases, we have here besides the desire to provide up-to-date information, an example of several copies of an original letter that, though not identical, were meant to assure reception.

88. *Regesta*, n° 405 (end August 1164).

89. *Regesta*, n° 410 (Nov. 1164-early 1165).

90. *Regesta*, n° 392 (Aug. 1163-64).

tioch, together with Raymond III of Tripoli [91]. Amalric's report thus covered historical facts that spread over twenty years, a long period of time even in medieval terms of reference [92]. Amalric further used the occasion to recommend Gilbert d'Assailly, the Master of the Hospital, who had departed for Europe, in order to collect money for the Holy Land and would be able to supply more information orally. This letter reflects additional facets of the transitional stage in the development of communication. The old patterns of correspondence still gave prevalence to the « story » over the « news », a preference that explains the long time period covered by the letter. On the other hand, Amalric assumed that the political elite of Christendom had to know the actual situation in the Levant, not just for the sake of curiosity, but for the defined purpose of contributing funds. Other contemporary letters, however, focused on more recent developments — namely, Raymond of Poitiers's death, Reynald of Chatillon's imprisonment, and the Christian defeat at Harenc — without making a clear distinction between Greeks and Moslems, both being identified as threats to the very existence of the Christian strongholds. During Saladin's advance (1177-1187), as well, there was a continuous interchange of letters with the political elite of Europe, whose assistance was desperately required. Again, the main communicators were the Masters of the Military Orders and the Christian princes *Outremer* [93].

In the juxtaposition of written and oral reports, messengers played a communication role besides their original duty as couriers [94]. At the beginning of June 1098, Emperor Alexius Commenos wrote to Cardinal Oderisio de Marsi, abbot of Mount Casino, and recounted the Crusaders' journey through the former's territory and the many troubles and expenses they had generated [95]. A contemporary chronicler, Petrus Diaconus, reports that the letter was brought to the monastery by a *kouropalates* (court official) named Johannes. On his way home, probably in August, the Byzantine officer carried the answer to the emperor as well as additional letters that the abbot had written to Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemond I of Antioch [96]. The tendency

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91. *Archives*, vol. 1, p. 386-87.

92. Additional data in William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XVII-9, p. 770-72 ; XVII-11, p. 775, ;XVII-15, p. 780 ; XVIII-34, p. 859-60 ; XIX-9, p. 874.

93. *Regesta*, n° 661 (August 1187), n° 662 (August 1187), n° 663 (Sept. 1187), n° 664 (end Sept. 1187).

94. See, for instance, the mission of Brother Arnulf, sent to Germany by Daimbert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in May or June 1100, *ut, donec Deus nobis de vestra gente et lingua latina adjutores mittat qui defendant Jherusalem, Bethlehem, Jopen, Tabariam, Samariam castrum S. Abrahae et Ramas, beati martyris Georgii sacratas, et alia insuper monumenta*, *Regesta, Additamentum*, n° 30 a.

95 *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100, op. cit.*, p. 152-53.

96. Petrus Diaconus, *Chronica*, *MGH SS*, 34, p. 485-86.

to use another party's messengers — in this particular case, Oderisio's use of imperial messengers — appears to have been quite widespread, since this procedure was, though less reliable, much cheaper. During the Second Crusade, after delivering Manuel I Comnenus's message to Louis VII, the emperor's messenger, Demetrius, returned home at once while his colleague, Maurus, remained with the Crusaders and eventually led their impressive delegation to Constantinople [97].

The important role of messengers is clearly indicated in contemporary letters, which besides making a general recommendation of the carriers, specifically mention their diplomatic functions and the trustworthiness to be expected from them. In his letter of September 1163, King Amalric acknowledged the many dangers of the route and asked the king of France to bestow full confidence in the oral report that his reliable messenger provided him [98]. The many dangers, whether coming from man or from nature, thus justified the parallel use of both oral and written messages, a widespread practice throughout the Middle Ages. In the words of the Templar Master, *singula malorum, quae Christiani Terrae Sanctae patiantur, latorem epistolae fratrem Templi enarraturum esse* [99]. Saladin himself wrote to Emperor Frederick I and to Pope Lucius III and mentioned the exchange of personal messengers between them [100]. In his account of the fall of Jerusalem into Saladin's hands, Patriarch Amaury of Antioch introduced to King Henry II of England his personal messengers, who would orally deliver more reliable information [101].

Sometimes the sources hint at the possibility that personal messengers orally transmitted all or a great part of their information, thus bringing the news to wider audiences [102]. In the spring of 1103, Bohemond I of Antioch announced through his messengers « how he had been ransomed from cap-

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97. It included, *inter alia,* Alvisus of Arras, Bartholomew, the chancellor, Archibald VII of Bourbon, Manasses of Bulles, Evrad of Breteuil, Anselm, the seneschal of Flanders, and Everard of Barres, the Master of the Temple. See Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

98. *PL*, 155, col. 1266.

99. *PL*, 155, col. 1270 ; *RHGF*, 16, p. 38.

100. *Regesta*, n° 598 (April 1182) ; n° 635 (1183).

101. *Regesta*, n° 664.

102. In his letter of October 1096, for example, Urban II required the religious of the congregation of Vallombrosa « to read this letter to the assembled monks and lay brothers and to let the other monasteries know its contents », W. Wiederhold, « Papsturkunden in Florenz », *op. cit.*, p. 314.

tivity and how the citizens of Antioch had joyfully received him » [103]. After his victory over Balak (1124), the Frankish leader Joscelin of Courtenay sent his adversary's head to Tyre and Jerusalem by a messenger « who announced and described the story to us all » [104]. Again, after the conquest of Tyre (July 1124) :

> « While we were waiting with ears open to learn any bit of news, behold ! three messengers arrived in great haste bearing letters from our patriarch [Gormond of Picquigny] announcing the capture of Tyre...When this was heard a most joyful clamor arose. The *Te Deum laudamus* was forthwith sung with exultant voices. Bells were rung, a procession marched to the Temple of God, and flags were raised on the walls and towns. Through all the streets many colored ornaments were displayed, thankful gestures made, the messengers suitably rewarded according to their deserts, the humble and the great mutually congratulated themselves, and the girls were delightful as they sang in chorus » [105].

We have here a faithful description of the importance of « audio-visual » channels of communication, the written word being but one component — and of a very limited scope — of a rich spectrum that included loud voices, songs, bells, processions, ornaments, and gestures. The parallel use of three messengers also hints at a common practice to send several copies of the same letter so as to assure reception [106]. In 1126, « while the king was still lingering at Tyre, a messenger arrived in haste from Antioch. He brought the news, *proparans litteris et viva voce astruit*, that Bursuqi, that unspeakable persecutor of our faith, had entered Syria with a large force of cavalry » [107]. When the king was in Tripoli (1137), « he was met by messengers from the prince of Antioch. They brought the ill tidings, *scriptis et viva voce asserentes* that the emperor was besieging Antioch - tidings which, alas, were

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103. *De domno autem Boamundo desiderabilis rumor exiit tunc divulgatus, quia de Turcorum custodia, Dei gratia, liberatus est. Ipse enim quomodo de captione redemptus exierat, per nuntium suum mandando notum fecit...*, Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, II-23, p. 407.

104. This messenger, who was Joscelin of Courtenay's squire, was rewarded with the arms of a knight, *ibid.*, III-31, p. 463.

105. *Ibid.*, III-34, p. 465-66.

106. King John Lackland, for instance, sent several copies of the same letter in 1205 to Pope Innnocent III through various messengers « because of the many perils of the ways », *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae... inter Reges Angliae,* ed. T. Rymer, 3rd ed., 1739-45, 40 vols. ; reprint Hants, Gregg Press, 1967, vol. I-1, p. 44.

107. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XIII-20, p. 612.

too true » [108]. We have here additional proof of the impact of oral delivery in contemporary society, with messages transmitted *viva voce* [109].

Though being a common component of the communication network, the mission of personal messengers to the west was regarded as a very difficult task, *cum magno labore* in the words of Amalric of Nesle [110]. Still, difficulties in actual practice were counterbalanced by the dependence of the Latin strongholds on the continuous, substantial assistance of Western Christendom. From the very beginnings of the Order, Templar leaders embarked on a series of « fund raising » journeys to the west. Between 1128 and 1130, Hugh of Payens alone traveled through Champagne, Anjou, Normandy, England, and Scotland, and then back to Flanders, probably returning east via the Rhone Valley and Marseilles [111]. Arnold of Torroja, the ninth master (1181-84), set out for the west in 1184 on an embassy with prominent Latin leaders. The plan was to visit Italy, Germany, France, and England in order to alert Christians of Saladin's threat ; but Arnold died at Verona at the very beginning of the mission (1184) [112]. The need to send only the most reliable, loyal men thus restricted the use of personal messengers to real emergencies, which actually were rather common in the annals of the Latin kingdoms. Geoffrey Foucher's letter to the King of France reflects the difficult alternatives. After writing twice between 11 August and 17 October 1164, about the disastrous state of the Christian armies, the Grand Commander of the Temple warned King Louis VII not to expect further messages. Because of the King of Jerusalem's sickness and the Templar Master's leave, the Christian strongholds in the Holy Land remained too weak to allow the dispatch of additional emissaries to the West [113].

Though the size of the delegations changed from time to time, it seems, as a rule, to have been rather considerable. King Amalric reported to Henri, Archbishop of Reims [114], about the honorable mission he had sent to the

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108. *Ibid.*, XIV-25, p. 664.

109. For a wider analysis, see M. Banniard, *Viva voce : Communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en Occident latin*, Paris, Institut des Etudes Augustiniennes, 1992, *passim*.

110. See above, notes 89, 91.

111. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XIII-26, p. 620.

112. M. Barber, « Supplying the Crusader States : The Role of the Templars », *op. cit.*, p. 314-26.

113. *PL*, 155, cols. 1279-80 ; *Regesta*, n° 382-84, 392, 394, 396, 399, 403-407, 410.

114. The king continued to keep the archbishop well informed while asking for his services to encourage an alliance between France and England, in order to strengthen their support of the Latin kingdoms. See *Regesta*, n° 497-98 (during 1173), *RHGF*, 15, p. 938-40.

west in 1169 [115], about which William of Tyre offers a most lively description :

> « It was deemed imperative, therefore, that an embassy chosen from distinguished dignitaries of the church be sent to the princes of the West to set forth with the utmost care the intolerable distress under which the kingdom was laboring....To undertake this mission, the Patriarch Hernesius, Archbishop of Caesarea, and William, Bishop of Acre...were unanimously selected....They carried with them letters from the king and all the bishops to Frederick, emperor of the Romans ; Louis, king of the Franks ; Henry, king of the English ; and William, king of Sicily ; also the nobles and illustrious counts, Philip of Flanders, Henry of Troyes, and Theobald II of Chartres — in fact, to all the other great nobles of the west. The night after their departure, however, a violent tempest suddenly broke forth ; the ship was tossed hither and yon, the oars were broken, and the masts thrown down. After three days, the envoys returned greatly terrified ; they had barely escaped shipwreck. Another delegation was therefore chosen and dispatched in place of the first. It consisted of Frederick, Archbishop of Tyre...and John, Bishop of Banyas...The two embarked under more fortunate auspices and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at their destination » [116].

No wonder, therefore, that King Baldwin IV warmly congratulated Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem, Arnold of Torroja, the Master of the Temple, and the Master of the Hospital for their successful arrival at Brundisium [117]. Notwithstanding the many dangers, however, missions to the west appear quite regularly, their aims almost identical, though the actual participants obviously changed. Thus, *ad a.* 1171, William of Tyre wrote that

« with the common consent of all, it was resolved that a delegation consisting of men of high rank be sent to explain the difficulties of the kingdom to the princes of the West and to ask their aid. The envoys were instructed to visit the pope and those illustrious lords, the emperor of the Romans, the kings of France, England, Sicily, and the Spains, and also other distinguished dukes and counts and implore their assistance in combating the imminent perils now threatening the kingdom » [118].

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115. *Regesta*, n° 464 (May 1169) ; *RHGF*, 16, p. 187-88.

116. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XX-12. This embassy eventually reached Rome in July and Paris in September 1169. See R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem, 1100-1291*, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

117. The king further used the ocassion to report to them about the recent advances made by Saladin. See *Regesta*, n° 638 (Sept. 1184).

118. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, XX-22, p. 941.



Analysis of communication developments up to the fall of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem leads to the conclusion that no new channels were found to assure a more efficient transmission of information. The colonial character of Crusader society left its mark on communication developments, while assuring the adoption of the archaic channels of communication existing in Europe on the eve of the First Crusade. The colonial character of the Latin principalities further marginalized the weight of more advanced communication channels, practiced in Moslem society. Regular mail services, like those operating in the neighboring Moslem states, remained completely extrinsic to the Crusaders' *Umwelt* [119]. The use of carrier-pigeons — a practice unknown in eleventh-century Europe but regularly used in the Latin Kingdom during the thirteenth century [120] —appears rather exceptional, the lone evidence of Moslem influence [121].

The continuation of communication practices suitable to feudal society vis-à-vis the new needs created by the Crusades and the Latin States and, no less important, the more advanced communication standards of Moslem society, create a paradox calling for further research. On the other hand, when examined in the framework of political, security, demographical, and economic factors, the communication contribution of the Crusades acquires new light. Against the localism that was inherent in feudal practice, a growing number of Europeans moved between Europe and the Levant during the twelfth century, their occupations requiring a constant exchange of information. The Crusades thus appear as an important catalyst for communication developments not only between the two Christian shores of the Mediterranean but, first and foremost, within Europe itself : the very crystallization of the Crusade depended on close coordination and information exchange between the pope and the secular leaders of Western Christendom and, in turn, between the latter and their vassals-in-chief. Though the technical level of transmission remained archaic, the significant growth in letter-exchange, the acceleration in information transmission, and perhaps above all, the new awareness of the crucial importance of delivering reliable information in the

119. S. D. Goitein, *Economic Foundations in A Mediterranean Society : The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo*, *Geniza*, Berkeley, BUP, 1967, vol. 1, p. 285-88.

120. According to Fulcher of Chartres, « It is a custom of the Saracens who live in Palestine to transport from one city to another pigeons trained to carry letters back to the city which was recently home to them. These letters, written on paper tied to the feet of the pigeons, instruct the finder and reader about what is to be done after that ». See Fulcher of Chartres, *op. cit.*, III-47, p. 474.

121. S. B. Edgington, « The Doves of War », in this volume.

shortest period of time combine to justify an approach to the Early Crusades and the Latin principalities that views them as an important catalyst in the emergence of a communication-oriented society. Being themselves a challenge, the Crusades and the Latin principalities thus provide new perspectives, while facing historians with new challenges of research.

Giuseppe LIGATO

THE POLITICAL MEANINGS OF THE RELIC OF THE HOLY CROSS among the Crusaders and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem : an example of 1185

The aim of this paper [1] is a new assessment, based on some neglected evidence, of certain aspects of the political meanings of the relic of the True Cross in the crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem until its missing in the battle of Hattin in 1187. We shall not consider the successive vicissitudes of the relic and of the kingdom, because we would elongate too much from the period whom this congress attends to ; moreover, after Hattin the Holy Cross (totally vanished in accordance with some sources ; partially recovered and reappeared at Acre during the Third Crusade and then at Damietta during the Fifth one, according to others) [2] acted again as a military insignia and a reli-

1. I wish to thank professor Michel Balard, who agreed to include my contribution in the print-proceedings of this congress.

2. *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M.L. De Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871, p. 170-171, 274 ; F. Tommasi, « I templari e il culto delle reliquie », in G. Minnucci, F. Sardi, (eds.), *I Templari : mito e storia*, Viti-Riccucci, Sinalunga-Siena, 1989, *passim* and espec. p. 194-195. Many directions are ascribed to the relic after the loss in 1187, also because it was perhaps furtherly parcelled after the capture by Saladin (as it had been many times before) ; but there was a diffuse consciousness of a definitive missing, notwithstanding a reappareance of a fragment as palladium of the kingdom and of the *milites Christi* during the crusades of 1190 and 1218-1219 : see below, note 28 and A. Frolow, *Recherches sur la déviation de la IVe croisade vers Constantinople*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1955, p. 67-69 ; *Id.*, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961 (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 7), p. 69-72 ; see also *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, [henceforth *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*], p. 65-66 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul...*, *loc. cit.* ; *The Crusade and Death of*

gious palladium among the crusaders, but became by far more distant from the political rituals and paraphernalia of the monarchs of the first kingdom of Jerusalem.

Immediately after its discovery during the occupation of the Holy City in 1099, the True Cross (not the entire tool of the Passion, already parcelled at least since the times of the empress Helen in IVth century, but a part sufficiently big as to be divided again in the course of the XIIth century ; the remaining part had soon be sent to Byzantium) [3] was used as a military insignia by the rulers of the new state, as it would have been until 1187 [4] ; this use had been preceeded by many religious and military traditions of the

Richard I, ed. R.C. Johnston, Oxford, 1961 (The Anglo-Norman Text Society. Anglo-Norman Texts, 17), p. 40 ; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica. Auctarium Mortui Maris*, ed. D.L.C. Bethmann, (MGH, Scriptores, VI), p. 467 ; *Regni Hierosolymitani brevis historia*, in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L.T. Belgrano (Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo. Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 11), I, p. 141-142 ; *The Letters of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R.B C. Huygens, Leiden, 1960, p. 103 ; Oliver, *Relatio de expugnatione Damiatina*, in *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannoverae, 1880 (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, 18), p. 325 ; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, 57, IV, p. 90, Marinus Sanudus, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, Parisiis, 1611, p. 198, 206-207 ; S. Painter, *The Third Crusade : Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus*, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, II, *The Later Crusades*, ed. R.L. Wolff, H.W. Hazard, Madison-Milwaukee-London, 1969, p. 69 ff. ; Tommasi, *op. cit.*, p. 195, J. Richard, « 1187 : point de départ pour une nouvelle forme de la croisade », in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, Jerusalem-London, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi-Israel Exploration Society-Variorum, 1992, p. 254-255 ; F. Suard, « Henri comte de Champagne et la troisième croisade (1190-1192) », dans Y. Bellenger, D. Quéruel (sous la direction de), *Les Champenois et la croisade*, Paris, Aux Amateurs de Livres, p. 50 ; C.T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades. Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, University Press, 1994 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 28), p. 14.

3. Had the relic undergone the first parcelling under Helen (division in two halves, carried respectively to Jerusalem and Byzantium) or before ? Contributions to the debate on this question and on early circulation of the bits in the West : St. Paulinus of Nola, *Epistolae*, in *Opera*, ed. G. De Hartel, Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1884 (CSEL, 29/1), p. 268 ; L.H. Vincent, F.H. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II, Paris, 1914, p. 198-199 ; C. Cecchelli, *Il trionfo della croce. La croce e i santi segni prima e dopo Costantino*, Roma, Edizioni Paoline, 1954, p. 171 ff. ; W.O Stevens, *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, New York, 1904, p. 16 ; N.U. Gallo, *La croce patriarcale della Basilica del S. Sepolcro di Barletta*, [...] p. 59 ff. ; F. Cardini, « *Reliquie e pellegrinaggi* », in *Id.*, *Gerusalemme d'oro, di rame e di luce. Pellegrini, crociati, sognatori d'Oriente fra XI e XV secolo*, Milano, il Saggiatore, 1991 (formerly in *Santi e demoni nell'Alto Medioevo occidentale*, Spoleto, 1989), p. 20-21, 28-29, Tommasi, *op. cit.*, p. 194 ; R L Wilken, *The Land called Holy. Palestine in Christian History and Thought*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, p. 82 ff. Also the Byzantine emperor Heraclius contributed to the parcellation : S. Spain, « The Translation of Relics Ivory, Trier », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31 (1977), p. 300 and 303.

4 See *infra*, *passim*. The role of Helen has been drastically reshuffled, but it is impossible to deny that worshipping of the Cross and of its scattered bits began in the IVth century : H.A. Drake, « Eusebius on the True Cross », *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), p. 1-2.

Byzantine empire and Western Europe[5], but in the West the relic assumed also the meaning of a device of propaganda in the preaching of new crusades.

The story of the wood of the Cross as a military palladium began long before the Crusades : it was used, in addition to the Byzantine empire, also in Visigothic Spain, Anglo-Saxon England, Carolingian Empire and other countries – always coherently with the normal display of relics in battle, especially against the enemies of Christian faith [6]. Pope Urban II stressed the value of the relic during his voyage in France in which took place the preaching of the First Crusade, and we may note the employment of the relic as insignia during the fighting march towards the Holy Land [7] ; but the most important fragment of the Holy Wood was found in Jerusalem in 1099 (the same one captured in 1187 by Saladin), whom the crusader sources considered the very piece recovered by the *basileus* Heraclius in 628, in his war against the Persians [8]. It was immediately adapted as a military *signum*.

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5. Byzantium : St. Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Anacreontica*, PG, LXXXVII/3, col. 3810, vv. 54 ff. and notes ; M. McCormick, *Vittoria eterna. Sovranità trionfale nella tarda antichità, a Bisanzio e nell'Occidente altomedioevale*, Milano, Vita e pensiero, 1993, p. 309 and *ibid.*, note 71 (orig. : *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in late Antiquity, Byzantium and Early Medieval West*, Cambridge-Paris, Cambridge University Press-Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1986) ; P.A. Nisin, « L'arrière-plan historique du 'Triomphe' de saint Lambert à Bouillon (1141) », *Le Moyen Age*, 89 (1983), p. 201 ff. ; Spain, *op. cit.*, p. 304. Western Europe : see below.

6. Visigothic Spain and early age of the Reconquista : J. Goni Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España*, Vitoria, 1958 (Victoriensia Publicaciones del Seminario de Vitoria, 4), p. 33-34 ; McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 384 ; D. Bullough, « *Imagines regum* » *and their Significance in the Early Medieval West* », in G. Robertson, G. Henderson (eds.), *Studies in Memory of David T. Rice*, Edinburgh, 1975, p 264 note 46 ; Anglo-Saxon-England : *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams Ab Ithel, Rolls Series, 20, p. 44 and 50 ; *infra*, note 31 ; Carolingian Empire : *Notitia Sancti Amandi*, ed. A. Hofmeister (MGH, Scriptores, XXX/2), p. 785. See also H.E.J. Cowdrey, « The Anglo-Norman 'Laudes Regiae' », *Viator*, 12 (1978), p. 60. After a victory against the king of Hungary, the emperor Henry III and his army prostrated themselves in front of a relic of the True Cross : C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, Princeton, University Press, 1977, p. 65-66 (orig. : *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart 1935).

7. On the True Cross in the campaign of the First Crusade see *infra*, note 15. On Urban II and the worshipping of the relic in the period of the council of Clermont : R. Crozet, « Le voyage d'Urbain II en France », *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), p. 42 ff. ; A. Gieysztor, « The Genesis of the Crusades : the Encyclical of Pope Sergius IV (1009-1012) », *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, 6 (1950), p. 21 ; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, « History, the Crusades and the Latin East, 1095-1204. A Personal View », in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, Leiden, 1993 (The Medieval Mediterranean, 1), p. 13. An early connection between the « proto-crusade » spirit and the Holy Cross as the insignia of the Christian warriors is available in the work of Aelfric, two centuries before the council of Clermont : C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588*, Chicago, University Press, 1988, p. 12

8. *Chronique d'Ernoul...*, p. 83 e 156. According with Gallo, *op. cit.*, p. 60, the piece recovered by Heraclius was carried to Byzantium and the one of Jerusalem is the same one which had been left by the empress Helena (see *supra*, note 3).

William of Tyre wrote that it was put in a *teca*, and according to him the Christian *milites* had found a *portio* of the relic (here is a further proof that it had lost long before the original shape) [9], though it continued to be called simply *crux* or *crois* in various sources [10] ; on the other hand, many bits of the Holy Wood continued to be detached from this Jerusalem fragment in the XII[th] century, and a great number of them were recorded in the West [11]. Moreover, various other pieces of the relic are attested in Jerusalem in the same period, especially those ones conserved in not catholic religious

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9. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 63-63A), p. 425. The relic had been put in a box of this kind already at the time of *basileus* Heraclius : Spain, *op. cit*., p. 301. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC, Hist. occ.*, III, p. 361 adds that this Holy Wood kept in the church of the Holy Sepulchre was cross-shaped, and Albert of Aix wrote that was cross-shaped also the reliquiary, but this custom was largely diffused — perhaps since the age of Helen Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana, ibid.*, IV, p. 488 ; *Regni Hierosolymitani brevis historia*..., p. 141 ; Christian of Mainz, *Liber de calamitate ecclesiae Moguntinae*, ed. H. Reimer (MGH, Scriptores, XXV), p. 240 ; Goni Gaztambide, *op. cit*., p. 33 ; A. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1965 (Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 8), *passim* ; H. Willlard, « The Staurotheca of Romanus of Monte Cassino », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 30 (1976), p. 55 ff. ; Tommasi, *op. cit*. p. 198-199. Theoderic wrote, according with his own witnessing, that the official crusading relic was *beati ligni maxima pars* : Vincent-Abel, *op. cit.*, II, Paris, 1914, p. 288. The bit conserved at Byzantium doesn't matter in this study, but it had to be bigger than the one conserved in the Holy City : apart from the pieces carried by Helen and Heraclius (see above and Teophanes of Byzantium, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, I, Lipsiae, 1883, p. 337 ; F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, III/2, Paris, 1914, coll. 3138-3139), the *basileus* Alexius wrote about *pars maxima ligni Crucis* worshipped at Byzantium in his famous letter to Robert of Flanders ; the authenticity of this text has been put in doubt, but a French chronicle quotes « grant partie de la voire croiz » about the Byzantium fragment ; Urban II, in his speech at Clermont, mentioned a *quaedam portio Crucis* in the same city. See *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Oeniponti, 1901, p. 134 ; P. Charanis, « Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade », *Byzantion*, 19 (1949), p. 26-27 ; Erdmann, *The Origin*..., p. 358. On the speech of Clermont see Hugh of St. Mary of Fleury-sur-Loire, *Itineris Hierosolymitani compendium*, in RHC/*Occ.*, V, p. 363.

10. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*..., p. 730, 799, 1032, 1042 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul*..., p. 156, 162, 170, 216, 274, 276 ; Conon de Béthune, *Ahi ! Amours, com dure departie*, v. 20 ; Renaut de Beauvais, *Pour lou pueple resconforteir*, v. 54 ; Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *Ara pot hom conoisser e proar*, v. 7 and 68 ; Aimeric de Peguilhan, *Ara parra qual seran enveyos*, v. 48 ; Guilhem Figueira, *Totz hom qui ben comensa e ben fenis*, v. 48, in *Canzoni di crociata*, ed. S. Guida, Parma, 1992, p. 55, 69, 203, 207, 221, 235 ; R. Hiestand, « Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich am Ende des 12. Jahrunderts », *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 73 (1993), p. 116 and 118.

11. *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius*, ed. R.H. Bautier, M. Gilles, Paris, 1979, p. 38 , J. Richard, *Quelques texts sur les premiers temps de l'Eglise latine de Jérusalem*, in *Recueil des travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, II, Paris, Société de l'Ecole des chartes, 1955 (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, 12), p 421 . Frolow, *Recherches*..., p. 66 ; Tommasi, *op. cit*. p. 192 note 4. On the recording of many fragments of the relic in the West see Frolow, *La relique*..., *passim* and below in this paper (bits of the relic in the lands of Henry Plantagenet).

houses [12], while the custody of the official Latin relic was deputed to the patriarch as the chief of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre [13].

The True Cross recovered during the conquest of Jerusalem was soon displayed in the battle of Ascalon [14], but it had been already the palladium of the crusaders during the Antioch campaign two years before [15], obviously as an application of well known Western customs, evidenced before and after the First Crusade – but the same statement must be done also in refferring to the Byzantine empire [16]. In a few time, it became not only the war insignia of the kingdom in war, but also a symbol of the Christian rule in the Holy Land as well as a basic element in local liturgy. The presence of the relic in the royal expeditions became soon quite normal and expected, its value as victory-maker was exalted in Eastern and Western chronicles and official correspondence [17] and a military failure could be attributed to the absence of the Holy Wood [18].

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12. Theoderic, *loc. cit.* : *magna portio* was kept by the Syriac clergy. Other pieces were kept by the Greek clergy, while in the Latin Church another fragment was an insignia of the knights Templars : Tommasi, *op. cit.*, p. 196, and *ibid*, note 24 ; R.B. Bose, « The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187-1260 », in *The Horns of Hattin...*, p. 240.

13. See *infra*, note 37. I am quite sure that the bits abstracted from the relic in XII[th] century and carried in Western Europe were often taken from the « Latin » main fragment, though the one carried in Paris in 1109 was a gift from the Georgian patriarchate : Frolow, *Recherches...*, p. 64-66.

14. Pierre Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, in *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, III, p. 113 ; Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana...*, p. 491 ; Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, *ibid.*, p. 106 ; *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, *ibid.*, III, p. 517.

15. *Epistulae et chartae...*, p. 160 (letter of Anselm of Ribemont to Manasses archbishop of Reims) : *...lancia Domini praeeunte et ligno Dominico*. The letter of the clergy and people of Lucca on the same battle (*ibid.*, p. 166) states that the Christians displaied *crux et... Saluatoris lancea*, and pope Paschal II too (*ibid.*, p. 178) mentions the Holy Lance and the True Cross together as relics carried in battle at Antioch. See also *infra*, note 27. In the same period, Baldwin of Boulogne had found two more fragments among the Christians of Armenia : *Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse*, in RHC/*Documents armeniens*, I, p. 38.

16. Western customs : see above, note 6, and Reiner of St. Laurent in Liège, *Triumphale Bulonicum*, in *Opera*, ed. W. Arndt (MGH, Scriptores, XX), p. 586-587 ; *Triumphus sancti Lamberti de Castro Bullonio*, ed. W. Arndt, *ibid.*, p. 503-506, 508-510. Byzantine empire in the twelfth century : Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi, RIS², VII/1, p. 267 ; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series, 66, p. 201 ; P. Lamma, *La spedizione di Giovanni Comneno in Cilicia ed in Siria in un panegirico inedito di Michele Italico*, in *Id.*, *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto medioevo. Studi storici sulle due civiltà*, Padova, Editrice Antenore, 1968 (Medioevo e umanesimo, 5), p. 358 (from *Memorie dell'Accademia delle scienze di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali*, S. IV, 4 [1952]).

17. *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, III, p. 517, 528, 541 ; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, *ibid.*, p. 392, 442-448 ; Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana...*, *ibid.*, IV, p. 544, 550, 551 ; William of Tyre, *Chronicon...*, p. 560, 564, 669, 724, 729, 730, 762, 790, 799, 842, 936, 950, 990, 1000, 1030, 1032, 1042 ; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, V, Oxford, 1975, p. 348 ; Godfrey, *Vitae I*

There is a moment in the history of the True Cross as a military insignia, in which we can find the complete pool of its meanings. In 1185, a mission from Jerusalem was led by the patriarch Heraclius and the *magistri* of the Temple and the Hospital, in order to induce the king of England, Henry II Plantagenet, to leave for a crusade and also to accept the *dominium* over the kingdom of Jerusalem. The offer was corroborated by the presentation of the royal banner and the keys of Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre and Tower of David (some sources mention the crown — *diadema* — also). Ralph de Diceto wrote that to the king was given also a *vexillum sanctae crucis* [19]. Which is the meaning of these words ? Ralph doesn't mention the royal banner as other authors do, and since the *vexillum* of the kingdom of Jerusalem was probably embellished by a cross, the *vexillum crucis* quoted by the English historian may be this political symbol ; but it should not be the only case of a chronicler who makes a mistake in reporting all the *signa* presented by the patriarch. Banner and relic don't exclude each other : Heraclius could carry the banner *and* the piece of the True Cross [20]. Gerald de Barri mentions also a *martium signum* among the gifts, besides the royal banner, and this isolate

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sancti Bernardi liber tertius, PL, CLXXXV/1, col. 366-367 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul...*, p. 100 ; Frolow, *Recherches...*, p. 67 note 3 ; *Id.*, *La relique...*, p. 287-291 ; H.E. Mayer, « Le service militaire des vassaux à l'étranger et le financement des campaignes en Syrie du Nord et en Egypte au XII[e] siècle », in *Id.*, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1984 (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, N.s., 5), p. 116-118 (see also the other examples quoted in this study). In 1120 the refusal opposed by the patriarch about the delivery of the relic for a campaign became a State affair : H.E. Mayer, « Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudoin II », *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Paris, 1980 [1981], *passim* (also in *Id.*, *Probleme des lateinischen Konigreichs Jerusalem*, London, 1983) and *Id.*, « Le service militaire... », p. 128-129. On the evidence concerning the role ascribed to the relic in the battle of Montgisard in 1177, see below and *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover. 1880 (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum. 18), p. 129. An example of epic poetry is very near the time of the mission led by the patriarch (*Chanson d'Aspremont*) : D.A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1988, p. 78-80 ; P. Bancourt, *Les musulmans dans les chansons de geste du « Cycle du roi »*, I, Aix-en-Provence, 1982, p. 123 ss.

18. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series, 82, I, p. 244 ; « Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XII[e]-XIII[e] siécle) », ed. C. Kohler, in *Id.*, *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient latin et des croisades*, I, Paris 1900, p. 304 ; Mayer, « Le service militaire... », p. 116-118.

19. Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, in *Id.*, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 68, II, p. 33. A more complete examination of the deeds of the mission in Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 38 ff. ; G. Ligato, « Il *magister* ospedaliero Ruggero Des Moulins nella crisi finale del regno latino di Gerusalemme (1182-1187) », in phase of printing in *Antonianum*.

20. See note 19 and Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 51, II, p. 299 ; Giraldus de Barri, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, in *Id.*, *Opera*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock, G.F Warner, Rolls Series, 21, V, p. 361 ; *Id.*, *De principis instructione*, *ibid.*, VIII, p. 203 ; *Id.*, *De rebus a se gestis*, *ibid.*, I, p. 60 ; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi, auctore Benedicti abbatis Petriburgensis*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 49, I, p. 335, 336. On the cross on the banner of the kings of Jerusalem · Andrew Dandolo, *Chronica*, ed. E. Pastorello, RIS[2], XII/1, p. 232 (but

quotation may refer to the relic as war insignia [21] ; Charles the Great too, in receiving the keys of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre from an embassy sent by the Greek patriarch, had been given a *vexillum* or *vexillum crucis* that was a relic of the True Cross according to some sources and studies ; the date is not absolutely certain, but the emperor had a fragment of the Holy Wood as it is written in an independent source [22].

Examining the words used by Ralph de Diceto, we must note the normal custom of naming *vexillum crucis* the wood of the cross of Christ in the Middle Ages, also before the Crusades. We shall not stress on obvious quotations as the *Vexilla regis prodeunt* of Venantius Fortunatus, because our research concerns just the *relic* of the Holy Wood as the whole instrument of the Passion of Christ or its bits, and not the *symbol* of the Cross ; a conscious distinction between the *signum* of the cross and the relic is attested in IVth century already, and it could be used as a political device by court historians as Eusebius of Caesarea, as well as a proof of the changeable « preference » for the cross as the symbol of the victory of Christ rather than of His suffering ; at any rate, it will be necessary to pay some attention to other possible meanings of Ralph's words in the context of the crusade preached in 1185.

In poems, chronicles, letters, prayers and so on, the Holy Wood was already called *vexillum* or *vexillum* [*sanctae, salutiferae, vivificae, Dominicae*]

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the author wrote in a period in which the kings of Jerusalem used the cross as a symbol in their coins, as we can see on the Angevin *carlino* introduced since 1277, and he may have transferred the usages of his own time to the previous century). Other authors who fail in reporting the entire list of insignia : *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, ed. M. Salloch, Greifswald, 1935, p. 53 ; *The Crusade and Death of Richard I...*, p. 3. It is useful to note that in front of the *signa*, Henry II *maximam venerationem exhibuit* : Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, in *Opera* ..., II, p. 33.

21. Giraldus de Barri, *Expugnatio Hibernica* ..., p. 361 ; *Id*., *De principis instructione...*, p. 203.

22. Some sources quote a *vexillum lancea* and a *vexillum argenteum*, but it is likely that at any rate Charles received *reliquiae* from the Holy Land in that occasion and a bit of the Holy Wood in his life : *Annales regni Francorum (Annales Laurissenses maiores-Annales Einhardi)*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannover, 1895 (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, 6), p. 108, 112-113 ; Regino of Prum, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannover, 1890 (*ibid*, 50), p. 62 ; *Annales Altahenses maiores*, ed. W. Von Giesebrecht, L.B. D'Oefele, Hannoverae-Lipsiae, 1891 (*ibid*, 4), p. 4 ; *Annales Laurissenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz (MGH, Scriptores, I), p. 188 ; *Annales Northumbranenses (excerpta)*, ed. R. Pauli (MGH, Scriptores, XIII), p. 156 ; *Chronicon Moissiacense-Anianense*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *ibid.*, I, p. 305. Debate about these texts in A. Kleinclausz, « La légende du protectorat de Charlemagne sur la Terre Sainte », *Syria*, 7 (1926) p. 217, *ibid.*, note 2, 218 ; L. Bréhier, « Charlemagne et la Palestine », *Revue historique*, 53 (1928), p. 283-284, 284 note 1 ; Frolow, *La relique...*, p. 68, 198, 199, 200, 206 ; A.H. Bredero, « Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval », in P. Gallais, J.C. Riou (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, I, Poitiers, Société d'études médiévales, 1966, p. 263 ; L.H. Vincent, « Le protectorat de Charlemagne sur la Terre Sainte », *Revue biblique*, 36 (1927), *passim*. On fragments possessed by Charles the Great see also *Notitia sancti Amandi* ..., p. 785 and Gieysztor, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

crucis before the Crusades, by authors concerned with the Jerusalem fragment [23] or the whole or parcelled relic as worshipped in the West [24] ; after the recovery of the Jerusalem fragment in 1099, the custom continued in the works of Peter Abaelard, Peter the Venerable and Otto of Freising [25]. The relic as military insignia had soon be called *vexillum crucis* in a metaphorical sense [26], and the custom was often corroborated after 1099, as we can see in texts concerning the wars in Holy Land, composed by more or less direct witnesses : the « military » relic of the Cross is called *vexillum sanctae crucis* in a speech ascribed to king Baldwin I, *dominicae crucis vexillum* in the

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23. Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann, G. Waitz, MGH, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX, Hannoverae, 1878, IV, 36, p. 128 ; John the Deacon, *Cronaca veneziana*, in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo (Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo. Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 9), I, p. 77 ; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-Le-Vif...*, p. 38 (notes). See also the quotation from Rabanus Maurus in note 24. On Eusebius : Drake, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

24. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei libri quattuor*, PL, XXVI, col. 217 (*vexillum martyrii*) ; Aurelius Prudentius, *Carmina*, ed. M.P. Cunningham, Turnholti, 1966 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 126), p. 162 and 164 ; Alcuinus, *Carmina*, in MGH, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dummler, Berolini, 1881 (*Poetae latini medii aevi*, 1), p. 344 ; Rabanus Maurus, *Homiliae de festis praecipuis, ad Haistulfum archiepiscopum*, PL, CX, col. 134 ; *Ex translatione sanguinis Domini*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, Scriptores, IV, p. 447 ; *Die Prosen der Abtei St. Martial zu Limoges, aus Troparien des 10., 11. und 12. Jahrunderts*, ed. G.M. Dreves, Leipzig, 1889 (Analecta hymnica medii aevi, 7 : *Prosarium Lemovicense*), p. 105 ; *Carte di Fonte Avellana*, ed. C. Pierucci, A. Polverari, I, Roma, 1972, doc. 13, p. 32 ; *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. F. Behrends, Oxford, 1976, p. 244 (both meanings in the same word : *lignum* and *signum*, while other authors use them in different texts : see the quotations from the letters of Alexander III and Henry of Albano on the crusader symbol in this study) ; St. Peter Damiani, *Sermones*, ed. G. Lucchesi, Turnholti, 1983 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 57), p. 109 and 295 (other quotations by st. Peter Damiani concern the *vexillum crucis* as symbol, not as the Wood : see *ibid.*, p. 110 ff.) ; Frolow, *La relique...*, p. 215. The *Vexilla regis prodeunt* by Venantius may have been a pattern soon extended (maybe by the very Venantius, in accordance with Franco Cardini) from the symbol to the Wood : indeed, the hymn was connected to the worship of the True Cross in Cluny liturgy in XII^h century, and to the general symbol of the cross in XVth century : Venantius Fortunatus, *Opera poetica*, ed. F. Leo, MGH, Auctores antiquissimi, IV/1, p. 34 ; B.B. Heim, *Coutumes et droit héraldiques de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1949, p. 161 ; R.G. Heath, *« Crux imperatorum philosophia ». Imperial Horizons of the Cluniac « Confraternitas », 964-1109*, Pittsburgh, 1976 (Pittsburgh Theological Monographs Series, 13), p. 148-149 ; Cardini, *op. cit.*, p. 28. At the end of XII^h century, Sicard of Cremona wrote quoting Venantius : *...nostrum vexillum est sanctae crucis mysterium... Vexillo simul cum cruce in altaribus utimur in memoriam trophaei Domini nostri Jesu Christi ; quia Dominus a Ligno regnavit...*, Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale seu de officiis ecclesiasticis summa*, PL, CCXIII, col. 55 (italics are mine).

25. Peter Abaelard, *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, ed. J. Szoverffy, Albany, 1975 (Mediaeval Classics. Texts and Studies, 3), II, p. 141 and 143 ; *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, I, Cambridge (Mass.) 1967 (Harvard Historical Studies, 78), p. 17 ; Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister, Hannoverae-Lipsiae, 1912 [2] (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, 45), p. 240.

26. Aurelius Prudentius, *Carmina...*, p. 162 and 164.

chronicle of Fulcherius of Chartres, *salutiferae crucis vexillum* and *sanctae crucis vexillum* in letters to the king of France from Bertrand of Blanchefort *magister* of the Temple and Godfrey Fulcherius *miles* of the same Order ; *vexillum crucis dominice, immo crux dominica* in other documents from the Holy Land issued in 1187 [27]. The same words we find in various descriptions of the deeds of *Outremer* composed in the West during the XII[th] century ; and pope Alexander III, writing to the *magister* of the Hospital of St. John that the Order had to avoid autonomous campaigning, chose these words : [The Order must avoid fighting] *nisi forte tunc vexillum sanctae Crucis aut pro defensione regni aut pro obsidione alicujus civitatis paganorum delatum fuerit*, so equalizing royal campaigning with the relic [28]. The custom is

27. Speech of Baldwin (with other quotations) : *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium...*, p. 517, 528 and 541 ; Bertrand of Blanchefort and Godfrey Fulcherius : *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (1097-1291)*, ed. R. Rohricht, I, Oeniponti, 1893, doc. 404 e 407, p. 106 ; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana...*, p. 448 ; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere...*, p. 26 (this quotation concerns the deeds of 1097, when Jerusalem was still in Muslim hands ; but the author wrote after the conquest and a relic of the Holy Wood was used by the crusader army before the fall of the city : see above) ; Hiestand, *op. cit.*, p. 116 and 118 ; on the relic carried in battle *pro vexillo* : Anonymus of Florennes, *Brevis narratio belli sacri*, RHC/*Occ.*, V, p. 372 ; *Die lateinische Fortsetzung...*, p. 56 ; *Gesta regis...*, I, p. 342 ; Roger of Howden, *Chronica...*, II, p. 307 ; Frolow, *La relique...*, p. 257. A *vexillum sanctae crucis* is quoted among *alia signa* of the Christian army near Antioch : *Gesta Adhemari, episcopi Podiensis*, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, V, p. 355 ; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre de Puy* (*Chronicon S. Petri Aniciensis*), ed. A. Molinier, Paris, 1884, p. 164. It could be the *lignum Dominicum* noted above, note 15 (in another text concerning this battle we read just *crux* : *Epistulae et chartae...*, p. 167).

28. On Peter of Blois and other English authors see *infra*. Godfrey, *Vitae I sancti Bernardi...*, col. 366-367 ; *Vexillum militiae christianae* in Henry of Albano : *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris et quidam alii rerum gestarum fontes eiusdem expeditionis*, ed. A. Chroust, Berlin, 1928 (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, N.s., 5), p. 11 ; = letter of Henry to the German Christendom, PL, CCIV, col. 249. Henry was aware of the meaning of the word *vexillum* also as crusader symbol : *ibid.*, col. 215-216. Authors at the court of Henry II Plantagenet are quoted below. Alexander III : *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, I, Paris, 1904, doc. 527, p. 360-361. The *vexillum crucis* quoted by Alexander III in his letter to the *magister Hospitalis* could not be a royal banner emblazoned with a cross : otherwise the pope would have named explicitly the banner, in order to avoid mistakes. His point of view was the same as the one of Bertrand of Blanchefort, Godfrey Fulcherius and others. In another letter he named *fidei vexillum* the symbol of the crusaders (PL, CC, col. 600 ; JL, 11637), but he was not the sole author who used two different meanings : see Peter of Blois, *Passio Reginaldi principis Antiocheni*, in *Opera...*, col. 959 and 968 (the Christian symbol and the relic carried by the army of *Outremer*) ; *Epistolae...*, col. 337 : here again *vexillum fidei*). Nor could the *vexillum crucis* quoted in the *Cartulaire* be a generic symbol, because Alexander would have otherwise allowed an undiscriminate campaigning, and he meant the contrary. A *vexillum crucis* is quoted as Christian palladium at Damietta, during the Fifth Crusade : *Liber duelli Christiani in obsidione Damiatae exacti*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, Scriptores, XXXI, p. 687. It had been put on a wheeled vehicle, so it should have been a banner with a cross (see also *supra*, note 20), but other sources mention a fragment of the Holy Wood in the same campaign (1217-1220) : the *vexillum sancte et vere* [heavy types are mine] *crucis* cannot be anything else than the relic, and also a *vera crux cum vexillo* is mentioned. See *Gesta*

attested not only in latin sources but also in the French chronicles of the Christian East [29].

We may not be sure that some *vexilla crucis* carried in battle in the West were bits of the Holy Wood (every cross-shaped thing could be called in this way in the Middle Ages, and the sign of the cross was a normal Christian symbol in war), but fragments were carried by European armies before and after the conquest of Jerusalem, there is evidence of this not only in the Holy Land and the definition of *vexillum crucis* appears precocious in the West [30].

The relic was obviously renowned and worshipped in all Europe, and in the kingdom of England there was full knowledge of evidence concerning the relations between the relic – also as war insignia – and the predecessors of Henry Plantagenet (Anglo-Saxon kings, the counts of Anjou and Stephen of Blois), as well as the presence of worshipped fragments of the Holy Wood in the insular and French lands of the same king [31] ; the legendary use of its fragments in war was ascribed to king Arthur too, whom Henry tried to

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obsidionis Damiatae, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. R. Rohricht, Genève, 1879 (Publications de la Société de l'Orient latin. Série historique, 2), p. 112 ; John de Tolve, *De domino Johanne rege Ierusalem*, *ibid*, p. 140 ; just *vexilla sanctae crucis ibi*, p. 120, 135, 136, 163 ; more outspoken statements in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, Douai, 1624, p. 1260 ; Marinus Sanudus, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis...*, p. 191, 198, 206-207 and here, notes 2 and 44). Another quotation of the True Cross as *vexillum crucis* in XIII[h] century : *Gesta sancti Ludovici noni, Francorum regis, auctore monacho sancti Dionysii anonymo*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, p. 51.

29. *Gonfanon de la Sainte Crois* : *La Regle des Templiers*, ed. L. Dailliez, Nice, 1977, p. 162 ; *L'estoire de Eracles...*, RHC/*Occ.*, II, p. 53 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul...*, p. 162.

30. *Vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, ed. R. Kopke, MGH, Scriptores, XII, p. 863, 873, 877 ; James de Guise, *Annales historiae illustrium principum Hanoniae*, ed. E. Sackur, *ibid*, XXX/1, p. 174 and 175. See here, *passim*.

31. *Annales Cambriae...*, p. 44 and 50 ; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, in *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen...*, III, p. 163, 165, 189, 192 ; Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 15-16 ; L. Hibbard-Loomis, « The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and King Athelstan : the Lances of Longinus and St. Mauricius », *Speculum*, 25 (1950), p. 441, 448-449 ; Frolow, *Recherches...*, p. 66 ; Bredero, *op. cit.*, p. 263 ; J.J.G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel, 996-1100*, Oxford, 1970, p. 146 and 149 ; F. Avril, X. Barral y Altet, D. Gaborit-Chopin, *I regni d'Occidente*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1984 (Il mondo della figura, 20), p. 300 and fig. 376 (orig. : *Les royaumes d'Occident*, Paris, Gallimard, 1983). Fulk of Anjou, grandfather of Henry and king of Jerusalem, had carried a bit of the Holy Wood put by Henry in a reliquiary : J. Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*, Paris, 1928, p. 204 and *ibid.*, note 7. Around 1150 Guy de Blaon had carried two more fragments from the East to the abbey of Grandmont, held in high respect by the Plantagenets, but the relative source is not quite convincing : *Scriptores ordinis Grandimontensis*, ed. J. Becquet, Turnhout, 1968 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 8), p. 215 ; E.M. Hallam, « Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont », *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), *passim* ; Kohler, *Mélanges...*, I, p. 247 ; *Id.*, « Documents inédits concernant l'Orient latin et les croisades », *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 7 (1900), p. 3-6.

imitate as *pater patriae* [32] ; English crusaders in 1147, at the siege of Lisbon, had already used the relic in fighting and knew the custom to call it *vexillum crucis*, and Henry II had received rich accounts of the victories gained by the Christians in Holy Land in virtue of the display of the True Cross, quoted by court historians as Peter of Torigni and Roger of Howden : above all, battles as the one fighted at Montgisard in 1177 had been carefully and officially described near the English court by letters from the Holy Land and registered in contemporary English chronicles, in which the victory-maker palladium is called *vexillum crucis* : the *vexillum Dominicum* quoted by William of Newburgh in his account of the same battle must be nothing else than the relic, but the most convincing proof is given by the very Ralph of Diss, who names *Dominicae crucis vexillum* the relic carried at Montgisard, before using the words *vexillum sanctae crucis* in order to define the gift carried by Heraclius to the Plantagenet court in 1185 [33]. Peter of Blois also, who was near the same court at the time of the passage of the patriarch, called *salutis humanae vexillum* the relic of the Cross used by the Christians until the defeat at Hattin, also reporting the words of Reginald of Chatillon a very short time after the mission of Heraclius ; another direct witness, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, wrote *militie vexillum* in his *Sermo de sancta cruce* voted to the relic [34]. Henry had also been given other bits of the True Cross in two preceeding circumstances at least, and in one of these the sender had been Amalric, the predecessor of Baldwin IV as king of Jerusalem [35].

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32. *Eulogium Britanniae sive Historia Britonum, auctore Nennio*, in *Monumenta historica Britannica, or Materials for the History of Britain, from the Earliest Period to the End of the Reign of King Henry VII*, I, ed. H. Petrie, [London] 1848, p. 73. On the image of king Arthur at the court of Henry II : T. Jones, « The early Evolution of the Legend of Arthur », *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 8 (1964), *passim* ; B. Schmolke-Hasselmann, « Henry Plantagenet, roi d'Angleterre, et la gènese d'"Erec et Enide" », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 24 (1981), p. 241-246.

33. On the siege of Lisbon : Osbern, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, in *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 38/1, p. clxxiv ; Robert de Torigni, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen...*, IV, p. 194 ; Roger of Howden, *Chronica...*, p. 132-133 ; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum...*, p. 242 ; Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum...*, in *Opera...*, I, p. 423 ; II, p. 33. On the battle of Montgisard see also *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani ...*, I, doc. 564, p. 150.

34. Peter of Blois wrote to the archbishop of York : *Vidimus et presentes fuimus ubi regnum Palestinae patri vestro... est oblatum* (*Epistolae*, in *Opera*, PL, CCVII, col. 340), and he could refer only to the offer of the kingdom of Jerusalem by the patriarch in 1185 (see above, notes 19 and 20). His quotation of the relic is given in the *Passio Reginaldi principis Antiocheni* (col. 959 and 968), written at the papal court : M. Markowski, « Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade », in *The Horns of Hattin...*, p. 263-265. On archbishop Baldwin : Baldwin of Ford, *Opera (Sermones - De commendatione fidei)*, ed. D.N. Bell, Turnholti, 1991 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis, 99), p. 127 : *militie vexillum.*

35. See below.

Had the ambassadors any particular aim to take the relic to the Plantagenet court [36] ? We may find here another pool of meanings referred to the True Cross, especially in that troubled period of the kingdom of Jerusalem ; and examining not more the object but the act, it is possible to find more proofs of the identity between the *vexillum sanctae crucis* of Ralph de Diceto and the relic of the Holy Wood.

The relic carried by Heraclius could be the whole palladium of the royal army of *Outremer* or a fragment detached from it ; in both cases, the gift proceeded from that part of the True Cross preserved by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, who mantained this prerogative according with the papal confirmation ; but Heraclius had full control over the relic as well as over the clergy of the Saint Sepulchre (like his colleagues before him), and when in 1187 king Guy of Lusignan needed the Cross for a campaign, he asked for it to the patriarch. Otherwise, the fragment presented to Henry II came from the one preserved at the court of the kings of Jerusalem. Indeed, the relic was worshipped in various Christian medieval courts and king Amalric kept a bit to carry in battle, not as the official palladium but as a personal talisman (suspended about the neck) [37].

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36. The ambassadors had previously visited pope Lucius III, Frederick I Barbarossa and Philip II Augustus, but they had not offered to anyone of these authorities the *signa* of the Holy Land, with the partial exception of the king of France to whom had been presented solely the keys of Jerusalem. Alexander Cartellieri wrote that Philip had received also a *Kreuzesfahne* (that is, a *vexillum crucis*), but no evidence of this is available in any source : Ligato, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; A. Cartellieri, *Philipp II Augustus, Konig von Frankreich*, II, Leipzig, 1900, p. 20.

37. On the relic, Holy Sepulchre and papal confirmation of patriarchal prerogatives : William of Tyre, *Chronicon...*, p. 456, 619-620 ; *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, ed. J. von Pflugk-Harttung, III, Graz, 1958 (reprint of 1886 issue), doc. 322, p. 293 ; JL, 14681 ; B.Z. Kedar, *The Patriarch Heraclius*, in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail, Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982, p. 189 ; *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier, Paris, 1984 (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 15), *passim* and particularly p. 280 e 294 ; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church*, London, Variorum, p. 52 ff., 61, 62, 69-70, 79 and 129. The case of Guy of Lusignan is recorded in *L'estoire de Eracles...*, II, p. 46 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul...*, p. 154-155 ; on the relic in royal courts : see in this study the references concerning Charles the Great, Henry III, Henry IV ; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum...*, p. 201 ; *Die Ordines fur die Weihe und Kronung der Kaisers und der Kaiserin*, ed. R. Elze, Hannover, 1960 (Fontes juris Germanici antiqui, in usum scholarum, 9), doc. 13, p. 34 ; *Die Regesten der Erzbischofe von Koln im Mittelalter*, ed. F. Oediger, R. Knipping, W. Kinsky, I/4, Bonn 1958 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft fur Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 21), p. 255 ; Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum imperatorem libri VII*, ed. K. Pertz, MGH, Scriptores, XI, p. 602 ; Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, in *Opera*, ed. G. Waitz, *ibid.*, XXII, p. 272 ; Nisin, *op. cit.*, p. 206-208 ; P.E. Schramm, « Lo stato post-carolingio e i suoi simboli del potere », in *I problemi comuni dell'Europa post-carolingia*, II, Spoleto, 1955 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2), p. 182-184. In the kingdom of Jerusalem : Godfrey, *Vitae I sancti Bernardi...*, col. 366-367 ; Frolow, *Recherches...*, *op. cit.*, p. 67. See also A. Lipinski, *Le insegne regali dei sovrani di Sicilia e la scuola orafa palermitana*, in *Atti*

The relic of the Holy Cross was perfectly suitable for the meaning of the mission. The very patriarch of Jerusalem was often the relic-bearer in war ; Heraclius would have refused to leave with the army for the campaign of 1187 (which ended at Hattin), but many of his predecessors had made this duty. He also did, in other occasions, but though Heraclius was not the first patriarch to appoint a vicar for this duty, he would have been severely rebuked for his refuse in 1187, because it was expected that the first ecclesiastical authority of *Outremer* went with the army in the most important expeditions as *vexillifer* of the Cross. This may stress the role of the prelate as a sollicitor of military aid from the king of England [38] ; but the relic was also, as we have seen, the guarantee of the sacred rulership of the court of Jerusalem, and therefore its presence among the other *signa* is coherent with the offer of the *dominium regni*, though it is unlikely that the court of king Baldwin IV was decided to propose anything else than a new crusade [39]. Anyhow, the presentation of a relic was an appreciated diplomatic use in the Middle Ages, and Henry Plantagenet was perhaps expected to act as like crusader as like arbitrator in the controversy for the succession on the throne of Jerusalem : he was the monarch from whom the best aid was expected, owing to his means and his ties of blood with the Jerusalem dinasty [40].

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del Congresso internazionale di studi sulla Sicilia normanna (Palermo, 4-8 dicembre 1972), Palermo, 1973, p. 186 ff. and fig. 9 ; Frolow, *La relique*..., p. 257. In the abbey of Cluny in XII[th] century, the Holy Cross was strictly connected to royal insignia in Palm Sunday liturgy : Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149. The knights of the Temple and of the Hospital of St. John could usually supply an escort for the relic, and perhaps the Templars also had a fragment of their own as war palladium : Tommasi, *op. cit.*, p. 195-196.

38. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*..., p. 442 ; Anonymus of Florennes, *Brevis narratio*..., p. 372 ; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*..., p. 1032 ; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*..., II, p. 132-133 ; *L'estoire de Eracles*..., II, p. 46 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul*..., p. 155-156 ; Kedar, *op. cit.*, p. 180-181 and notes ; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 61, 62, 79 and 129. Some authors were ill-disposed towards the patriarch, but the criticism against Heraclius was possibly based also on the fact that his vicars at Hattin as relic-bearers, the bishops of Lydda and Acre, had been captured and killed respectively : J. Richard, « An Account of the Battle of Hattin Referring to the Frankish Mercenaries in Oriental Moslem States », *Speculum*, 27 (1952), p. 176 ; B.Z. Kedar, « Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187 », *Deutsches Archiv fur Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 38 (1982), p. 120-121.

39. Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff. ; Ligato, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

40. Relics and political gifts in the Middle Ages : B. Paradisi, *Storia del diritto internazionale nel medio evo*, I, Milano, 1940, p. 319 ; P. Golinelli, « Sulla successione a Gregorio VII : Matilde di Canossa e la sconfitta del riformismo intransigente », in *A Ovidio Capitani. Scritti degli allievi bolognesi*, Bologna, Pàtron, 1990, p. 74-75. See above the example of the gifts to Charles the Great. Henry II designated as arbitrator : *supra*, note 39. According to another medieval praxis the relic could serve as the sacred guarantee of an oath ; and Stephen of Tournai, who was in the same period near the French court, wrote that the crusade vow could be guaranteed in this way : J.A. Brundage, « The Votive Obligations of Crusaders : the Development of a Canonistic Doctrine », *Traditio*, 24 (1968), p. 83. Heraclius could display the True Cross in order to obtain from the king of England a new engagement *pro regno Hierosolymitano*, after the many promises not yet accomplished : H.E. Mayer, « Henry II of England and the Holy Land », *English Historical Review*, 97 (1982), p. 721 ff. ; Tyerman,

Among the various meanings of the presence of the True Cross as a gift for Henry Plantagenet, there was another one on which Heraclius, king Baldwin IV and the *magnates regni* certainly agreed, and which could explain the use of this kind of *vexillum crucis* in 1185 : the Holy Wood as symbol of the crusade. In 1169 and 1173 or 1174 the bishops John of Paneas and Bernard of Lydda had participated in similar missions in the West, above all near the Plantagenet court, in order to sollicit a crusade, and they had carried fragments of the True Cross as *memoralia* of the Passion and of the Holy Land. A XIIth century Norvegian *antemensale* (Museum of Bergen) shows the recovery of the True Cross by the *basileus* Heraclius as an anticipation and an example of the Christian monarch as a « humble et obedient servant of the Church », and also Henry II is presented by various sources (included a letter from Lucius III carried by the patriarch in 1185) as particularly obliged to crusading through his preceeding engagements and oaths [41]. The act of Heraclius had then a tradition and an historical background, and the same explanation is allowed if we consider a more ordinary aim : the rescue of the relic, or at least of a bit, on account of the risk of a fall of the Crusader states. A few men doubted of the crisis of the Latin East in the first half of the Eighties of the XIIth century : William of Tyre had added to his description of the institutional crisis of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1183-1184 a worried analysis of the military situation, and his prophecy would prove itself exact after his death, at the battle of Hattin (with the loss of the True Cross) [42]. In the previous centuries, the Jerusalem fragment had often been furtherly parcelled with the aim to send more bits in the West, owing not only to worshipping but also in order to save them from a capture, as the one by the Persian king Cosroes in 614. Robert the Monk states the custom of the Eastern Christianity to concentrate relics at Byzantium, in order to abstract them *a facie paganorum*, and so had previously acted the patriarch of

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loc. cit. On the custom of oaths on the relic : *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. G.H. Pertz-F. Kurze, Hannoverae, 1891 (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, 7), p. 106 ; *Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse*..., p. 38 ; *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsessa Dyrrachio, RHC, Hist. occ.*, V, p. 362 ; C.G. Mor, *L'età feudale*, I, Milano, 1955 (Storia politica d'Italia, 5), p. 185, 211 note 92.

41. U. Berlière, « Frédéric de Laroche, éveque d'Acre et archevêque de Tyr. Envoi de reliques à l'abbaye de Florennes (1153-1164) », *Revue bénédictine*, 25 (1907), p. 510, note 7 ; letters concerning the situation of the Holy Land, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*..., XV, p. 940 ; XVI, p. 151, 198-199, n. *a* ; Alexander III, *Epistolae*, PL, CC, col. 599-602 ; JL, 11247, 11637, 11638 ; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*..., I, doc. 497-498, p. 131. Both pieces gifted in 1174 had perhaps been given by king Amalric ; one was sent to the abbey of Grandmont, while the other was certainly directed to the king of England who gave it to the priory of La Haie (Angers) : Godfrey de Bruil, *Chronicon*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*..., XII, p. 444. See also above, note 31. On the Bergen *antemensale* : K. Fledelius, « The Idea of the Crusades », in B.P. McGuire (ed.), *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, Copenaghen, 1987, p. 259-260. A similar reminiscence of the *basileus*' deeds had already appeared in the work of Aelfric, three centuries before : Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The letter of Lucius III is in *Gesta regis*..., I, p. 332-333 ; JL, 15151 ; Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff. ; Mayer, « Henry II... », *passim*.

42. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*..., p. 1061-1062 ; *Chronique d'Ernoul*..., p. 83.

Jerusalem Sophronius before the fall of the city, in 634 [43] ; the True Cross displaied at Damietta during the Fifth Crusade was a bit detached from the palladium of the first kingdom of Jerusalem before its loss at Hattin (but remained in the East), according to various authors ; in 1272 the *magister* of the Temple and other *Christi fideles*, aware of the previous experiences, would have sent some more bits of the Cross in Europe with the same aim [44].

The *vexillum crucis* could be whichever cross-shaped thing or image in the Middle Ages : the sign of the cross [45], the archiepiscopal staff (in the period of the mission of Heraclius it is called in this way by pope Lucius III) [46], or a wood or marble reproduction of the instrument of the Passion [47] ; the definition was also apted to crosses used (without relics) in war, since the first Christian times [48], as well as to the symbol of pilgrimage carried as staff, or as the symbol of the crusade sewed on banners and tunics [49], or to

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43. A. Carile, « Le relazioni fra l'Oriente bizantino e l'Occidente cristiano », in *Il concilio di Piacenza e le crociate*, Convegno internazionale di studi (Piacenza, 4-6 maggio 1995), in phase of printing. So should be right *La chronique d'Ernoul* (p. 83, 156) in asserting that the relic found by the crusaders was (or became from) the one recovered by the *basileus* Heraclius in 628 ; *contra* Gallo, *op. cit*., p. 60. See also *ibid.*, p. 74 note 1, for the deeds of Sophronius.

44. *The Letters of Jacques de Vitry*..., p. 103 ; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*..., p. 1260, already quoted in Tommasi, *op. cit*., p. 195 ; see also Oliver, *Relatio de expugnatione Damiatina*. ., p. 325 ; Marinus Sanudus (*Liber*..., p. 206-207) states about the official Jerusalem relic : *fuerat enim secta crux cum Saladini immineret bellum... reservata autem, nunc contra adversarios deportatur* ; on the deeds of 1272 : Tommasi, *op. cit*., p. 202-203.

45. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, ed. B. Krusch, W. Levison, MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, I-1,1, p. 31 ; *ibid.*, 1,2, p. 523 ; *Vita sancti Arnulfi*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, II, p. 441 ; *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, ed. B. Krusch, *ibid.*, III, p. 109, 110, 218, 229, 231, 588, 589, 597 ; *ibid.*, IV, 224, 227, 346.

46. *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*..., I, Graz, 1958 (reprint of 1881 issue), doc. 355, p. 311 ; II, Graz, 1958 (*id.*, 1884), doc. 313, p. 274 ; 332, p. 294 ; III, doc. 76, p. 78 ; 171, p. 182 ; 318, p. 290.

47. Ethelwolf the Irishman, *Carmen de abbatibus et viris piis coenobii Sancti Petri in insula Lindisfarnensi*, PL, XCVI, col. 1341 ; Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensium*, *ibid*, CCXIII, col. 607-608 ; P. Verdier, « La grand croix de l'abbé Suger à Saint-Denis », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 13 (1970), p. 1, 9-10.

48. In metaphorical sense : Cecchelli, *op. cit*., p. 56-58 ; M. Forlin Patrucco, « Il tema politico della vittoria e della croce in Ambrogio e nella tradizione ambrosiana », in *« Paradoxos politeia », Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati*, Milano, Vita e pensiero, 1979 (Studia patristica Mediolanensia, 10), p. 407, 414 and *passim* ; Rufinus' translation of the *Ecclesiastical history* of Eusebius presents *vexillum dominicae crucis* in referring to the cross displaied by Constantinus : Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Eusebius Werke*, ed. E. Schwartz, E. Mommsen, II, Leipzig, 1908, p. 833. In concrete sense *supra*, note 30 (if the objects in question are not relics).

49. *Supra*, note 28 ; letter of Henry son of Conrad III to pope Eugenius III, ed. F. Hausmann, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, IX, Viennae-Coloniae-Graecii, 1969, p. 524 ; *Historia peregrinorum*, in *Historia de expeditione*..., p. 116 ; *Epistola*

the cross as general Christian symbol in literary or political works [50]. Also as a banner emblazoned with a cross, maybe a papal banner [51], it could stay in the hands of an ambassador as the patriarch of Jerusalem at the English court in 1185. But the similar cases in the previous centuries and the political situation prove that an intrepretation of the words of Ralph of Diss as an allusion to the relic of the True Cross may be allowed, as a further proof of the political use of relics for some requirements of war and propaganda.

de morte Friderici imperatoris, *ibid*, p. 174 ; Herbert of Boseham, *Liber melorum*, PL, CXC, col. 1324 ff. ; *Gesta Adhemari*..., p. 354 ; James de Guise, *Annales*..., p. 270, 271 ; Alexander III, *Epistolae*, PL, CC, col. 600 ; JL, 11637 ; Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*..., col. 337 ; Erdmann, *op. cit*., p. 37 note 11 ; J.A. Brundage, « "Cruce signari" : the Rite for Taking the Cross in England », *Traditio*, 22 (1966), p. 307 ; K. Pennington, « The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century », *Traditio*, 30 (1970), p. 430-432. Also the cross of the Order of the knights of St. John is called *vexillum* in their rule : *The Hospitallers' Riwle (Miracula et regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani)*, ed. K.V. Sinclair, London, 1894, p. 73.

50. Rabanus Maurus, *De laudibus sanctae Crucis*, PL, CVII, col. 143 ; Gregory VII, *Registrum*, ed. F. Caspar, Berlin, 1923 (MGH, Epistolae selectae, II, 1-2), p. 602 ; Hildebert of Le Mans, *Carmina minora*, ed. A.B. Scott, Leipzig, 1969 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. 26 ; St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epistolae*, dans *Id*., *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq , H. Rochais, VIII, Rome, 1977, p. 257, 509 ; Herbert of Boseham, *Liber melorum*.. ., col. 1324 ff. ; Erdmann, *The Origin*. .., p. 308 and *ibid*., note 8. A link between st. Jerome's *vexillum crucis* and crusade has been established by H. Birkhan, « Les croisades contre les paiens de Lituanie et de Prusse. Idéologie et realité », dans D. Buschinger (sous la direction de), *La croisade : réalités et fictions*, Goppingen, Kummerle Verlag, 1989, p. 43 ; but in this case Jerome meant the *signum* and not the *lignum*, as did st. Bernard of Clairvaux quoting this author (*loc. cit.*) : St. Jerome, *Epistulae*, I/1, ed. I. Hilberg, Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1910, p. 46-47 (CSEL, 54). See in general sense also A. B.-H. Chirat, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, Paris, 1954, p. 845 ; M. McCormick, « Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens à la première croisade », dans *« Militia Christi » e crociata nei secoli XI e XIII*, Milan, Vita e pensiero, 1992, p. 231 note 77. More examples of the metaphorical sense of the word *vexillum* are available in Kleinclausz, *op. cit*., p. 229, *ibi* note 3.

51 G. Ligato, « Rituali feudali e retaggio canossano nella condotta di Goffredo di Buglione », dans P. Golinelli (sous la direction de), *I poteri dei Canossa : da Reggio Emilia all'Europa* , Bologna, Pàtron, 1994, p. 352, 359-360.

GUERRE SAINTE ET JIHĀD

P. PARTNER

HOLY WAR, CRUSADE AND *JIHĀD* : an attempt to define some problems

I must first ask whether there can be a general comparative treatment of holy war in Christianity and Islam. If we compare the two, it is hard to exclude holy war in Judaism, which is closely related to both the other religions. Holy war in Judaism perhaps differs in that its main importance for later history is the influence of its sacred texts on other faiths rather than the history of wars carried out in its name. For example, the Maccabean war is a minor (though interesting) affair in the history of holy wars, but the Book of Maccabees was prominent in the Crusade thinking of Pope Innocent III [1].

I do not think that there can be a strictly comparative treatment of Crusade and jihad, because Crusade is not a general doctrine of Christian holy war, but one that was initially (or in the view of some historians exclusively) linked with the aims of supporting the oppressed Christians of the east, and of obtaining physical control of the holy places of Palestine. Jihad on the other hand is a doctrine of spiritual effort, of which military action is only one possible manifestation. To compare Crusade with jihad would be to compare a part with a whole.

There was holy war in both eastern and western Christendom before the appearance of the Crusade. The Byzantine Empire made a rather half-hearted attempt to launch a doctrine of Christian holy war over a century before the western Crusade. It failed, partly because of the resistance of the

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1. G. Cipollone, *Islam, cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio : il tempo di Innocenzo III dopo il "1187"*, Rome, 1992 (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, 60).

clergy, and partly because changes in the politics of war with the Muslims rendered it obsolete. There was no strict equivalent in the Byzantine idea of holy war to the western ideas of succouring the holy places of Palestine, even though in the X[th] century some eastern emperors executed a policy of military intervention in southern Syria. There was, of course, Christian holy war in the Iberian peninsula, and at times in other parts of the Latin Mediterranean, before the appearance of the Crusade.

Jihād, or struggle in the way of Allah, is deeply rooted in the Islamic faith, and cannot be considered without going back to the life of the prophet himself. Muhammad waged holy war in the physical sense from shortly after the emigration from Mecca to Medina. He was engaged in organising a military expedition to northern Arabia that would have entailed further action against the Byzantine tributary states, if not against the Byzantines, at the time of his death. Jihād is enjoined in the so-called farewell sermon that he gave shortly before his death[2].

Muhammad probably used the language of jihād before he left Mecca for Medina, at a time when his struggle was against disbelief and ridicule, and not yet an armed one. It is hard to be definite about this, as it is uncertain whether some relevant revelations were given at Mecca or later at Medina. Jihād was struggle in the way of Allah ; and could be considered as part of his initial moral message, and not as an incitement to violence. Once his community had moved to Medina, jihād acquired a different context. On the one hand, it followed closely upon his flight, and from this point the hijra or the act of sacred emigration could always be associated with jihād. On the other hand, jihād became military and political as well as moral : it was still the struggle against fitna, which can be understood as idolatry, aggression, persecution, but it was also a duty of army service – a duty which it is worth observing that Muhammad did not always succed in enforcing on his own supporters.

After the prophet's death the doctrine of jihād became one of the basic principles of the faith. There is disagreement about whether, or in what manner, the pacific revelations granted to Muhammad about the holy war that he received earlier in his career, were abrogated for the later Muslim community by the later revelation that seems to make jihād into a primary military duty. But this does not mean that jihād has had an exclusively military meaning in Islam, either during the prophet's life or after it.

2. Qur'an, 9.5, and see also 9.29, 9.111, 2.216. Differing perspectives in 61.11 and 9.1-4.

E. Tyan, who wrote the article on jihād in the current edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam, gave the primary, physical meaning of jihād as military action with the object of the expansion of Islam, or if necessary its defence. To a Crusade scholar that may seem obvious. But it is a statement that depends, as Tyan himself pointed out, on our agreement with the proposition that Muhammad conceived of Islam as a physically universalist religion, or at the minimum, as universal in Arabia. And it is not a statement about the whole nature of jihād, as Tyan well knew ; he referred to Muslim authorities, particularly among the Shi'a, who made the primary meaning of jihād a spiritual one.

The form that the warfare took changed at various points of the history of the early Islamic community : there were clashes with the main forces of the Meccan community that had been left, but there was also be ghaziyah or raiding. In fact the revelation that war could be a sacred duty came to Muhammad after an armed raid on a caravan. Jihād was not, as people have sometimes thought, a general obligation to convert all humanity to Islam by force. It was understood in this way only by a small number of Muslims, notably by the North African philosopher of history, Ibn Khaldun.

Opinion and practice on conversion changed during the long history of Islam. Muhammad had excluded that people should accept Islam other than freely in their consciences. There was a Quranic obligation to fight until fitna or persecution ended, and an obligation to fight until the people of the book (Jews, Christians) had submitted and agreed to pay tax to the Muslims. It seems improbable that during the early caliphate this doctrine led to the conversion of whole populations to Islam. The demographic evidence for the early period, when the Islamic establishment was drawing a big income from unbelievers, and the Muslim government didn't want converts who were not useful soldiers, seems to indicate the Muslim population of the Empire as having been little more than ten per cent. By the time of the Crusades the fiscal advantages of the Muslim population had been greatly reduced, and for ideological reasons conversions in the conquered areas were encouraged [3].

Whether the revelation of military obligation superseded the earlier and more pacific revelations about jihād, or whether it ought to be in some way reconciled with them, is a question which was debated after the setting up of the Islamic Empire, and has never been finally resolved in one way or another. Within a century of the death of Muhammad, a Muslim theologian (Sufyan al-Thawri) had claimed that jihād was a duty incumbent on the

3. R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

Muslim community in defence but not in attack. Not long ago the Sheikh of Al-Azhar expressed the view, a propos of a work of so-called fundamentalist doctrine, that the jihād of personal moral welfare — the jihād al-nafs, also called the greater holy war, the jihād al-akhbar — took precedence of the jihad of military obligation. At times humbler things like by-laws about prostitution and dress-regulation have been categorised as belonging to jihād [4].

Views about jihād have varied within the divisions of Islam : some of the Shi'a divines long ago took the view recently taken by the Sheikh of Al-Azhar, that the greater jihād is a striving for spiritual perfection. It is a mistake to think that the events of the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s demonstrate that the only possible Shi'a view on jihād is the primacy of the military obligation. It is also misleading to think of jihād as something that takes place only after it has been authorised by learned Muslim theologians : the history of jihād is full of occasions — not yet over, I think — when holy war has been brought into existence by popular movements based on the activities of sufis, dervishes, unlearned followers of someone who claimed to be the mahdi, or by other manifestations of what has been called folk Islam. In this it resembles some moments in the history of the Crusade. The only way to assess jihād is to look at it as part of a total religious situation.

Crusading historiography has tended to treat jihād in a rather summary way, and to view it as an element in Frankish-Islamic relations that appeared or disappeared, but that was a sort of religious constant. Possibly this tendency has been to some extent due to what might be called the ideological indifference with which most neighbouring Muslim governments treated the Crusading phenomenon for the first twenty years or so of its existence. Emmanuel Sivan's pioneering book [5] showed how there was a reaction to the Crusades among the Damascus ulama or learned class, during the first decade of the XIIth century, and that the call for a jihād played a part in this reaction. But it is hard to find a Muslim government saying that it was executing a jihād against the Franks, before the 1120s.

Some scholars have thought the Crusades to have been insignificant in the history of Islam [6]. But as Malcolm Lyons has said, it is doubtful if many scholars would still support the notion that the Crusades left no significant

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4. R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382*, London and Sydney, 1986, p. 50.

5. E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade : Idéologie et Propagande dans les réactions Musulmanes aux Croisades*, Paris, 1968.

6. M. Watt, in T.P. Murphy (ed.), *The Holy War*, Columbus, 1976, p. 198.

impression on the Muslim world, because it seems to sweep the Ayyubids and the Mamluks under the carpet [7]. A similar view was taken by David Ayalon.

The proclamation of jihād could clearly affect Muslim-Christian trading relations, and create conflicts of law and interest. In the Muslim case there was a clash between those who prospered from booty acquired in the ghazi war and those who wanted peaceful trade relations with the infidels. The way in which attempts by either side to forbid trade were flouted, especially in the profitable export of war materials, has been widely documented. A letter from Saladin to the Caliph in Bagdad, written at the time of the siege of Acre, complains bitterly about the dearth in Syria of munitions and materials [8]. The most obvious market to turn to — not easily available in 1191 but often used in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries — was that of the Franks themselves. The urge to regularise trading relations was later, from the XIVth century onwards, to be one of the factors behind the growth of the Ottoman capitulations.

One asks in the first instance whether those who practised one holy war were aware of the way in which holy war was regarded by the other side ; you will hear more about this from later speakers. I am not aware that the Franks were specifically conscious of the principles of Muslim jihād, beyond its general character as a holy war. There is some evidence about the reactions of Muslims to Crusading religious zeal, evidence that gives no comfort to the once widely-spread idea that there was such a thing as a Muslim counter-crusade.

The committment of the Crusaders was noticed by Saladin's secretary, 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, who linked it with their merciless methods of warfare. As for the infidels, he wrote, they were rough and stiff people, their rule had been extended : they sought perception while others (the Muslims) were distracted, and they prepared for war, seeking to espouse death : they launched themselves across the sea, wanting their fame to be on everybody's lips. Both the army and the subjects deemed any means of war to be permissible ; they took liberties with human souls, and claimed a pious license for

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7. In M. Shatzmiller, *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, Leiden, 1993, p. 146-147.

8. Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. H. Massé, Paris, 1972, p. 348-349. For the question of arms control, R. Richard, « Le royaume de Chypre et l'embargo avec l'Egypte », *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1984, p. 120-134.

what they did. Satan made their deeds seem fair to them.. [9]. In a letter he drafted for Saladin about the defence of Acre in 1189, he wrote that the Franks did not hesitate to give their hearts and lives to save their polytheistic faith : in this enterprise the idolaters (the Christians) collaborated with one another, while Muslims on the other hand refused one another their aid [10].The failure of Muslims to unite to support holy war was, of course, one of the main themes of Saladin's propaganda. But Imad al-Din did not ascribe the fighting morale of the Frankish warriors only to religion : in an account of the death of the Master of the Temple before Acre in 1189 he says that the Templar was not saved from death by his passion for honour [11].

An influential judgement on the religious basis of Crusading was made during the early years of the XIII[th] century by the chronicler and historian, 'Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir. Ibn al-Athir wanted to explain the immense confluence of Franks from overseas after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, and the big checks that were administered to Saladin's policies by the Third Crusade. He adduced examples : one was the evidence of a Muslim who had served with the Franks, that he had gone to Rome with a group from Palestine to request new aid from the religious authorities there. He also quoted a the testimony of a Christian prisoner, that he was the only son of a mother who sold her only property to equip him for the Crusade, so that he could set off for Jerusalem. From this and other evidence Ibn al-Athir said that he had proved the violence of the religious and spiritual impulses that moved the Franks [12].

I do not think that either Imad al-Din or Ibn al-Athir described the Crusade as a western jihād, since the word has specific theological meaning in Islam that is inappropriate to describe things that belong to another religion. I agree however with Emmanuel Sivan's view that Ibn al-Athir thought, as a historian, that the conflict between Franks and Muslims in Palestine and Syria had from the outset been a religious war. From a modern perspective that may sound obvious, but it had not been the way in which the Crusades had been described by Muslim writers during the first century of their existence. And if we go a little way into the XIII[th] century the Crusades came to seem less important to Muslims than they had under Saladin. Towards the

9. Imad ad-din al-Isfahani, al-fath al-qussi fi l-fath al qudsi, ed. Muhammad Mahmud Subh, Cairo, n.d. [but 197?], p. 51 ; tr. Massé, p. 8. I am indebted to Professor Kamal Salibi, American University of Beirut, for guidance with this passage.

10. Massé, *op. cit.*, p. 183-6 ; Cipolle, *Cristianità-Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 465-467.

11. Massé, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

12. *RHC*, *Hist. or.*, 2, pt 1, Paris, 1887, p. 5. See also N. Elisséeff, « The reactions of the Syrian Muslims after the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem », in Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims*, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

end of his life Ibn al-Athir saw the jihād against the Mongols as being of far more importance to Islam than the jihād against the Franks.

Ibn al-Athir's thesis of a continuous religious war may be linked with an internal development in the Islam of his day. The careers of Nur al-Din and Saladin in XII[th] century Syria and Egypt were among the examples of the appreciation in the Muslim world that jihād could be used as a political instrument to legitimize a new ruling dynasty. The X[th]-century Byzantine wars of Saif al-Dawlah in Aleppo may be another example, but one that ended in tears for the Hamdanid dynasty. The call to holy war sanctified a ruler's policies and his person, and although the aims of Nur al-Din were only partly concerned with the defeat of the Franks, the propagandist effect of his calling the holy war was to confer on him an aura of religious authority. Saladin inherited from Nur al-Din the call to wage holy war against the Franks. This turned into a much more general ideal of reuniting the whole Muslim world against the infidel than Nur al-Din had ever had : I think, for example, of Saladin's turning to the the Islamic west for aid, and asking for help for the jihād in Palestine from the Almohad caliph, Ya'qub al-Mansur [13]. Saladin also introduced a newly revived Muslim concern with the control of the holy places of Jerusalem [14].

Saladin was no innovator in waging jihād against Christians, nor was he an innovator in appreciating its political pay-off. But in emphasising these things historians have tended to lose sight of the religious dimension. Nur al-Din before him was said to have experienced some sort of religious conversion before he come to place the main emphasis of his policy on holy war. In Nur al-Din's case the change in religious policies is attributed to his surprise and defeat near Krak des Chevaliers in 1163 ; the men of religion subsequently reproached him for the music and liquor in his camp on that occasion, and he seems to have accepted their religious reasoning [15]. There is a parallel in Saladin's supposed religious conversion at the time of his illness in Harran in 1186, although the main change in his religious policies had taken place long before then [16]. Only in and after after 1186 did Jerusalem

13. H. Möhring, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen*, Wiesbaden, 1980.

14. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, *op. cit.* ; *Id.*, « Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XII[e]-XIII[e] siècles ». *Studia Islamica*, 27 (1967), p. 149-182.

15. N. Eliséef, *Nur ad-Din: un grand prince musulman de Syrie aux temps des croisades*, Damascus, 1967, p. 576, 750.

16. For Saladin's religious policy in Egypt see Gary la Viere Leiser, « The restoration of Sunnism in Egypt : Madrasas and Mudarissun 495-647/1101-1249 », PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1976 (Xerox University Microfilms), esp. 187 ff., 264-7.

assume a front role in Saladin's religious consciousness, though it had played a part in jihād propaganda since the time of Nur al-Din..

On the whole western historians have looked at Saladin's committment to the holy war in a moralistic way, that is in terms of his sincerity or insincerity, and of the degree to which Realpolitik and the policy of dynastic aggrandisement predominated over religious sentiment. There were certainly Muslim contemporaries who asked the same kind of questions about Saladin at the time, especially those who alleged that his concern for religion was only a cloak to conceal his designs against the dynasty of of Nur al-Din. Among modern historians Hannes Möhring has been especially severe on Saladin in this respect. But I am not at all sure that these moralistic judgements are proper for an historian to make. I take the view of the German historian of the Thirty Years' War, Konrad Repgen, that we cannot know satisfactorily the motives for which wars were fought, and that we can only know with any degree of certainty the motives that were alleged for fighting them [17].

The degree to which the Frankish irruption into Syria made fundamental long-term changes in the political and religious structure of the Fertile Crescent has long been a neglected topic. Jihād or ghazi war had for centuries before Nur al-Din and Saladin been a characteristic phenomenon of the border areas of Islam — though not all of those — and not a factor that so much affected the inner areas such as Syria and Egypt. The twelfth Christian century saw fundamental changes in all these things, and Saladin and the Ayyubis brought jihād back into the common theological language and practice of Islam in the central Arab areas, where such jihād had not played a great part since the early Caliphate.

For example, in the mid-XIIIth Christian century Abu Shama, a theologically inclined author just as Ibn Al-Athir had been, selected Nur al-Din and Saladin as exemplars of a Sunni piety that was linked to and in a way dependent on jihād. He prayed that the Islamic princes of his own day might recover the spirit of unity in jihād that had inspired Saladin. He also claimed to have had a dream, at the time that the Ayyubi Sultan al-Kamil was negotiating to hand over Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick II, in which he had seen the second Caliph, 'Umar ibn Abd-al-Khattab, coming to Damascus dressed in a Yemeni silken tunic, and promising to lead resistance against Frankish aggression [18]. In the dream 'Umar also, incidentally, promised to

17. K. Repgen, « Kriegslegitimationen in Alteuropa : Entwurf einer historische Typologie », *Historische Zeitschrift*, 241 (1985), p. 27-49.

18 « Kitab al-Rawdatayn », *RHO*, 5, p. 186. See also H. Daiber, « Die Kreuzzüge im Lichte islamischer Theologie bei Abu Shama », in A. Zimmermann *et alii* (ed.), *Orientalische*

appoint a valiant Muslim prince to rule Damascus, a promise that boded no good for al-Kamil. Nor did Abu Shama hesitate to describe the later Ayyubi ruler, as-Salih Isma'il, on account of his disastrous Frankish alliance of 1244, as munafiq, the Quranic term for hypocrite [19].

The trend to use jihād to help to legitimize a ruler did not end with Saladin. It was of some importance to the Ayyubids, but much more so to the Mamluks after them. And with the advent of the Ottomans it became one of the main themes of western Islamic history : the pursuit of the holy war was the dominant ideology of the Ottoman Empire for half a millenium. Ottoman tradition made more use of the term ghaziyah or raiding border warfare than of jihād, but the theological meaning was the same. Jihād was sometimes invoked by the Ottomans against other Muslims, either because of their supposed apostasy, which was the usual tactic, or because they were stigmatised as rebels (ahl al bughat). Jihād was invoked to justify their struggles with the Safavids in Iran and with the last independent Mamluks, and used also to justify Ottoman claims to be the spiritual leaders of Islam. By the XVIth century Muslim rulers in West Africa were also playing the same game of waging jihād to legitimize their rule ; such tactics were used in Africa until the XXth century.

Of course there had always been a much more utilitarian way of looking at jihād. Ibn al-Athir described the actions of Ibrahim Inal, one of the junior tribal leaders under the Seljuk Toghril Beg Muhammad, in 1048. On this occasion Ibrahim Inal despatched a body of Oghuz ghazi warriors to the Byzantine region of Trebizond, saying 'My territory (which was in Hamadan in south-western Iran, although the tribesmen were at the time in Transoxiana) is not extensive enough to support you or provide for your needs. The most sensible policy for you is to go and attack Rum, and fight in the way of Allah, and gain booty. I will follow after you, and assist you in this [20].

Perhaps the real question that underlies these matters is that of cross-cultural historiography. I think that the commonly brought charge is not entirely unfair, that much of western scholarship has tended until recently to repre-

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Kultur und europaisches Mittelalter, Berlin, 1985, p. 77-86. Daiber unfortunately conflates the dream about 'Umar Ibn-al-Khattab (which concerns 1227) with another dream that Abu Shama took from another author about prophetic dreams concerning the birth of Saladin ; see « kitab al-Rawdatayn », *RHO*, 4, p. 292.

19. See D.S. Richards, « Imad al-Din al-Isfahani : administrator, litterateur and historian », in M. Shatzmiller, *Crusaders and Muslims, op. cit.*, p. 133-46 ; and also Sivan, *Islam et Croisade*, *op. cit.*, p. 151-2.

20. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, cit. in C.E. Bosworth, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge, 1968, 5, p. 43. See also C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey : a general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history*, London, 1968, p. 68.

sent Islam as a single, unchanging phenomenon. An instance is the mistaken assumption of a single, unchanging doctrine of military jihād. I also think that some western writers in our own time have applied obsolete characterization to Muslim society and institutions. In particular, many historians writing about the Crusade have until recently implied that the decline of the medieval caliphate was a final decline of Islamic organisation and power. That point of view appears to want to sponge the Ottomans out of history, just as others have wanted to sponge the Ayyubis and the Mamluks out of history.

There have been many revivals, romantic and otherwise, of Crusading ideas and ideals, that played a part in the domination and partial colonization of much of the Islamic world in the XIXth and XXth centuries. Nor should I fail to mention the part played by the memory of the joint participation of Christian states in the Crusade, in the XVIIIth century development of what came to be called internationalism. But memories of the Crusade have in the modern period been kept alive by nationalism rather than by internationalism : I well remember how, working as a journalist during the Algerian war of the late 1950s, I was told by a group of French generals that they regarded their mission in North Africa as an authentic part of the Crusade.

Memories of a similar nature have inspired some Muslims today — and I emphasise that I am talking only about a small number of Muslims — to look at the Crusades as far from over. There is a famous judgement by the Egyptian radical religious writer, Sayyid Qutb, that imperialism is only a mask for the Crusading spirit, and this has been taken up by numerous so-called fundamentalists who have asserted that the Crusade is alive today as an active element in the policies of the western powers in their relations with Islamic countries. It is commonplace in these circles to say that the Crusade is identified with the evil Christians, who in our time seek the aid of western orientalists to discredit Muhammad and to further the aims of neo-colonialism. An Algerian theologian (Abu Jara Sultani Ahfadh Muhammad) wrote of the victory of the free Algerians over France in 1961 that it was a second victory of Islam over the Crusade, repeating the victory of Saladin in the liberation of Jerusalem in 1187 [21]. That judgement seems more sinister now than it did when it was made in 1982.

It is understandable, if regrettable, that certain radical Muslim writers should assume these positions, since they allow them to bring Muhammad's strictures about not taking Jews or Christians for your helpers into the contemporary political arena, and to reinforce their condemnation of Muslim

21. A. Rouadjia, *Les frères et la mosquée : enquête sur le mouvement islamiste en Algérie*, Paris, 1990, p. 147-148.

goverments that collaborate with western policies. They are also a branch of the radical denunciation of western orientalism as a tool of colonialist or post-colonialist policy.

Crusading studies may appear remote from these matters, but I do not think them to be so. I am not calling for any sort of political partisanship But I think it useful to remember that the radical Muslim protest exists, because we do not live in an academic vacuum, but in a world in which the objects of our studies are related to the political and religious passions of our times.

Benjamin Z. KEDAR

CROISADE ET *JIHĀD* VUS PAR L'ENNEMI
une étude des perceptions mutuelles des motivations

La question de savoir si, ou dans quelle mesure, chrétiens et musulmans de l'époque des croisades étaient conscients de la motivation de leurs adversaires est particulièrement importante pour la compréhension de l'histoire de la pensée de la période. La perception des mobiles de l'ennemi permet de jauger et la curiosité qu'il inspire et la capacité d'appréhender un système de valeurs différent du sien ; de considérables conséquences pratiques en découleront. L'appréciation correcte des valeurs morales et des intentions de l'ennemi joue un rôle crucial dans la mise en oeuvre de la politique des parties et, partant, dans l'issue du conflit. La partie qui perçoit de la façon la plus perspicace les motivations de son adversaire détiendra d'emblée un avantage notoire qu'elle mettra à profit dans la définition de sa propre politique. En d'autres termes, l'examen que je me propose de mener ici est susceptible de révéler un facteur supplémentaire qui façonna le cours du conflit entre musulmans et chrétiens à l'époque des croisades.

L'analyse de la perception des motivations de l'ennemi est toutefois semée d'écueils, comme le sont d'ailleurs toutes les analyses qui portent sur l'étude des mobiles des peuples du passé. Telle source révélant une perception relativement fine des mobiles réels de l'ennemi n'indique pas nécessairement que cette perception était répandue dans tel camp. Elle peut se limiter à la perspicacité d'un auteur isolé. Elle ne fournit pas nécessairement d'indications au chercheur sur le rôle qu'elle a joué dans la mise en oeuvre de telle politique. Les choses se compliquent plus encore lorsque des sources émanant d'une partie au conflit témoignent d'une ignorance totale ou partielle des motifs réels de l'autre partie. Dans ce cas, avons-nous le droit de conclure que la documentation qui nous est parvenue est le reflet d'une réalité ponc-

tuelle, autrement dit que telle partie était dans l'incapacité d'appréhender les motifs de son adversaire ? Ou bien s'agit-il d'une volonté délibérée de passer outre aux motivations de l'ennemi, soit pour éviter toute publicité, soit pour leur refuser la moindre légitimité ? Auquel cas, la compréhension partielle des motivations de l'ennemi pourra fournir au chercheur des moyens d'appréciation plus exacte des sources en question. Il va de soi que la nature même des textes va exercer une influence directe sur l'appréciation de l'historien : ainsi, le traité à vocation propagandiste destiné à une consommation strictement intérieure différera considérablement de la lettre d'un chef ennemi proposant un armistice à son adversaire.

Nous venons d'énumérer quelques-uns des problèmes soulevés par les sources émanant d'*une partie* au conflit et portent sur les mobiles de l'autre ; dans cette situation, nous procédons à l'évaluation d'une réflexion, de l'image qu'a l'une des parties des motivations de l'autre. Notre tâche se complique davantage quand les sources émanant de l'*autre partie* comportent des données sur l'appréhension des mobiles de la première partie par l'autre. Dans ce cas, nous sommes confrontés à une double réflexion, à l'image qu'a la seconde des parties de l'image qu'a la première des motivations de la seconde... Quelquefois, cette réflexion double s'avère beaucoup plus précise pour le chercheur qu'une réflexion simple en provenance de la première partie au conflit. Mais elle peut aussi être décevante parce que la précision peut découler du fait que l'auteur, présentant la perception qu'a l'ennemi des mobiles de la partie de l'auteur, les décrit plus ou moins tels qu'il les connait et qu'il les partage.

L'analyse exhaustive de la perception mutuelle des mobiles chrétiens et musulmans exige la consultation de très nombreux documents, occidentaux comme orientaux. Je me contenterai ici de présenter les résultats qui me semblent probants d'une investigation préliminaire sur des événements majeurs de l'histoire des croisades.

Nous savons tous que les musulmans ignoraient au départ les mobiles des combattants de la première croisade. Ainsi, au moment où les croisés assiégeaient Antioche, une délégation fatimide vint en toute bonne foi proposer une alliance contre les Seljoukides aux termes duquel Francs et Fatimides se partageraient les territoires convoités : les Francs occuperaient le nord de la Syrie, les Fatimides s'établiraient au sud de la Syrie et en Palestine. Les Fatimides, à l'évidence, ne réalisaient absolument pas que les croisés avaient pour dessein de s'emparer de Jérusalem. Les croisés, pour leur part, se gardèrent bien de leur révéler leurs véritables intentions et s'engagèrent dans de longs pourparlers avec la délégation fatimide. Les Fatimides, de leur côté, avaient investi des ressources considérables pour soustraire Jérusalem aux Seljoukides. Il n'est pas étonnant que les Fatimides ne fussent pas en mesure de saisir les mobiles des croisés. Mais le fait qu'un observateur aussi avisé

que Ibn al-Athir — qui affirme un siècle après la première incursion croisée en Syrie que le dessein originel des Francs était de conquérir la côte africaine face à la Sicile et que la conquête de Jérusalem ne fut qu'un pis-aller en quelque sorte [1] —, indique clairement que les mobiles des premiers croisés restèrent pendant plusieurs décennies très flous pour les musulmans.

Toutefois, au moment de la bataille des Cornes de Ḥaṭṭīn et de la troisième croisade, l'appréhension musulmane des mobiles ennemis était désormais plus précise, comme l'a prouvé il y a trente ans Emmanuel Sivan [2]. Certes, aucun auteur musulman n'a procédé à l'exposé raisonné des visées, des convictions, des expectatives ou du zèle religieux des croisés. Mais, à considérer les nombreuses références à ce sujet glanées dans les documents musulmans de la période, il apparaît clairement que le camp musulman possédait désormais de nombreuses informations sur les mobiles ennemis. Je n'en citerai qu'un exemple : le récit du secrétaire de Saladin, 'Imād al-Dīn, sur la chute du Royaume latin de Jérusalem et les batailles de la troisième croisade.

Décrivant les activités des Francs avant l'invasion de leur royaume par Saladin en juin 1187, 'Imād al-Dīn place dans leur bouche ces mots : « Le Messie est pour nous, la Croix est avec nous » [3] ; peu après, il évoque le roi franc, Guy de Lusignan, qui aurait declaré à la veille des combats : « Je dresserai la vraie croix : aucun des chrétiens ne s'écartera d'elle » [4] 'Imād al-Dīn, nous le voyons, a compris d'emblée que les croisés luttent au nom de leur foi et que la Vraie Croix est leur signe de ralliement dans la bataille. Plus loin, décrivant la phase ultime de la bataille des Cornes de Ḥaṭṭīn, 'Imād al-Dīn traite de la « Vraie Croix » et fait preuve d'une grande lucidité quant à l'importance suprême qu'elle revêt aux yeux de l'ennemi. Il relate que les chrétiens sont convaincus qu'elle est faite du bois de la croix sur laquelle fut crucifié Jésus et qu'ils l'ont revêtue d'or pur et sertie de perles et de pierres précieuses. 'Imād al-Dīn rapporte qu'elle est transportée par des prêtres sur les lieux de combat et que les Francs « s'empressent et s'attroupent autour d'elle ; personne n'a le droit de rester en arrière, car quiconque s'abstient de la suivre ne peut en tirer avantage ». La capture de la Vraie Croix par les

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1. Ibn al-Athīr dans F. Gabrieli, *Chroniques arabes des Croisades*, trad. V. Pâques, Paris, Sindbad, 1977, p. 26-27.

2. E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades*, Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient-Adrien Maisonneuve, 1968, p 112-115 ; *Id.*, « Islam and the Crusades : Antagonism, Polemics, Dialogue », dans B Niewöhner (éd.), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, Wolfenbüttel, Otto Harrassowitz, 1992, p. 210-213.

3. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trad. H. Massé, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1972, p. 17.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

musulmans fut en conséquence perçue comme la pire des catastrophes, qui frappa les combattants plus encore que la capture de leur roi. Cette croix, nous dit 'Imād al-Dīn, « était leur divinité devant laquelle leurs fronts se souillaient de poussière....ils donnaient pour elle leur sang; ils lui demandaient la consolation » [5].

Voilà pour la façon dont le secrétaire de Saladin saisit la ferveur des Francs pour la Vraie Croix. Celle qu'ils éprouvaient à l'endroit de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre est décrite avec une effusion semblable. Evoquant le siège de Jérusalem par Saladin 'Imād al-Dīn met dans la bouche des Francs assiégés ces paroles : « C'est notre église de la Résurrection....c'est elle que nous aimons, c'est à elle que nous sommes liés : notre honneur consiste à l'honorer, notre salut à la sauver ; son integrité, sa permanence sont les nôtres. Si nous nous éloignions d'elle, nous serions inévitablement et à bon droit blâmés et taxés de lâcheté, car en elle se trouvent tout ensemble le lieu de la crucifixion et notre but....Nous mourrons pour la défense du tombeau de Notre Seigneur ; nous trépasserons, de peur qu'il ne nous abandonne » [6]. 'Imād al-Dīn connait parfaitement la véritable nature de la dévotion chrétienne : il raconte qu'après la conquête de Jérusalem, certains conseillers de Saladin avaient suggéré de raser l'église du Saint-Sépulcre afin d'éradiquer toute aspiration chrétienne, tandis que d'autres — dont l'avis finit par l'emporter — alléguaient que la destruction du Saint-Sépulcre était superflue puisque les chrétiens n'adoraient pas l'édifice lui-même mais l'emplacement de la croix et du tombeau. Et qu'ils continueraient d'y affluer « son sol fût-il réduit en une poussière qui s'élèverait jusqu'au ciel » [7].

Dans une missive qu'il adressa à plusieurs correspondants peu après le début de la troisième croisade, 'Imād al-Dīn explique que les croisés aspirent à recouvrer leur « grande croix ». L'auteur évoque abondamment leur ardeur et leur volonté d'amasser et de sacrifier leurs ressources dans ce but. Dans leurs pays d'origine, il écrit, leurs rois et leurs nobles entrent dans une concurrence acharnée pour soutenir financièrement la campagne : « ils ont jugé modique le don de leur âme et de leur vie... ils n'ont agi et donné que par ferveur religieuse et par enthousiasme pour leur foi » [8]. Certes, 'Imād al-Dīn entend d'abord et avant tout inciter ses coreligionnaires à suivre l'exemple de leurs ennemis francs, mais, ce faisant, il révèle aussi son entendement des mobiles chrétiens. Dans une lettre ultérieure, adressée à la cour de Baghdad, il réitère ses arguments, en précisant que dans les pays chrétiens d'outre-mer, il a été proclamé que celui qui abandonnerait ses biens

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5. *Ibid.*, p. 29-30.

6. 'Imād al-Dīn dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 174-175.

7. 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête* (n. 3 *supra*), p. 59.

8. *Ibid* , p. 184-185.

pour faire la guerre à l'Islam, « ses péchés lui seraient remis, ses fautes disparaîtraient ». ʻImād al-Dīn sait aussi qu'en Europe les chrétiens trop faibles pour prendre personnellement la croix sont exhortés au devoir d'assistance [9]. Plus tard, dans la description détaillée qu'il fait des femmes franques du camp croisé d'Acre (description volontairement occultée par Henri Massé parce que, à son avis, elle « contient trop de détails scabreux pour être traduits... ») [10], ʻImād al-Dīn écrit que ces femmes incitent les hommes au combat « en disant que la croix n'admettait que la résistance à outrance et que les combattants n'obtiendraient la vie éternelle qu'avec le sacrifice de la vie, car le tombeau de leur dieu était encore au pouvoir de l'ennemi » [11].

Je me suis quelque peu étendu sur certains passages portant sur les motivations des croisés qui nous sont livrés par une seule oeuvre de ʻImād al-Dīn. Des passages du même genre figurent également dans les écrits d'al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, lui aussi secrétaire de Saladin (qui, à un certain moment, désigne la campagne franque de *jihād* aux intentions impures) [12]. Nous en trouvons également dans l'oeuvre de Bahā al-Dīn, le biographe de Saladin ou dans celle d'Ibn al-Athīr.

Il est donc indubitable qu'à l'époque de la troisième croisade — et probablement même avant — l'entourage de Saladin, et Saladin lui-même, étaient au fait des mobiles et des aspirations des croisés et les appréciaient à leur juste valeur. Ce qui leur permit d'user de réalisme dans leur stratégie et dans leur évaluation du danger que représentait la menace franque à court et à long terme. Du reste, quelques mois à peine après la bataille de Ḥaṭṭīn, des proches de Saladin s'exprimèrent sur le danger qu'il y avait à épargner la ville d'Acre et suggérèrent de la détruire en n'en conservant que les fortifications puis de construire le château d'al-Qaymūn (la Yoqnéam biblique, la Caymont des Francs) à quelque dix-huit kilomètres du littoral méditerranéen [13]. A l'évidence, leur dessein était d'empêcher les croisés de reconquérir Acre et d'en faire de nouveau le principal bastion franc sur la côte palestinienne. C'est en se fondant sur des arguments semblables que, plus tard, les Mameluks entreprirent de démolir systématiquement les ports de Palestine, une destruction appelée à façonner les destinées de cette région jusqu'à la première moitié du XXe siècle. Cette estimation fort réaliste du phénomène croisé contraignit les Mameluks de mettre en place des services secrets capables de fournir des renseignements sur les intentions de croisade, longtemps avant le débarquement des forces chrétiennes au Levant. Le traité

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 203, n. 1.

11. ʻImād al-Dīn dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

12. Sivan, *L'Islam* (n. 2 *supra*), p. 114 ; *Id.*, « Islam » (n. 2 *supra*), p. 212.

13. ʻImād al-Dīn *Conquête* (n. 3 *supra*), p. 107.

passé en 1283 entre le sultan Qalāwūn et les Francs d'Acre est fort éloquent à cet égard [14].

J'ai passé en revue l'appréciation musulmane des mobiles des chrétiens. Qu'en était-il de l'appréciation chrétienne des mobiles musulmans ? Que savaient-ils de leurs ennemis ? Beaucoup moins, apparemment. Je commencerai par Guillaume de Tyr, de cinq ans environ plus jeune que 'Imād al-Dīn, et qui était probablement le plus érudit des Francs d'Outremer au XII[e] siècle. Guillaume passe pour très versé dans l'histoire de ses ennemis : s'inspirant de diverses oeuvres arabes, il rédigea une *Histoire des princes orientaux* de Mahomet à son époque. Il connaissait suffisamment l'Islam pour éviter systématiquement l'emploi du terme de *pagani* pour désigner les musulmans ; et il est possible que sous son infiuence les canonistes rangèrent les musulmans et les juifs dans la même catégorie [15]. Mais pour ce qui est des motifs du combat des musulmans contre les croisés et les Francs, Guillaume ne laisse pas de nous décevoir. A une seule occasion, évoquant une bataille entre Il-Bursuqī de Mossoul et les Francs, Guillaume souligne la véhémence caractéristique des hostilités entre guerriers de religions différentes [16]. Tout en revenant sur les motifs religieux des croisés, sur leur *zelus fidei*, sur la *sacrilegii dolor* qui alimentaient leurs volontés guerrières, Guillaume n'évoque nulle part le rôle joué par la foi islamique dans l'élaboration des motifs ennemis. Il décrit l'adversaire musulman comme inspiré par des motivations de nature résolument différente. Significatif à cet égard est le fait que dans sa description d'une offensive franque sur Damas, Guillaume présente les chrétiens comme détenteurs du zèle de la foi (*fidei zelum*) pour venger les outrages perpétrés contre Dieu et contre ses fidèles. En revanche, immédiatement après, il cite le chef de l'armée damascène conjurant ses hommes de mener une guerre juste (*bellum iustum*) pour leurs femmes et leurs enfants, pour la liberté et, chose plus importante encore, pour empêcher les brigands (c'est à dire les Francs) de s'emparer de leur patrie [17].

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14. Le traité est traduit dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 360 ; v. aussi R. Amitai, « Mamlūk Espionage among Mongols and Franks », *Asian and African Studies*, 22 (1988), p. 177.

15. C. Möhring, « Zu der Geschichte der orientalischen Herrscher des Wilhelm von Tyrus », *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 19 (1984), p. 170-183 ; R. C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz. Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus*, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1977, p. 127 ; B.Z. Kedar, « *De iudeis et sarracenis*. On the Categorization of Muslims in Medieval Canon Law ». dans R.I. Castillo Lara (éd.), *Studia in honorem Alphonsi M Stickler*, Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, Rome, 1992, p. 207-208.

16 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 13, 16.50-56, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis), p. 606; cf. *ibid.*, 1, 9.26-28, p. 120. V aussi Schwinges, *op. cit.*, p. 1, 237.

17. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, 13, 18.47-53, p. 609.

Cette représentation des musulmans combattant pour protéger leurs proches et leur liberté est récurrente dans la chronique de Guillaume de Tyr [18]. Les musulmans sont décrits à plusieurs reprises comme des guerriers luttant pour des motifs que l'on peut qualifier de « neutres » d'un point de vue religieux, qui auraient été semblables à ceux des Grecs ou des Romains de l'Antiquité. De fait, Rainer Christoph Schwinges — qui fut le premier à commenter ces passages, encore que d'un point de vue différent [19] — a montré qu'à l'occasion Guillaume présente les Francs comme des guerriers animés des mêmes motivations religieusement neutres : *pro uxoribus et liberis, pro libertate et patria* [20].

Pour ce qui est de la description des personnalités de Nūr al-Dīn et de Saladin, les deux grands meneurs du *jihād* anti-franc, elle est sensiblement la même. Leurs conquêtes sont présentées en termes profanes : Nūr al-Dīn est l'amplificateur du patrimoine ancestral et Saladin le souverain aspirant à répandre sa propre gloire et à agrandir son royaume [21]. L'imprécision sur les motivations religieuses de l'ennemi musulman est patente lorsque Guillaume annonce la mort de Nūr al-Dīn en déclarant qu'il était certes le plus redoutable persécuteur du christianisme mais qu'il était néanmoins un équitable, adroit et prévoyant prince, pieux selon les traditions de son peuple [22]. Le fait que Guillaume mentionne à la fois la persécution et la piété du sultan comme qualités apparemment antinomiques, suggère qu'il communique ici sa perception partielle mais sincère et qu'il ne dissimule pas une vérité déplaisante. Du reste ses lecteurs auraient été dans l'impossibilité de comprendre que ce n'était pas *malgré* mais précisément *grâce* à sa piété que le sultan devint le *maximus nominis et fidei christiane persequutor.*

Guillaume, par conséquent, ne s'est pas mesuré au *jihād* anti-franc ni n'a évoqué le but suprême de ses adversaires : la conquête de Jérusalem. Ses lecteurs n'en purent retirer des éclaircissements sur les motifs réels des musulmans. Pour tout ce qui est de l'analyse des mobiles de l'ennemi, l'abîme entre les écrits de Guillaume de Tyr et ceux d''Imād al-Dīn est par conséquent fort profond.

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18. *Ibid.*, 4, 13.47-49, p. 253 (Antioche) ; 15, 9.43, p. 687 (Baniyas) ; 17, 23.21-22, p. 792 et 17, 29.23-24, p. 802 (Ascalon) ; 20, 8.32-33, p. 921 (Egypte).

19. Schwinges, *op. cit.*, p. 216-219, 231, 237.

20. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, 10, 21.65-66, p. 481 ; 11, 24.13-15, p. 531 ; cf. Schwinges, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

21. *Ibid.*, 16, 7.19, p. 723 ; 22, 20.2-3, p. 1037.

22. ... Noradinus, maximus nominis et fidei christiane persequutor, princeps tamen iustus, vafer et providus et secundum gentis sue traditiones religiosus, *ibid.*, 20, 30.61-64, p. 956.

Quant au silence de Guillaume de Tyr sur la place occupée par Jérusalem dans la conscience des musulmans de son temps, devons-nous l'interpréter à la lettre ou présupposer que Guillaume en savait plus sur ce registre qu'il n'en écrivit et qu'il choisit délibérément de ne pas mentionner des concepts qu'il considérait comme fondamentalement erronés ? Certains récits d'Ibn al-Athir et d'"Imād al-Din confortent cette interprétation. Avec des variations minimes de l'un à l'autre, les deux auteurs musulmans rapportent qu'à l'automne 1187, au moment où Jérusalem était sur le point de tomber aux mains de Saladin et où le sultan refusait de négocier la reddition des défenseurs chrétiens de la ville, les Francs menacèrent d'exécuter leurs femmes et leurs enfants, de mettre le feu à leurs biens, de détruire le Dôme du Rocher et la mosquée al-Aqṣa, de tuer tous les prisonniers musulmans et de se rendre hors les murs pour combattre les assiégeants jusqu'à la mort [23]. Au premier niveau, ce récit montre que les Francs étaient conscients de l'importance que leurs ennemis attachaient aux deux sanctuaires du Ḥaram al-Sharīf. Mais méfions-nous du premier niveau, car nous nous trouvons ici devant ce que j'ai appelé une double réflexion ou réflexion en miroir : l'image qu'a l'une des parties de l'image qu'a l'autre des motivations de la première. La précision des termes désignant les deux lieux saints musulmans que les émissaires chrétiens utilisent à dessein doit nous faire redoubler de prudence. De même, les Continuations de Guillaume de Tyr mentionnent que les défenseurs de Jérusalem entendaient, en dernier recours, partir de nuit pour une expédition-suicide. Ce fut Eraclius — le patriarche auvergnat de Jérusalem — qui les en dissuada et les prévint qu'une telle initiative se solderait par la conversion forcée de leurs femmes et de leurs enfants par les Sarrazins [24]. Les Continuations ne mentionnent nulle part les intentions des Francs de tuer leurs propres femmes, enfants et prisonniers, et de détruire les sanctuaires du mont du Temple. Ce récit fut peut-être fabriqué de toutes pièces par les musulmans pour éviter qu'on ne reprochât à Saladin de n'avoir pas vengé le massacre perpétré par les croisés en 1099. Mais il se peut également que les émissaires francs aient proféré une menace outrepassant les intentions évoquées dans les Continuations, encore qu'il soit improbable qu'ils aient utilisé précisément la terminologie islamique des sources arabes précitées.

Quelques témoignages authentiques sur l'attitude des musulmans atteignirent toutefois le camp chrétien. Ainsi de la lettre envoyée par Saladin à Frédéric Ier Barberousse, qui fut traduite en latin et considérablement diffu-

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23. Ibn al-Athir et 'Imād al-Din dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 168, 183.

24. Cf. B.Z. Kedar, « The Patriarch Eraclius », dans B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer et R.C. Smail (éds.), *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jérusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1982, p. 200.

sée, mais l'original arabe de laquelle est perdu[25]. Rédigée à l'époque du triomphe de Saladin sur les Francs d'Outremer, la lettre énonce la menace du sultan de traverser les mers et d'assujettir, avec l'aide de Dieu, toute la chrétienté — menace qui peut être comparée à une déclaration que Bahā' al-Dīn attribue à Saladin à la même période[26]. La lettre témoigne également de l'attachement à Jérusalem du sultan qui se présente comme *servitor duarum sanctorum domorum et sancte domus Ierusalem*[27], traduction exacte de la formule utilisée en 587/1191 par Saladin dans une inscription découverte à Jérusalem, où nous lisons : « le serviteur des deux nobles sanctuaires et de ce temple sanctifié » [c'est à dire Jérusalem] [28]. Toutefois, comme dans d'autres cas, le fait que cette information soit parvenue au camp adverse ne nous fournit aucune preuve de son assimilation par l'ennemi [29].

La traduction latine de la lettre de Saladin témoigne également de l'impossibilité de transmettre des renseignements d'importance capitale en l'absence d'un substrat conceptuel adéquat. A deux reprises le vocable qui, dans l'original arabe devait être « Islam », est traduit en latin par le terme de *paganismus* [30], ce qui est une altération vraiment grossière. Mais l'inadéquation de l'appareil conceptuel chrétien dépasse de loin l'absence d'une terminologie spécifique. Le meilleur exemple, à cet égard, nous est fourni par deux épisodes des longues tractations entre Richard Coeur de Lion et Saladin. Décrivant les pourparlers d'octobre 1191, Bahā' al-Dīn rapporte que Richard réclama Jérusalem, la Vraie Croix et le territoire jusqu'au-delà du Jourdain. Saladin rétorqua en faisant notamment remarquer à son partenaire que Jérusalem était plus sacrée pour les musulmans que pour les chrétiens du fait du voyage nocturne du Prophète, que le territoire appartenait initialement aux musulmans et que la Croix ne serait restituée que contre des avantages considérables pour l'Islam entier[31]. Ainsi le biographe de Saladin se montre

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25. H.E. Mayer (éd..), *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1962 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften, 18), p. 282 n. 3. Sur l'authenticité de la lettre, v. H.E. Mayer, « Der Brief Kaiser Friedrichs I. an Saladin vom Jahre 1188 », *Deutsches Archiv*, 14 (1958), p. 488 et n. 7.

26. Mayer (éd..), *Itinerarium*, p. 285 et n. 2 ; Bahā' al-Dīn, dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

27. Mayer, éd., *Itinerarium*, p. 288.

28. *khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharifayn wa-hādha al-bayt al-muqaddas*. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet (sous la direction de), *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 9, Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1937, n° 3447, p. 174-175. Cf. H. Möhring, *Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug. Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1980 (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, 21), p. 110.

29. Cf. B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 27-35.

30. Mayer (éd.), *Itinerarium* (n. 25 *supra*), p. 285, 287.

31. Bahā' al-Dîn dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 252-253.

capable de présenter de façon crédible la position des deux parties. Ce qui n'est pas le cas de l'auteur de l'*Itinerarium peregrinorum* : à propos d'une subsequente série de négociations, cet auteur expose aussi les revendications territoriales de Richard et la réponse de Saladin, mais selon son récit le sultan justifie le rejet des exigences du roi anglais en indiquant qu'elles sont un outrage à... l'*honor paganismi* [32] ! A l'évidence, le chroniqueur chrétien, était, à l'instar de ses informateurs, dépourvu de l'appareil intellectuel qui lui aurait permis de comprendre une argumentation musulmane comme celle rapportée par Bahā' al-Dīn. Il semble que les chrétiens étaient conscients, au plus, de certaines conséquences pratiques du *jihād*, comme de la bonne volonté musulmane de consentir à une trêve mais pas à une paix permanente.

L'inadéquation du substrat conceptuel chrétien eut de graves conséquences politiques, car, dans cette situation où des concepts essentiels restent flous, les évaluations et les attentes demeurent irréalistes. Un exemple frappant nous est fourni par la lettre que le pape Innocent III adressa en 1213 au sultan al-'Ādil, frère de Saladin, le Saphadin des sources chrétiennes. Lettre particulièrement conciliante s'il en fut, dont le ton général indique une volonté manifeste de parvenir en toute bonne foi à une entente. Pourtant, tout en implorant humblement le sultan de restituer la province de Jérusalem aux chrétiens pour éviter toute effusion de sang à l'avenir, le pape ajoute que la détention de cette province risquait de valoir au sultan « au-delà de quelque vaine gloire » (*preter quandam inanem gloriam*) plus d'inconvénients que d'avantages [33]. Il va de soi qu'une telle méconnaissance de la nature du lien reliant les musulmans à Jérusalem vouait d'emblée à l'échec l'initiative papale.

A en juger par les termes du traité de 1229, Frédéric II semble apprécier à sa juste valeur l'importance du Ḥaram al-Sharīf pour la plupart des musulmans. Pourtant, les observations qui lui furent attribuées lors de sa visite au Ḥaram, et qui témoignent de sa compréhension de l'attitude musulmane, doivent être envisagés avec circonspection puisqu'elles proviennent de sources musulmanes [34].

Quelques rares sources franques ultérieures révèlent une certaine compréhension des mobiles musulmans. C'est le cas d'un continuateur de Guillaume de Tyr, qui expliqua les raisons du refus d'une garnison musulmane

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32. *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, éd. W. Stubbs, Londres, 1864 (Rolls Series 38/1), vol. 1, p. 295.

33. Edition critique dans K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981 (Studi e Testi, 291), p. 112.

34. V. dans Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 297-302.

de suivre les ordres de leur sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, qui avait ordonné en 1240 la restitution de la forteresse de Beaufort aux Francs. Comme l'écrit le continuateur, les soldats de la garnison « disoient tout apartement que li soudanz n'estoit mie fermement creanz en la loi de Mahommet quant il vouloit tel chastel randre senz cop ferir, à ces porciaux, chienz, crestienz, mescreanz, desloiaux qui ne croient en Dieu. » [35]. Mais les cas de ce genre sont très rares, tardifs, et ne traitent pas des motivations musulmanes à proprement parler.

Dès lors, comment interpréter ces perceptions si divergentes des motivations d'autrui évoquées ici et qui se soldèrent par d'aussi lourdes conséquences ? Les musulmans au Moyen Age témoignent certes de fort peu de curiosité pour l'Europe catholique, mais à partir du moment où les croisés se posèrent en menace perpétuelle, leurs motivations, leurs convictions et leurs modes de recrutement rallièrent l'intérêt de leurs adversaires. La compréhension du christianisme dont l'Islam avait témoigné depuis les origines facilita considérablement celle des desseins et des symboles de l'entreprise croisée. Par ailleurs, l'appréhension de l'Islam par la chrétienté ne commença sérieusement qu'avec la traduction en latin du Coran, deux générations après la première croisade. Mais la connaissance de l'Islam resta sporadique et ne se répandit que très lentement, même parmi les lettrés. Au point que vers 1270 Humbert de Romans déplore que de nombreux chrétiens, clercs et laïcs, s'imaginent que les Sarrazins considèrent Mahomet comme leur Dieu [36]. Dans ces circonstances, les Latins manquaient des conditions préalables à la compréhension des mobiles musulmans et de leurs fluctuations ; d'où une expression aussi malheureuse que celle d'*honor paganismi* ; d'où aussi les tentatives de persuader les musulmans de renoncer à la ville sainte. D'autre part, on peut affirmer que l'incapacité des croisés à percevoir les mobiles de leurs adversaires était fonctionnelle : en effet, s'ils avaient su apprécier à sa juste valeur le *jihād* anti-franc qui mûrit sous Nūr al-Dīn et Saladin, ils auraient très tôt compris que leur mission était quasiment impossible.

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35. Continuation dite du MS de Rothelin, dans *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1859, vol. 2, p. 522. V. Sivan, *L'Islam* (n. 2 supra), p. 150-151, 175.

36. Humbert de Romans, *Opusculum tripartitum*, 1, 27, dans E. Brown, *Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum sive tomus secundus*, Londres, 1690, p. 205.

ÉPISODES

Martin HOCH

THE CHOICE OF DAMASCUS AS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE SECOND CRUSADE : A RE-EVALUATION [1]

> « Voltaire to the contrary, history is a bag of tricks which the dead have played upon historians. The most remarkable of these illusions is the belief that the surviving written records provide us with a reasonably accurate facsimile of past human activity » [2].
>
> — Lynn White, Jr.

I

The ill-starred Second Crusade has received a universally bad press from medieval and modern historians alike. A particular wealth of critical comment, however, has been devoted to the principal military engagement of the crusade : the choice of Damascus as the objective of the abortive attack of the joint armies of the Second Crusade and of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in July 1148 has been labeled foolish and even harmful to the kingdom. It has been argued that at the time of the campaign Jerusalem and

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1. The argument of this paper is based on the author's doctoral thesis *Jerusalem, Damaskus und der Zweite Kreuzzug. Konstitutionelle Krise und äußere Sicherheit des Kreuzfahrerkönigreiches Jerusalem, A.D. 1126-1154*, Frankfurt a.M., Lang, 1993.

2. L. White Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 1962, p. v.

Damascus were allies against the growing might of their common and principal enemy Nur ad-Din of Aleppo. Some scholars even go so far as to regard the expedition as a willful breach of the treaty of alliance then in force between the Latin Kingdom and Damascus, leading more or less directly to the fall of the Syrian capital to Nur ad-Din in 1154 [3].

Presumably these acrimonious judgements to a degree reflect the dismal outcome of the attack which is here referred to as the « Syrian Campaign » of the Second Crusade. The original sources record the bare facts of the campaign, but they do not indicate the Eastern and Western Crusaders' motives for choosing Damascus. And while much ink has been spilled about the reasons militating *against* this choice, little effort has been devoted to investigating the motivation *for* choosing Damascus. As early as 1973, however, R.C. Smail has pointed out that the Crusaders' attempt to capture Damascus was probably not as foolish as it may seem, and that they must have had good reasons for their course of action [4].

Based on an analysis of the strategic situation as perceived by the Crusaders at the time the decision was taken, the present study aims to indicate the reasons which spoke in favor of choosing Damascus as the objective of the Second Crusade.

II

The Latin settlers' first task in consolidating their rule after the conquest of Jerusalem was to gain control of the Muslim-held coastal cities [5]. This was accomplished with the capture of Tyre in 1124, which left only Ascalon in enemy hands until 1153. In the crucial struggle for Tyre, Damascus pro-

3. See B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges*, Stuttgart, Ebner & Seubert, 1866, p. 216 ; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. II, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1952, p. 281 ; M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, Israel UP, 1970, p. 6, 150 ; J. Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, New York, Praeger, 1972, p. 25 ; H.E. Mayer, « Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1972), p. 127; *Id.*, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., Oxford, Oxford UP, 1988, p. 103.

4. R.C. Smail, « The Sepulchre Belongs to Us », *The Times Literary Supplement*, n° 3708 (30 March 1973), p. 355 ; *Id.*, « The Crusaders and the Conquest of Damascus », unpublished paper presented at the Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, April 1984, p. 15-16. Cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History*, London, Athlone, 1987, p. 101-2 ; Ch. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, London, Methuen, 1924, p. 261.

5. J. Prawer, « Crusader Security and the Red Sea », in *Id.*, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 1980, p. 472-4.

ved to be the principal antagonist of the Franks [6] : it was by far the largest Muslim city in southern Syria, and hence the natural counterpart to the Latin Kingdom.

As J. Prawer has shown, from the middle of the 1120's on the « security doctrine » [7] of the Latin Kingdom stipulated that its territory should be extended so that its borders would coincide with natural frontiers, such as the Mediterranean Sea and the Syrian Desert [8]. This means that Damascus and its southern province, the Hauran, could easily be used as a staging base for raids and invasions into the heartland of the Kingdom of Jerusalem [9]. From the 1120's on other sectors of the kingdom's land borders were relatively secure on account of the adjacent stretches of desert which functioned as *cordons sanitaires*, but both the Fatimid stronghold of Ascalon and the frontier with Damascus remained sensitive areas in this respect [10].

Not surprisingly, therefore, soon after the capture of Tyre the Franks directed their attention towards Damascus. As early as 1126 and 1129 they attempted to capture the city, but their attacks were repulsed on both occasions [11]. Relations between Jerusalem and Damascus were not only characterized by war and raids, however : it appears that truces and *condominia* were often in force between the neighbors [12].

The strategic situation in Syria was to undergo a substantial change with the arrival of 'Imad ad-Din Zengi. Atabeg of Mosul from 1127 and ruler of Aleppo from 1128, he built up a powerful empire in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. Zengi was not content with dominating these northern lands, however : in 1130 he began a military and diplomatic campaign against Damascus and its provinces. By 1135 he controlled Hamah, and in 1137 he gained suzerainty over Banyas. In the following year he concluded a marriage alliance with the Damascene ruler Shihab ad-Din, and was given Homs as

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6. Hoch, *Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 22-6.

7. J. Prawer, « Territory, Strategy and Politics in the Crusaders' Security Doctrine » (Hebrew), *Elazar-Papers*, 2 (1979), p. 16-23.

8. Prawer, *Crusaders' Kingdom, op. cit.*, p. 20-24 ; *Id.*, « Crusader Security », *op. cit.*, p. 474-8.

9. Benvenisti, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

10. Cf. Ph. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1984, p. 63-4.

11. J.P. Phillips, « Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade », in M. Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1994, p. 141-7 ; see also Smail, « Conquest of Damascus », *op. cit*.

12. M. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient. Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben vom 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1991.

dowry[13]. With secure lines of communication from Aleppo to Banyas, Zengi was now in a position to threaten the southern Syrian states.

Zengi again invaded Damascene territory in 1139. He captured Baalbek, defeated the Damascene army, laid siege to Damascus itself and remained in the immediate vicinity of the city for several months. Eventually, in the spring of 1140 the Damascene leadership approached the Latin Kingdom for help. A formal treaty was concluded and approved by an assembly of the kingdom's nobles. The agreement stated that in return for relieving Damascus, the Franks were to be reimbursed financially. Moreover, the treaty stipulated that Banyas should be recaptured and ceded to the Jerusalemites. Indeed Zengi retreated from Damascus after he learned of the approach of the Frankish force. And after a siege by the armies of Damascus and Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripoli, Banyas surrendered and was subsequently handed over to King Baldwin II [14].

From the Jerusalemites' point of view the Frankish-Damascene treaty of 1140 ensured that Damascus could not be used as a base for an assault on the Latin Kingdom. Hence the treaty was fully in accordance with their security doctrine. It must be borne in mind, however, that the treaty of alliance was concluded in a specific strategic situation which posed a threat to both signatories : by 1140 it had become evident that the expansionist tendencies of Zengi's empire threatened both the Crusader states and Damascus [15]. The treaty was certainly not an unconditional long-term alliance. In fact, its sole *raison d'être* was the defense against the expansion of Zengid rule into southern Syria.

III

The city of Edessa was captured by Zengi on Christmas Eve 1144, and the trans-Euphratic parts of the county were subsequently lost as well. Zengi, however, was murdered in September 1146. His empire was divided between his sons : Nur ad-Din took control of northern Syria, while his elder

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13. *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades. Extracted and translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, London, Luzac, 1932 [hereafter cited as IQ], p. 183-252 ; « The First and Second Crusade from an anonymous Syriac Chronicle », tr. A.S. Tritton, ann. H.A.R. Gibb, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933 [hereafter cited as SyA], p. 100-101, 273-4. See also Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 162-81.

14. IQ, p. 254-62 ; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986 [hereafter cited as WT], 15, 7-11.

15. WT, 15, 7. See also Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 187-8.

brother Sayf ad-Din held the Mesopotamian possessions [16]. The other states in Syria tried to take advantage of this situation : in October 1146 Mu'in ad-Din Anar, the de-facto ruler of Damascus, seized Baalbek and concluded a truce with Homs and Hamah [17]. In the winter of 1146/47 Count Joscelin of Edessa, with the support of the largely Armenian population, regained control of the city of Edessa. Nur ad-Din, however, brought up his army from Aleppo and recaptured the city, with decidedly more dramatic consequences than in 1144 : Edessa was pillaged and razed, and the non-Muslim population were put to the sword or enslaved [18]. Nur ad-Din's action in effect rendered the envisaged recapture of Edessa a pointless exercise for the Christians.

While Zengi's empire had been so extensive as to threaten Damascus, Nur ad-Din's smaller realm could be accommodated — or so it may well have been thought — in the Syrian system of equilibrium then espoused by Damascene politics [19]. Zengi's killer had fled to Damascus where he initially received a warm welcome. But when Mu'in ad-Din Anar returned from his expedition against Baalbek, he had the murderer arrested and extradited to Nur ad-Din. The new entente was confirmed in March/April 1147 by a formal treaty of alliance between Damascus and Aleppo, and the marriage of Anar's daughter to Nur ad-Din [20]. The rapprochement between Aleppo and Damascus was to effect as profound a change of the strategic situation in Syria as had Zengi's expansionist policy a decade earlier.

Whereas the new arrangement of equidistance from both Aleppo and Jerusalem served the interests of Damascus quite well, it was an entirely different matter for the Latin Kingdom. The Jerusalemites' motivation in entering into the alliance with Damascus had been to look after their security, not necessarily to preserve a equilibrium of power in Syria. With the Damascene-Aleppine rapprochement in effect, one could well argue that the treaty between Damascus and Jerusalem had in fact been rendered obsolete — after all, this treaty had been directed against the Zengid empire [21]. Worse still, the entente between Damascus and Aleppo raised the specter of combi-

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16. IQ, p. 266-72 ; WT, 16, 4-7 ; SyA, p. 280-92.

17. IQ, p. 272-3.

18. IQ, p. 274-5 ; SyA, p. 292-8 ; WT, 16, 14-16. See also M. Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d'Edesse*, Paris, Geuthner, 1988, p. 86-7.

19. Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 193-4.

20. IQ, p. 273-6.

21. This does not preclude the possibility that the treaty of 1140 was never formally rescinded: see WT, 16, 8 ; cf. Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 198-9. The fact remains that the treaty between Damascus and Aleppo had fundamentally changed the strategic situation in Syria, even if the implications of this agreement apparently escaped the notice of William of Tyre.

ned operations against the Latin Kingdom from a staging base close to the heart of the Christian territory. It is noteworthy that a strikingly similar strategic situation had occurred in 1113 when Tughtegin of Damascus and Mawdud of Mosul joined forces for an invasion of the kingdom in which the Jerusalemite army was routed and which very nearly marked the end of Latin rule over Palestine. This Muslim alliance against the Crusader states continued for more than a decade [22].

From the Crusaders' point of view, then, Damascus could well appear to have changed sides in the spring of 1147. To perceive the treaty with Nur ad-Din as a reorientation of Damascene foreign policy which threatened the vital interests of the Latin Kingdom was perfectly reasonable. The fact that the Damascene leadership would turn its back on Nur ad-Din only a few years later — when his power had grown and, much like Zengi, he encroached on the independence of Damascus — was by no means foreseeable in early 1147. The Crusaders cannot, therefore, be faulted for seeking other ways to look after their security interests.

The significance of the rapprochement between Damascus and Aleppo in 1146/47, and its effect on the relations between Jerusalem and Damascus, has hitherto been accorded little attention in the interpretation of the Latin Kingdom's attitude towards Damascus in the late 1140's [23]. But it was the reorientation of Damascene foreign policy expressed in the treaty of alliance with Nur ad-Din of 1147 — as it is argued here — which set the stage for both the Hauran Expedition of 1147 (see below) and the Syrian Campaign of 1148. With hindsight the Crusaders' course of action may seem precipitate, but it was clearly neither foolish nor an indefensible reaction to the turn events had taken.

The first conflict between the Latin Kingdom and Damascus in the new strategic situation took place just a few weeks after the conclusion of the alliance between Aleppo and Damascus. Altuntash, the Damascene governor of the semi-autonomous Hauran province, offered to surrender Bosra and Sarkhad, the two principal strongholds, to the Latin Kingdom in return for an adequate compensation. The proposal was debated at an assembly of the Jerusalemite nobles and accepted. King Baldwin III led the army of the kingdom to secure the strongholds in what is known as the « Hauran Expedition ». Negotiations ensued between Anar and the leadership of the Frankish army, but no agreement was reached and the Jerusalemites then invaded Damascene territory. Anar had called Nur ad-Din to help who brought down his army from Aleppo. They joined forces and succeeded in keeping

22. Hoch, *Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 21-6.

23. However, cf. J. Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

the Franks from reaching Bosra. The Christians eventually negotiated a retreat with Anar and returned to the kingdom. Bosra and Sarkhad were taken over by the Damascenes [24].

While the sources do not relate the arguments for and against Altuntash's proposal voiced at the Jerusalemite assembly, it stands to reason to assume that the decision to enter into near certain military conflict with Damascus was facilitated by the recent reorientation of Damascene foreign policy. But the Hauran Expedition in turn also strengthened the alliance between Anar and Nur ad-Din. Accordingly, the danger that Damascus could be used as a staging base by the joint forces of Damascus and Aleppo loomed ever larger. As a result, relations between Damascus and Jerusalem must have been at their lowest point since 1129. Thus the Latin Kingdom's strategic situation vis-à-vis its Muslim neighbors in Syria had deteriorated dramatically in the year immediately preceding the arrival of the Second Crusade.

IV

The Second Crusade was launched in reaction to the loss of Edessa in 1144, which had marked the most serious setback yet suffered by the Eastern Franks. It was by far the most substantial expedition from the West since the original crusade. After suffering severe losses on the march through Seljuk-held Asia Minor, the remnants of King Louis VII's army reached the Principality of Antioch in early 1148, while the few surviving members of the German expedition under King Conrad III arrived by ship in the Latin Kingdom.

The original objective of the crusade had been the recapture of Edessa. In 1148, however, once the Western Crusaders had familiarized themselves with the situation in the East, that goal was apparently dropped [25]. It must have become obvious that little could be gained by the recovery of Edessa which had been laid waste by Nur ad-Din in the winter of 1146/47. But what, then, were the possible objectives of the Second Crusade in the East ? Against the background of the strategic situation of the Crusader states in 1148, three options are in evidence :

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24. IQ, p. 276-8 ; WT, 16, 8-13 ; see also Mayer, « Melisende », *op. cit.*, p. 122-4 ; Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 196-8.

25 . For a discussion of Edessa as the objective of the crusade, see J.P. Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land. Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119-87*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 1996, p. 82-5 ; R. Hiestand, « "Kaiser" Konrad III., der zweite Kreuzzug und ein verlorenes Diplom für den Berg Thabor », *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 35 (1979), p. 83-9.

(1) In northern Syria, Antioch would have benefited most from the capture of Aleppo which, incidentally, was both closer and more dangerous to the northern Frankish center of power in Antioch than was Edessa.

(2) In southern Syria, the capture of Damascus would have greatly improved the strategic situation of the Latin Kingdom, the heartland of the Frankish East, which had dramatically worsened since 1147.

(3) Finally, there was Fatimid-held Ascalon, still a thorn in the flesh of the Latin Kingdom. Ascalon, however, had lost much of its offensive potential by the construction of the Frankish *Gegenburgen* of Bethgibelin, Ibelin and Blanchegarde in 1136-42 [26].

At various stages each of these options was discussed by Eastern and Western Crusaders. Prince Raymond of Antioch, e.g., tried to convince King Louis to campaign against Aleppo. Louis, however, refused the Antiochene proposal, preferring instead to visit Jerusalem first and fulfill his vow of pilgrimage. With regard to the crusade, he wanted to take action in conjunction with King Conrad and the Eastern Franks [27].

The decision to attack Damascus was first adopted at an informal meeting in Jerusalem about Easter 1148, as Otto of Freising, the only source on this important agreement, relates. Participants were King Baldwin III, King Conrad, Patriarch Fulcher of Jerusalem and unspecified representatives of the Knights Templar [28]. The meeting took place while King Louis was still in Antioch. Presumably he was informed of the plan to attack Damascus when after leaving Antioch in June he was met by Patriarch Fulcher who had been dispatched in order to hasten Louis's journey to Jerusalem [29].

Apparently Queen Melisende, Baldwin's mother, had no part in this agreement [30]. During the second quarter of the XIIth century the Latin Kingdom underwent a constitutional crisis which set various members of the royal family and their supporters against each other [31]. As H.E. Mayer has pointed out, Baldwin stood to profit from military campaigns because he could lead an army in the field and thereby demonstrate his qualities as a

26. M. Hoch, « The Crusaders' Strategy against Fatimid Ascalon and the "Ascalon Project" of the Second Crusade », in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1992, p. 120-23.

27. Phillips, *Defenders*, *op. cit.*, p. 90-97.

28. Bischof Otto von Freising und Rahewin, *Die Taten Friedrichs oder richtiger Cronica (Gesta Friderici)*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, tr. A. Schmidt, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965, 1, 63.

29. WT, 16, 29.

30. Mayer, « Melisende », *op. cit.*, p. 127-8.

31. For a fuller discussion of the crisis, see Hoch, *Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 43-75.

war leader (and hence claim leadership in peace as well), whereas Melisende, as a woman, had to be represented in the field by the royal constable [32].

The final decision about the campaign that was to be the climax and conclusion of the crusade was reached at a joint assembly of Jerusalemite and Western nobles at Palmarea near Acre on 24 June 1148. Both William of Tyre and the Damascene chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi report that a lengthy discussion took place to decide which Muslim city should be attacked. Unfortunately the sources do not relate the arguments exchanged on this occasion. In the end it was decided by common consent that the objective of the campaign should be the capture of Damascus [33]. While it was by no means unusual to set the stage for important decisions by informal agreements among the principal protagonists [34], the final decision, at least on the Jerusalemite side, rested with the assembly of nobles who had to give their consent before a campaign on foreign territory could be launched [35].

In July 1148, the army of the Latin Kingdom and the Western forces — the latter having been reinforced by mercenaries — marched against Damascus led by the three kings Louis, Conrad and Baldwin. On 24 July, the army approached the city via the orchards to the west and northwest which were cleared of the enemy. Heavy fighting continued for a number of days. During this period the Damascenes were continually reinforced by troops from their provinces. On the evening of 27 July the Christian leaders held a council of war in which it was suggested, apparently by Jerusalemites familiar with the local situation, to shift the point of attack to the east of the city which was supposed to be less well defended. Upon arrival at this point, however, it became evident that there were no better chances of success. After another debate whether the attack should be continued, it was decided to lift the siege. On 28 July the Crusaders retreated to the Latin Kingdom. The Syrian Campaign had failed in what was to all appearances an act of

32. Mayer, « Melisende », *op. cit.*, p. 117-18.

33. WT, 16, 29-17, 2 ; IQ, p. 282. See also Hiestand, « "Kaiser" Konrad », *op. cit.*, p. 90-91 ; J.P. Niederkorn, « *Traditio a quibus minime cavimus*. Ermittlungen gegen König Balduin III. von Jerusalem, den Patriarchen Fulcher und den Templerorden wegen Verrats bei der Belagerung von Damaskus », *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 95 (1987), p. 62-3.

34. Cf. G. Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990, p. 186-95.

35. Hiestand, « "Kaiser" Konrad », *op. cit.*, p. 90 ; Smail, « Conquest of Damascus », *op. cit.*, p. 16. For a differing view, see H.E. Mayer, « Le service militaire et le financement des campagnes en Syrie du nord et en Egypte au XIIe siècle », in *Id.*, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale/de Boccard, 1984, p. 131-2.

flagrant treachery. While a number of explanations has been offered by medieval and modern historians as to who is to be held responsible for the failure of the campaign, no clear picture has emerged [36]. It has been argued that the shifting of the point of attack was a militarily sensible reaction to the arrival of Damascene reinforcements or the stalling of the Crusaders' attack [37]. This seems unlikely, however, since the Crusaders' withdrawal was apparently initiated before they could join battle with the enemy from their new base – which one would have to expect if the shift had merely been a tactical move [38].

The failure of the attack on Damascus did not mark the end of the crusade, however. An agreement was reached by the participants in the Syrian Campaign to attempt the capture of Ascalon. This so-called « Ascalon Project » of the Second Crusade could not be carried through, however, apparently because the majority of the Jerusalemite barons refused to join the muster of the armies. Only after this second debacle did King Conrad leave the Holy Land, blaming the Jerusalemites for repeated duplicity and the failure of the crusade. King Louis returned home in 1149 after celebrating Easter in Jerusalem [39].

V

Relations between Jerusalem and Damascus improved again after the Second Crusade, and when by 1150 it became evident that Nur ad-Din posed as much a threat to the independence of Damascus as his father Zengi had, the Frankish-Damascene alliance was reinstated [40]. This course of events, however, could not be anticipated by the Crusaders in 1147/48. When Damascus finally fell to Nur ad-Din in 1154, the strategic situation of the Latin states suffered a critical setback as they now faced a united enemy front from Aleppo to Damascus with a staging base close to the center of the Latin Kingdom. This was very much the scenario which the Syrian

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36. For a discussion of the Syrian Campaign and the original sources, see G. Constable, « The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries », *Traditio*, 9 (1953), p. 273-4 ; V.G. Berry, « The Second Crusade », in M.W. Baldwin (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958, p. 507-10 ; A.J. Forey, « The Failure of the Siege of Damascus », *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), p. 13-23 ; Niederkorn, *op. cit.* ; Hoch, *Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 122-33.

37 Forey, *op. cit.* ; cf. Berry, *op cit.*, p. 509.

38. Cf. Niederkorn, *op. cit.*, p. 57-8.

39. Hoch, « Crusaders' Strategy », *op. cit.*, p. 123-4 ; *id.*, *Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 133-9.

40. IQ, p. 296-307. Cf. Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 212-21.

Campaign of the Second Crusade, the Crusaders' last effort to win Damascus, had been meant to forestall.

In summary, this study argues that both the Hauran Expedition of 1147 and the Syrian Campaign of the Second Crusade in 1148 were launched by the Crusaders in reaction to a re-orientation of Damascene foreign policy in 1146/47 which proved a critical threat to the security of the Latin Kingdom and by which the treaty of alliance with the Latin Kingdom of 1140 was rendered obsolete. Contrary to traditional interpretations, the Crusaders' course of action did *not* contravene the strategic interest of the Latin Kingdom as it was fully in accordance with its security doctrine. Thus it can be demonstrated that the decision to attempt the capture of Damascus in 1148 was in fact reasonable and justified by the particular strategic situation on the eve of the arrival of the Second Crusade in the East [41].

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41. I would like to express my indebtedness to my preceptor Dr. Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, professor emeritus of the University of Michigan. This study was originally conceived in his seminars, and without his unfailing encouragement it could not have been brought to fruition I am also grateful to Dr. Jonathan P. Phillips for his comments on a draft of this study.

Mohammed A. AZIZ

LA CROISADE DE L'EMPEREUR FRÉDÉRIC II ET L'ORIENT LATIN

Quand l'empereur partit de Brindisi pour la Terre Sainte, l'idée de croisade était en décadence ; on n'était plus au temps où des centaines de milliers d'hommes se levaient à la voix de quelques prédicateurs inspirés. Le royaume latin de Jérusalem avait perdu sa capitale en 1187 et se limitait dorénavant à une étroite bande côtière. Fréderic II était excommunié par le pape [1], sa croisade maudite par l'Eglise et contrariée par le zèle malentendu du clergé latin d'Orient, il ne possédait qu'une petite armée de croisés et s'était aliéné une bonne partie de la noblesse et de la chevalerie franque en Syrie.

Mais ce qui fut le plus étrange c'est que malgré tous ces faits, l'empereur réussit, sans effusion de sang, à signer avec le sultan d'Egypte un pacte de dix ans qui lui donnait, entre autres, possession de Jérusalem, Bethléem, Nazareth, la Galilée avec un territoire reliant la Ville Sainte à Jaffa [2].

On ne saurait contester ni l'utilité ni l'importance pour l'Orient latin de ces résultats que les précédentes croisades, à l'exception de la première, n'ont pu achever malgré les importants supports moraux et matériels dont elles jouissaient. Les relations entre l'empereur et la population latine de la Terre Sain-

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1. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, London, Longman, 1876, v. 5, p. 145 -151.

2. Ibn al-Athir, *Al-kamil fi al-tarikh*, Beyrouth, Dar Al-fikr, 1978, v. 9, p. 378 ; Sabt ibn al-Jawzi, *Miraat al zaman fi tawarikh al aayan*, Chicago, 1907, p. 432 ; Eracles, *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'outre-mer*, in *RHC* , *Hist. occ.*, 2, p. 374.

te ont-elles joué un rôle pour aboutir à cette fin ? et quelles furent les conséquences du traité de Jaffa de 1229 sur ces relations ?

Avant son mariage avec Yolande de Brienne, Fréderic II profitait de son voeu de croisé pour obtenir du pape un soutien plus énergique en Allemagne [3]. Mais dès que son mariage fut célébré à Brindisi le 9 novembre 1225, l'empereur avait hâte de s'octroyer le titre de roi de Jérusalem, dont Jean de Brienne était investi comme tuteur de sa fille [4]. Et bien que le pape s'abstint de faire figurer dans les pièces officielles le nouveau titre de Fréderic, les seigneurs latins de Terre Sainte présents en Italie lui jurèrent foi et hommage. Thomas d'Accera que l'empereur envoya en Syrie comme baïl eut peu de difficulté à faire reconnaître partout l'autorité de son maître [5].

Fréderic II commença à préparer sérieusement son expédition et le pape l'aida à calmer ses adversaires, surtout les républiques lombardes qui lui étaient hostiles, à l'exception de Crémone et de Pise. Il faut retenir que des ressortissants de ces mêmes républiques formaient une bonne partie de la bourgoisie commerciale en Orient latin. Les chevaliers Teutoniques acquérirent avec l'aide de l'empereur des territoires en Terre Sainte et commencèrent à construire leur propre château-fort, et leur chef fut élevé au rang de « Venerabilis Magister » [6]. Cela ne dut pas plaire aux Templiers et aux Hospitaliers de voir un troisième ordre, teutonique cette fois, venir leur partager gloire et fortune. Les Ibelins qui dirigeaient les affaires du royaume de Chypre redoutaient l'arrivée de l'empereur qui pourrait exercer ses droits de suzeraineté, d'autant qu'il était tuteur nominal du roi mineur Henri de Lusignan. Afin d'éviter une telle situation ils essayèrent de couronner Henri avant sa maturité [7].

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3. Fréderic renouvela son voeu à plusieurs reprises, et à chaque fois il en profitait pour obtenir l'aide du Saint-Siège pour contrôler ses ennemis en Allemagne et parmi les républiques lombardes.

4. Toutes les correspondances de Fréderic II, à dater de décembre 1225, se référent à ce titre. Voir: J.-L.A. de Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, Paris, Plon, 1852-1861, v. 2, p. 526 ff. De sa part, la première fois que Grégoire IX mentionne ce titre dans un document officiel fut dans une lettre addressée à l'empereur en août 1231, in Huillard- Bréholles, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 298.

5. P. Wiegler, *The infidel emperor and his struggles against the Pope*, tr. B.W. Downs, London, 1930, p. 129.

6. F. Salles, *Annales de l'ordre de Sainte Marie de Jérusalem*, Vienne, 1887, p. 19.

7. L'âge de maturité en Orient latin était de 18 ans alors qu'il était de 21 ans en Allemagne. Dans le cas où le roi est couronné, le régent n'a plus le droit de poursuivre sa régence après l'âge de 15 ans. Dans le cas du roi Henri, Philippe d'Ibelin le couronna en 1225 à l'âge de 8 ans pour éviter tout malentendu avec Fréderic II suite à son mariage avec Yolande de Brienne. Voir : J. L. La Monte, *Feudal monarchy in the latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, The Medieval Academy of America, 1932, p. 73.

La crainte d'une main-mise germanique manifestée par Philippe Auguste lors de sa dernière rencontre avec Jean de Brienne en 1223 commençait à se manifester [8]. Et suite à l'excommunication de Fréderic II par le pape cette manifestation s'aggrava ; les Templiers qui s'étaient emparé à force d'armes d'un butin et durent le restituer aux musulmans, grâce à l'intervention de Thomas d'Accera, se plaignirent de Fréderic II auprès du pape qui l'accusa à son tour de préférer « aux serviteurs du Christ... les serviteurs de Mahomet » [9].

Une fois l'empereur à Chypre, Jean d'Ibelin qui ne voulait pas être accusé de ne pas prêter aide à une croisade, vint à la rencontre de Frédéric. Mais ce dernier était tellement anxieux d'exercer tous les droits de la suzeraineté qui lui revenaient sur le royaume de Chypre qu'il s'aliéna le comte de Beyrouth. En rapportant cet épisode, Philippe de Novare et Amadi affirment que Frédéric voulait appliquer les lois germaniques sur ce royaume [10]. A cela venaient s'ajouter des raisons d'ordre financier ; l'empereur dût abandonner en Italie la majorité de ses forces et de ses ressources afin de pouvoir défendre son royaume de Sicile contre une éventuelle attaque par les forces lombardes appuyés et bénies par le pape.

Les seigneurs latins opposés à Jean d'Ibelin, à savoir Amaury Barlais et ses compagnons, auraient convaincu l'empereur de se procurer les forces et ressources nécessaires à sa croisade du royaume de Chypre [11]. Mais cette politique eut un effet contraire et risqua de faire éclater une guerre civile. Jean d'Ibelin, qui tenait de facto l'île suite à la mort de son frère Philippe, refusa l'ordre impérial et se réfugia dans son château de « Dieu d'Amour », à l'ouest de Nicosie, où il se prépara à soutenir un siège en règle. L'arrivée de troupes impériales et latines de Syrie ne fit qu'aggraver la situation. Mais grâce à la médiation du prince d'Antioche et des chefs des ordres militaires un arrangement eut lieu : l'empereur aurait la tutelle réelle du roi et l'admi-

8. Suite à son accord avec Hermann de Salza en 1223, de marier Yolande à Fréderic, Jean de Brienne passa en France où il fut reçu par Philippe Auguste. Ce dernier mourut un peu plus tard, le 14 juillet, à Mantes, et Jean d'Ibelin, qui était toujours en France, assista aux obsèques du roi et au couronnement de Louis VIII. Voir : Eracles,*op. cit.*, p. 355-6 ; Albéric des Trois-Fontaines, *Chronique*, in *Recueil des historiens de Gaule et de France*, Paris, Bouquet, 1737-1904, vol. 18, p. 792 ; Richard de Saint Germain, *Chronica regni Siciliae*, in *Monumenta germanicae historica* (*MGH*) *scriptores*, Hannovre, 1816-1826.

9. Cette citation de Grégoire IX apparaît dans l'acte d'excommunication de Frédéric II daté du 5 août 1227, in Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*,v. 3, p. 74 -5.

10. Philippe de Novare, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, in *RHC*, *doc. arméniens*, v. 2, p. 677-679 ; F. Amadi, *Chronique d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, éd. René de Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1891, p. 66-67.

11. Amadi, *op. cit*., p. 63 ; F. Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, éd. R. de Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1886, p. 36.

nistration des revenus de l'île jusqu'à la majorité d'Henri de Lusignan ; pour sa part, Jean d'Ibelin ferait hommage à Fréderic II pour Beyrouth et devrait s'embarquer avec lui pour la Terre Sainte, ce qu'il fit. Suite à cet arrangement, le chef de la croisade, suzerain du royaume de Chypre, plaça des châtelains dévoués à ses intérêts dans toutes les places stratégiques de l'île [12].

Ce premier tour de force qui se termina en faveur de l'empereur lui aliéna une bonne partie de la noblesse franque de Chypre et de Syrie. Bohémond IV d'Antioche craignant de devoir reconnaître la suzeraineté de Frédéric II sur sa principauté se retira vers sa ville, sous prétexte de maladie. Les Ibelins qui lui étaient devenus hostiles suite aux événements de Chypre l'accompagnèrent en Syrie par crainte de se voir accuser d'un échec possible de la croisade [13], et pour pouvoir protéger leur fiefs dans cette région en suivant de près l'armée impériale.

En débarquant en Palestine, l'empereur fut reçu avec honneur par les chefs latins et acclamé par la foule des croisés. Mais ces chefs eurent soin de lui faire apprendre qu'il leur était difficile d'entretenir des relations avec un excommunié [14]. L'ambassade que Fréderic II envoya à Rome pour négocier un accord avec le pape n'eut aucun succès ; au contraire Grégoire IX confirma sa décision, déclara une croisade contre les possessions de Frédéric en Italie et demanda au patriarche de Jérusalem et aux chefs des ordres militaires de ne procurer aucune aide à l'empereur [15].

Cette demande du pape permit aux Templiers et aux Hospitaliers de se dégager des troupes croisées, dégagement qui était dicté par une crainte d'un changement du caractère même des Etats latins de Syrie suite à l'arrivée de Frédéric. Cette crainte d'une main-mise impériale qui risquait de bouleverser les lois et coutumes de l'Orient latin émanait du fait que l'empereur, teuton et croisé, venait en Orient en sa qualité de roi de Jérusalem et manifestait son intention d'affirmer ses droits et ceux de son fils et de gérer le royaume à sa manière. Dire que ces latins d'Orient agissaient de cette façon simplement par crainte du Pape n'est pas justifié ; le camp de Frédéric comportait un chef d'ordre militaire, Hermann de Salza, et les évêques de Reggio, Capoue, Bari et Palerme [16].

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12. Eracles, *op. cit.*, p. 369 ; Philippe de Novare,*op. cit.*,p. 682.

13. Philippe de Novare, *op. cit.* ; Amadi, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

14. Eracles, *op. cit.*,p. 369 ; P. Wiegler, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

15. Eracles, *op. cit.*, p. 370. Fréderic II accusa le pape d'avoir demandé au sultan d'Egypte de ne pas livrer la ville sainte à l'empereur,voir : Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*,v. 5, p. 296. Cette demande de Grégoire aurait-elle convaincu Al-Kamel du contraire ?

16. Benoît-Méchin, *Frédéric de Hohenstauffen ou le rêve excommunié*, Paris, Plon, 1980, p. 240.

Même quand l'empereur entreprit une marche militaire d'Acre vers Jaffa, les Templiers et les Hospitaliers refusèrent de s'allier à ses troupes qui entreprirent cette traversée avec les risques d'une attaque ayyoubide [17]. L'attitude de ces ordres envers la croisade impériale n'échappa pas au sultan d'Egypte qui réalisa tout de suite la divergence qui régnait dans le camp latin et qui distingua dès lors entre le camp impérial et le reste des forces croisées. Cette distinction permettra éventuellement à El-Kamel et Frédéric de conclure le traité de Jaffa, comme nous allons le démontrer plus tard dans le texte.

Dans le camp musulman, le sultan d'Egypte n'arrivait toujours pas à affermir son autorité sur les possessions ayyoubides en Syrie, car malgré la mort de son frère Al-Mouazzam de Damas, le fils de ce dernier, Al-Nassir, continua à suivre la politique pro-khwarizmienne de son père. Or, le danger des Khwarizmiens émanait du fait qu'ils fuyaient les Mongols, et bien qu'ils fussent parmi leurs premières victimes, ils appliquèrent leur méthode de la terre brulée. Les atrocités qu'ils commirent et qui annonçaient déjà l'invassion mongole terrifiait le Moyen Orient musulman. L'importance des écrits des historiens arabes de l'époque décrivant les terreurs commises par les Mongols pendant les invasions prouve que ce danger, bien qu'encore lointain, était plus craint par les musulmans de Syrie que celui des croisés avec qui un certain modus vivendi était déjà établi [18].

Ce fait poussait Al-Kamel à chercher à neutraliser la croisade de Fréderic afin de pouvoir se livrer à l'établissement de son autorité en Syrie, et par la suite de défendre l'état Ayyoubide contre le danger khwarizmien qui entraînait derrière lui un danger plus important : l'invasion mongole. L'attitude hostile envers Fréderic II manifestée par le pape, instigateur des croisades et chef suprême des Latins, et par les ordres Hospitaliers et Templiers, ennemis déclarés des musulmans, aida le sultan à décider de conclure un traité avec l'empereur afin de concentrer ses efforts contre le danger Khwarizmien.

Il est important de remarquer dans ce contexte que le traité de Jaffa distinguait entre Fréderic II et le reste des croisés. Dans sa lettre du 29 février 1229 à Grégoire IX, Giraud, patriarche de Jérusalem, cite que le traité était conclu entre l'empereur et le sultan, qu'il faisait mention des délégués de

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17. Le risque d'une éventuelle attaque ayyoubide apparaît dans deux lettres envoyés à Grégoire IX, la première par Giraud, patriarche de Jérusalem et ennemi déclaré de Frédéric II, datée du 26 mars 1229, in Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 105, et la deuxième par Hermann de Salza, datée du 21 mars 1229, in *ibid.*, v. 3, p. 99.

18. La comparaison entre les attrocités commises par les Khwarizmiens et par les Mongoles apparaît clairement dans les récits de la plupart des historiens orientaux, même ceux qui étaient assez éloignés de ce danger en Egypte. Voir : Ibn al Athir, *op. cit.*, v. 9, p. 355 ; Ibn Wassil, *Moufarrej al korub fi tarikh bani Ayoub*, Le Caire, Markaz Tahkik Alturas, 1960-1977, v. 4, p. 145 ; Ibn Kathir, *Al bidaya wal nihaya*, Le Caire, Al Saada, 1929, v. 13, p. 105.

Frédéric sans mentionner le reste des forces croisées et que le droit de refortifier la ville sainte revenait seulement à l'empereur [19]. En fait, la question du droit à la reconstruction des remparts de Jérusalem est niée par les sources arabes alors que Frédéric la cite dans sa lettre du 18 mars 1229 au roi d'Angleterre [20] et que les sources occidentales, à l'exception de Giraud, reproduisent sans imposer aucune restriction. Mais il nous semble que la citation du patriarche de Jérusalem explique cette contradiction entre les sources orientales et occidentales ; l'empereur avait le droit de reconstruire les remparts de la ville, mais puisqu'il lui était impossible de demeurer en Orient alors que son royaume de Sicile et son empire étaient en péril, ce droit devenait nominal.

Les relations tendues entre Frédéric II et une bonne partie des Latins d'Orient furent donc une des causes principales qui permirent au sultan d'Egypte de céder des possessions en Terre Sainte à l'empereur d'Occident. Et bien qu'on ne pût contester ni l'utilité ni l'importance pour l'Orient latin de cet accord, il eut pour résultat direct d'aliéner la majorité des forces latines en Orient contre l'empereur. Cette majorité voyait en cet accord l'affermissement du pouvoir impérial sur le royaume de Jérusalem, ce qui portait atteinte au caractère franc de ce royaume et qui risquait d'arracher aux Latins d'Orient l'indépendance dont ils jouissaient [21].

Pour essayer de calmer leur haine l'empereur, suite à son couronnement à Jérusalem, prononça son discours en italien et chargea le grand maître des Teutoniques de le traduire en allemand et en français [22]. Mais ceci fut inutile, les chevaliers francs refusèrent de coopérer avec l'empereur pour reconstruire les remparts de Jérusalem en prétextant son excommunication par le pape. Frédéric riposta en ordonnant que toutes les offrandes des pélerins aux églises de la ville sainte soient versées à la caisse de l'armée afin d'être utilisées pour les travaux de fortification de la ville. Il quitta ensuite Jérusalem pour se rendre à Saint-Jean d'Acre. Là, il apprit que le patriarche de Jérusalem voulait retenir une partie des croisés en Terre Sainte en les soldant sur les fonds légués par le testament de Philippe Auguste. La réaction impériale était ferme : il menaça quiconque de soudoyer des troupes dans son royaume sans sa permission [23]. Les décisions impériales lui aliénèrent de plus en plus

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19. in Huillard-Bréholles, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 86-90.

20. in *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 95.

21. L'attitude de Philippe Auguste envers le mariage de Frédéric ainsi que le comportement des Latins de Syrie avant, durant et après cette croisade prouvent ce point.

22. Eracles, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

23. Cette décision impériale est rapportée sous forme de complainte par Giraud au pape, lettre datée de mai 1229, dans Matthieu Paris, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 180-181.

des Latins, et même la foule lui devenait hostile. Son départ de Terre Sainte ne peut être décrit qu'humiliant [24].

Toutefois, avant de partir, il chargea Balien de Sidon d'administrer le royaume et légua plusieurs fiefs en Orient aux chevaliers Teutoniques [25]. Sous le gouvernement de Balien l'autorité de l'empereur s'affermit, les Templiers furent obligés de renoncer aux droits qu'il réclamaient sur Tyr et Sidon, les nobles opposés à Frédéric II furent dépouillés de leurs fiefs et les prétentions de la reine Alice, mère d'Henri de Lusignan, qui se disait héritière du royaume de Jérusalem à défaut de Conrad, furent écartées [26]. Mais, dès lors, deux camps ennemis furent créés au sein du royaume, et une guerre civile allait suivre jusqu'au départ du dernier représentant impérial de Tyr en 1242 [27]. Et sans nous aventurer dans les détails de cette guerre plutôt connue sous le nom de Guerre des Lombards, il est nécessaire de faire remarquer que même quand les relations entre Frédéric II et le pape s'amélioraient et que ce dernier intervenait en faveur de l'empereur en Orient, les Latins des Etats croisés refusaient parfois l'intervention papale, ce qui démontre que leur attitude à l'égard de Frédéric n'était pas dictée par des raisons religieuses.

Nous remarquons donc que les relations tendues qui existaient entre Frédéric II et les Latins d'Orient contribuèrent, avec d'autres raisons, à permettre au sultan d'Egypte de conclure avec l'empereur le traité de Jaffa, traité dont devait profiter l'Orient latin mais qui conduisit à une guerre civile à l'intérieur des Etats croisés qui ne furent sauvés que par la discorde qui régnait pendant cette même période parmi les Ayyoubides, et une crainte plus prononcée d'une éventuelle invasion Khwarizmienne qui entraînerait avec elle les Mongols et leurs atrocités.

Toutefois, en essayant d'analyser les raisons de ce comportement latin vis-à-vis de Frédéric II, nous pouvons conclure que l'empereur d'Occident, qui comprenait si bien la mentalité des musulmans et admettait qu'elle soit

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24. Eracles, *op. cit.*, p. 375 ; P. Wiegler, op. cit., p. 141 ; Philippe de Novare, *op. cit.*, p. 684.

25. Les acquisitions des Chevaliers Teutoniques durant la croisade de Frédéric sont enregistrées dans E. G. Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, Berlin, 1896, p. 50-56.

26. Cette question est reproduite dans *Les Assises de Jérusalem*, in *RHC*, *Lois*, v. 1, p. 325.

27. La datation du départ de Riccardo Filangieri de Tyr est déterminée en fonction de l'âge de quinze ans de Conrad, âge qui permet de déclarer la fin de la régence de Frédéric et qui donne comme date 1243, ou en se basant sur les sources contemporaines, comme Philippe de Novare, qui donne 1242. D. Jacoby a publié une étude sur ce sujet qui démontre que la date de 1242 est plus exacte, voir D. Jacoby ,« The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the collapse of the Hohenstaufen power in the Levant », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 40 (1986), p. 84-102.

différente de celle des Occidentaux, n'arrivait pas à admettre qu'il y ait en Orient des Latins qui eussent une mentalité différente et qui étaient tellement attachés à leur indépendance et à leur propre lois [28]. Les Francs de Syrie qui attendaient d'habitude avec enthousiasme l'arrivée des croisades considéraient que ces croisades venaient affermir leurs possessions et non pas les accaparer ou changer leur caractère. C'est à cause de ceci qu'ils avaient éprouvé un certain enthousiasme pour la croisade impériale, mais une fois qu'ils avaient réalisé que leur indépendance et leurs lois étaient mises en question, ils prirent position contre ce danger ; ils redevenaient Francs face à l'empereur germanique et la bourgeoisie commerciale redevenait lombarde face à Frédéric II. La survie des institutions de la Terre Sainte était pour eux primordiale à la survie de la ville sainte ; l'empereur,allemand, roi de Jérusalem, était plus dangereux à leur avis que les armées ayyoubides ! L'idée de croisade qui était en décadence en Europe souffrait encore plus dans les Etats croisés.

Ces Etats ne furent sauvés pendant le reste de la période ayyoubide que par la discorde qui régnait à l'intérieur du camp musulman où l'esprit de jihad souffrait d'une décadence similaire à celle de l'esprit de croisade à l'intérieur du camp croisé, où le danger mongol était le plus prononcé, où chaque frère et cousin parmi les rois ayyoubides voyait en son frère et cousin un risque plus grand que ces Etats croisés démantelés. Il fallait attendre l'arrivée des Mamlouks pour voir l'esprit de jihad revivre, ce qui leur permit de faire face au danger mongol et d'arrêter sa progression au Moyen-Orient, suite à la victoire d'Aïn Jalout, et de se retourner ensuite vers les Etats croisés dont le maintien en Syrie se termina en 1291.

L'expédition de Frédéric II et le traité qui en résulta et qui fut facilité par la divergence entre l'empereur et l'Orient latin aurait dû profiter à cet Orient, mais en fait, et grâce à cette même divergence, il eut un effet contraire qui divisa l'Orient latin, accéléra la décadence de l'idée de croisade et par là la fin des Etats latins en Syrie.

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28. Runciman décrit cela en ces termes : « But he [l'empereur] failed to comprehend the nature of Frankish Outremer », S. Runciman, *A history of the crusades*, Cambridge, Cambrige University Press, 1966, p. 192.

José Manuel RODRÍGUEZ GARCÍA

IDEA AND REALITY OF CRUSADE IN ALFONSO'S X REIGN CASTILE AND LEON, 1252-1284.

Introduction. Reconquest and Crusade

> « The crusades in Spain formed one aspect of the broader movement of conquest and settlement known as the Reconquista ; in which between the VIIIth and XVth centuries the Christians rewon the whole of the peninsula from the Moors. The waging of crusades in Spain depended largely on the ability and readiness of its christian rulers to undertake further steps in the process of recovery ; or altertanively on their need to defend their lands against Muslim counter-attack » [1].

Those are Housley's words and I just have to agree with him ; but I would like to remark two ideas : the first is the leadership role of the Spanish kings in any crusade in their kingdoms ; and the second one is that the Reconquista was — or at least all the chroniclers want us to believe so — the recover of the former Christian lands lost at Muslim hands in 711. Therefore, the Iberian peninsula was a crusade scenery, althought not all the campaigns were true crusades. Papal authorization and crusade indulgences and privileges were needed to call a campaigns as a crusade, and the popes, from the very beginning, not also authorized crusades in Spain, but granted to the Iberian crusaders the same crusading privileges which enjoyed those

1. N Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986.

fighting in the Levant. Furthermore, taking into account the great appeal of the Holy Land, even to the Spaniards, the Lateran council of 1123 banned any man or resource from being distracted from the Iberian front.

In 1252, at Alfonso's accesion to the throne, Castile was the only kingdom which had the possibility to continue with the Reconquista. Portugal and Aragon, — the latter had just finished its crusade against the Muslim kingdom of Valencia —, had reached their expansion limits which had been drawn by the treaty of Almizra in 1244. Thanks to Fernando's III successful campaigns, Granada and Niebla were the only moorish kingdoms which stayed aside from Castilian dominance, althought both of them were reckoned as Castilian vasals and payed an annual tribute for that.

The Perception of Castile

Was there an image of Castile as crusade leader ? I do think so, and, in fact, its kings were much more appreciated for this. Castilian victories over the Moors were sung in English [2], French [3] and Norwegian Chronicles [4], as well as in papal letters [5]. Even St. Louis seems to have used the fame of the Christian victories in the Peninsula to threaten the sultan al-Malik Salih in a letter adressed to him in 1249 [6]. Therefore, the crusades in the Iberian penin-

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2. M. Parish, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. J.A. Giles, London, 1854 : *Victorisissimus rex Castellae Audefulsus*, who had defeated the Muslims more than thirteen times, vowed to go on crusade to the Holy Land, moved by the compassion for the French debacle « thinking it more worthy to subdue the Holy Land to Christ, than any other country » (II, 387. year 1250).

3. *Chronica*, op.cit., II,505 (1252). Jordan tells us that St, Louis admired Fernando III and the role of Spain, mainly Castile, as symbol of the Holy War. He also thinks that St. Louis neither expected any Castilian help for his crusades nor had wished that Castile had given up its struggle in the Peninsula in order to go to the Holy Land. W. Jordan, *Louis IX and the challenge of the crusades*, Princetown, 1979. p. 30-31. Cit. M. Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. Luard, London, 1876 (Rolls Series), V,311.

4. Cif. Gelsinger, « A thirteenth century Norwegian-Castilian alliance », *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 10 (1981),p. 55-80. In 1258 and 1261 there were plans for a Norwegian help in the crusade.

5. Cif. J. González, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, Universidad de Córdoba, 1980, p. 360. In 1259, a papal letter pointed out Alfonso *inter alios principes terres*, because of his fight against the infidels (P. Linehan, *La Iglesia Española y el Papado en el s. XIII*, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1955, p. 138).

6. « ... you will be aware that I am the head of the Christian community as I acknowledge that you are the head of the Mohameddian community. You also know that the (Muslim) population of Andalusia pays tribute to us and gives us gifts and we drive them before us like a herd of cattle, killing the men, widowing the women, capturing their daughters and infants, emptying their houses... », tr. of the *Chronicle of Maqrizi*, in Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle Crociate*, Roma, 1964, p. 334-335, 283-284.

sula had a prestige and influence over the rest of the Christian kings which Alfonso reckoned and was not ready to loose [7]. We should notice that at Fernandos death, the Castilian was the only Christian king who had carried on, successfully, different crusades against the infidels and that his own son, Alfonso, had already participated in two successfull crusades by 1252.

Fernando III and Alfonso X

The Castilian kings had two main roles : leading the army against the infidels, or any other enemy, and making justice. Fernando III had perfectly fulfilled this ideal image of the Christian Castilian kings and he was considered as a model and the crusader king « par excellence » both by his contemporaries [8], Alfonso [9], and the following Castilian writers [10]. He represented the image of the king as « soldier of Christ » [11], and even the « heroic image » of the *Poema de Fernán González* as « God loyal servant and conqueror of the lands of the Moors » [12]. Alfonso wished to continue with that ideal, represented by his own father. Alfonso accomplished the mission of making justice ; and the work of expanding, or just maintaining, the Christian territory can and must be linked to the crusades. Appart from the Iberian front itself, he, and all the chroniclers, were well aware of the danger coming from Muslim Magrib, which could be taken as a continuation of al-Andalus and, consecuently, he was decided to continue with Fernando's III last plan : carry on the Reconquest to the north of Africa [13].

The African crusade

After regaining the control over the peninsular Moors, Alfonso was going to concentrate in the plans for Africa. In fact, there was a total agreement

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7. Alfonso pointed out the fame and prestige obtained by his father as God's paladin, that made Fernando raised over the rest of the kings « because he increased His faith and exalted His saint name ». As a result of that, the castilian people had raised over the rest of the Christians as well. Alfonso X, *Setenario*, ed. R. Lapesa, Barcelona, 1984, p. 14-16, 22.

8. *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. C. Brea, Universidad de Cádiz, 1984. p. 90 ; J. Loaysa, *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. A. García, Murcia, 1982, p. 60.

9. *Setenario, op. cit.*, p. 25.

10. Don Juan Manuel, *El libro de los Estados*,ed. I. Macpherson & R. Tate, Madrid, 1991, p. 205.

11. *Crónica Latina..., op.cit.*, p. 94.

12. *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. A.V. Zamora, Madrid, 1978.

13. Alfonso X, *Crónica General de España*, Madrid, 1906, col. 770/2.

between Castile and the church about the policy to apply on Morocco [14], which was the main area of Castilian interest [15]. The Magrib became an Iberian matter [16]. Alfonso, well aware of the need of controlling the sea for any adventure in Africa, created and promoted a royal navy with its own ports (Seville), factories and admiral [17]. Which would be the aim of this crusade ? By 1245, the papacy had already showed its interest to change Salé into a Christian base to attack and control the north of Africa. Salé was a well-known commercial port of the Atlantic coast, just opposite Rabat. In 1245, its ruler Zeid Azan asked for conversion and Innocence IV granted the place to the Spanish Military Order of Santiago [18]. Henceforth, the papal plans to promote a crusade in the north of Africa were going to match the Castilian ones. These Castilians plans can be seen both as a continuation of the Reconquista — taking into account that the former Visigoth Spanish kingdom had also been spread in that area —, and a practical way of controlling the north African tribes and the sea. The idea of controlling this area as a step in order to make a crusade which would start in the Peninsula and then would find its way towards the Holy Land, was just un idea which Alfonso seem to have had in mind at the end of his reign, and that seem to belong more to his ideal world than to his real and avalaible common practice [19].

From the very beginning, Alfonso had the papal support in the form of crusade indulgences and privileges (1251,1252,1254). Even the missionaires and their companions to Morocco, mainly Castilians from the mendicant orders, as the bishop of Morocco himself, were granted the same indulgences

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14. Ch. Dufourq, « Un projet castillan du XIIIe siècle : la "Croisade d'Afrique" », *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb*, 1 (1966), p. 31.

15. 1291, treaty of Monteagudo. Aragon and Castile divided the zones of reconquest in the north of Africa. Castile got the area to the west of the river Moulauya (Morocco).

16. The Iberian kingdoms decided to divide the reconquest of Africa among themselves. The papacy also aknowledged the leading role of the Castilian prelates and mendicant freires in the north of Africa.

17. F. Pérez-Embid, « La marina real Castellana en el S. XIII », *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 6 (1969), p. 141-186.

18. Bulla *Cum sicut intimantibus* : cf. Goñi Caztambide, *Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada* , editorial del Seminario, Vitoria, 1958, p. 190. In any case, Alfonso did not seem to have been looking for that conversion; see Huici Miranda, « La Toma de Salé por la escuadra de Alfonso X el Sabio », *Hesperis*, 1952, p. 40-71.

19. About 1279, his chronicle tells us about a Castilian plan together England and France to make such a crusade (*Crónica de Alfonso X,* Madrid, 1919 (Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles), p. 58). And Alfonso´s first will (1283) stated the possibility to make a crusade with France, with the same itinerary (*Memorial Histórico Español*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1851, XII). M. Paris tells us that Fernando III had already made a proposition to England for a joint crusade which would go through Spain to the north of Africa, forgetting about the French way (*Chronica..., op.cit.*, II,439, year 1251).

and privileges as the crusaders to the Holy Land. And the mendicants, — throughout Lope, bishop of Morocco — were incharged of the preaching of that crusade in 1253 and 1255, of course, granting the Holy land indulgences [20].In 1253 the pope authorised any treaty that Alfonso could make with Muslim African rulers [21]. In 1254, Alfonso made a treaty with Henry III in which Henry promised English help for a crusade in the north of Africa, once the pope had commuted his vow to go to the Levant [22]. Alfonso also talked with Jaime I of Aragon, but the only thing he got from the aragonese was Jaime promise not to ban Aragonese knights from going to this crusade ; and Jaime insisted that neither the king of Tunis, Jaime's vassal, nor his African vassals would suffer any harm [23].

Despite that the « fecho del Imperio », which started in 1256, involved a delay in his plans, Alfonso did not forget the African crusade [24], and finally, after a papal admonition [25], a Castilian fleet, commanded by the « almirante mayor de la mar » [26], Juan Garcfa de Villamayor, set out for Sale in 1260. There is a lot of discussion about the main reason for this campaign : was it just a propaganda effect in the struggle for the Empire ? was it an excuse to justify the money raised for the crusade ? The fact is that the Castilian fleet managed to conquer Salé and held it for just a couple of weeks, taking with them a great booty, before the Marinid sultan arrived with reinforcements [27].

Salé wold have been a great base for further operations in Africa. Perhaps, Alfonso just wanted to have a look at the defences and situation of the area. Even the Muslim sources expected this naval force to be joined by

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20. Berger, *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, Paris, 1884-1897, 6112. Pothhast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Berlin, 1873-1874, 15855.

21. *Les registres..., op. cit.*, 6014.

22. We have already seen the previous plan of 1251. Appart from this crusade and the marriage of Edward to Eleonor of Castile, different privileges for English pilgrims to Santiago were also agreed. *Chronica M...,op. cit.*, III, 8, 3-4 (year 1254). In 1255, Henry refused to participate in the crusade arguing the papal refusal to commute his vow.

23. Memorial..., op. cit., 1, 156.

24. 1257, conquest of « Tagunt », *Memorial..., op. cit.*, I, 137.

25. In 1259, cf. Linehan, *op. cit.*, p.1 38. In this letter, the pope asked Alfonso why he maintained a treaty with the king of Granada.

26. « because of that we have [Alfonso] to carry on with the crusade beyond the sea, at God's service and prising of the Christendom ».

27. See : *Historia de ..., op. cit.*, p. 187-191 ; C. de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la polltica peninsular de Alfonso X*, Madrid, CSIC, 1988 ; A. Ballesteros, « La toma de Salé en tiempos de Alfonso X », al-Andalus, 8 (1943), p. 89-128 ; « Un projet... », *op. cit.* ; « La marina... », *op. cit.* ; « La toma de Salé por la... », *op. cit.* ; M. Marin Buenadicha, « Una contradicción histórica: el suceso de Salé », *Alfonso X, Vida, obra y época. Actas congreso SEM*, Madrid, 1984.

infantry trops from Morocco [28], for example those Castilian knights who were serving under different African rulers by that time [29]. In fact the fleet, although considerable, was not very important and did not seem to have been any kind of reinforcements waiting neither in the Peninsula nor in Morocco. Anyway, Alfonso continued planning new campaigns, and the conquest of the kingdom of Niebla and the city of Cádiz and its surroundings gave him wider Atlantic coasts from where he could control the sea. The big Mudejar revolt of 1264 would put an end to his project [30]. In 1269, the Marinid sultan Abu Yusuf unified most of the Muslim forces of the north of Africa, and Castilian plans had to change taking a defensive side [31]. The land and sea siege of Algeciras represented his last attempt to take control of the Strait and the situation of the north of Africa. His sound defeat because of the complete destruction of the royal fleet marked the end of his African crusade.

Crusade and Politics

If in 1254, Alfonso had already expanded his African project to England and thus given an international dimension to his project. The « Imperial quest » marqued a new stimulation at the use of the crusade as a political and diplomatic instrument. Since 1257, Alfonso launched an international diplomatic offensive which would achieve, among other things, the situation of Castile as an important power in the western scene. As « emperor » he was supposed to defend the Christendom against the infidels [32]. The crusade was the traditional method for that and for a XIII[th] century person it would be very difficult to find a better way to enhance ones prestige than becoming a crusader or, even better, leading, himself, a crusade against the infidels. When in 1257 Richard of Cornwall became himself elected for the Empire, Alfonso met an opponent who had both money and prestige, especially as a crusade leader. In the struggle all the weapons could be used and prestige was one of those. Alfonso, who already enjoyed the fame of the Castilians as crusaders, worked for another method to improve his prestige and influence :

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28. « Una contradicción... », *op. cit.*

29. M. Gual de Torrella, « Milicias Cristianas en Berbería », *Boletín de la Sociedad arqueológica Luliana*, 34 (1973),p. 34-63.

30. In 1265, the pope also granted Alfonso crusading indulgences and benefices for his fight against the rebels.

31. J. Torres Fontes, « La Orden de Santa María de España », *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 3 (1977),p. 73-118.

32. *Chronica M...*, *op. cit.*, I,117. Letter from Frederick II to Richard.

surrounding himself with a brilliant court [33]. In the same way, I do not think casual the appointment of the archdeacon and the bishop of Morocco as his ambassadors before England and the Imperial powers.

However, I do not agree with those historians who think that the African crusade was just an outcome and an instrument of the imperial struggle. In fact, it is true that it was used to increase his prestige in Europe, but Castilian intentions in Africa were previous to his election as German emperor. I do think we must understand the African crusade as a natural expansion of the Castilian reconquest in the nort of Africa. His diplomatic offensive between 1255 and 1264 led to treaties with Pisa, Marseille, Norway and England. One might have expected that the aim of a Holy Roman Imperial crusade should be the Holy Land. However, althought Alfonso got the promise of all the previous powers to assit him in a crusade, this one was not going to be aimed at the liberation of the Holy places. The Alfonsine « imperial » crusade would focus in the north of Africa. At the end nothing came from all those treaties, but this has been used by Spanish historians to support the idea that the adventure for the Roman Empire was really intended to get more influence and prestige over the Peninsular kings and thus imposed the old Castilian tradition of a Peninsular Emperor [34].

We must understand the relationships between Castile and Byzantium within that context of gaining recognition as emperor in the west, from 1256 [35]. By 1259, the empress Marie de Brienne visited Castile where she received from her cousin Alfonso X, the money she needed to redeem her son, Philip de Courtneay, heir to the Latin Empire, who from 1248 had been given captive to the Venetian Ferro brothers in guarantee of Baldwin´s debt to them. In the same visit, Philip planned to be married into the house of Castile. In 1263 (6) the project was still discussed but papal opposition and the own Castilian indiference — due both to the internal opposition of the Castilian nobles after the huge ammount of money already spent in the redemption of

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33. Loaysa said that Alfonso had knighted a great number of nobles, among them : Prince Edward of England, Philip de Courtneay, Prince D. Dionis of Portugal ; Mohammad Alhamar I, king of Granada ; the king's brothers D. Fernando, D. Manuel, D. Fernando de Ponthieu and D. Luis ; John and Louis de Brienne ; John, marquis de Montferrand (in fact, he was Gillerm VI, married to Alfonso's daughter Beatriz) ; Gaston de Bearn (Gaston VIII de Moncada, vizcount of Bearn, also figures as Guy VI, vizcount of Limoges and king's vassal since 1253) ; and the count Rodolf of Haubsburgo, *Crónica Latina..., op. cit.*, p. 82.

34. C. de Ayala, op. cit. ; C. Julio Socarras, *Alfonso X of Castile : a study on Imperialistic frustration*, Barcelona, 1976.

35. In 1245 there were contacts between Baldwin II and the Spanish Military Order of Santiago, supervised by Alfonso. But these contacts were previous to Alfonso's interest in the Empire. B. Ruano, « Balduino II de Constantinopla y la Orden de Santiago », *Hispania*, 12 (1952), p. 3-36.

Philip, and Baldwin friendship with Manfred, Alfonso's enemy —, made it impossible. In 1269, during a mommentary reconciliation between Alfonso and Charles d'Anjou, there seem to have been new contacts between the three of them in order to recover the empire ; plans that were soon given up by the Castilian [36]. Appart from these diplomatic contacts, we must notice the presence of Marie de Brienne's three brothers at the Castilian court, since 1255 to 1275, within the context of a brilliant entourage for the king. Till this point, I have followed Wolf's work about the subject ; nevertheless I would like to add two points. First, we must take into account the Iberian context for this international relationship as well [37]. Second, in *Las Cantigas*, we can see two miracles of the Virgen Mary in defence of Constantinople against the Moors. It looks like the former political thoughts of Alfonso about Constantinople had become a part of his ideal world.

Relationships with Mammeluke sultans could be put into this group of contacts made by Alfonso in his role of Roman emperor ; as well as his contacts with the Mongols and even the sect of the Assasins [38].

Castile, Alfonso, the Church and the Papacy

The Castilian crusades did not attract attention from the critics of the crusade as a goal, but it did attract criticism for its very scarce interest in the Holy Land affairs ; as the Genoese poet Lanfranco Cigala told us :

> « I will not excuse the Spaniards either, althought they have behaved well against the evil Sarracens, but these were not those who destroyed the sepulchre of our Lord » [39]

This charge was mostly true. Altought the Castilians continued taking the cross to the Holy Land, at private level, the Castilian kings had enough with their own holy war at home. Rome had tried to equilibrate the crusade in the Levant and in the Iberian peninsula ; but from 1215 (IV Lateran council), the papacy decided to push Castile into the Holy Land crusade and ordered the collection of the Levant crusade tax (1/20 of the church tithe) also in the Peninsula. In fact, popes could not ask for great efforts to the Castilian kings

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36. R. Wolff, « Mortage and redemption of an Emperor's son : Castile and the Latin empire of Constantinople », *Speculum*, 29 (1956), p. 45-84

37. C. de Ayala, *op. cit.*

38. P. Martínez, « Relaciones de Alfonso X con el sultán Mameluco Baybars y sus sucesores », *Al-Qantara*, 27 (1962), p. 343-376.

39. M. Milá y Fontanals, *De los Trovadores en España. Obras completas*, Barcelona, 1889, II, p. 153-154.

because they carried on a crusade in the Peninsula. Therefore the popes decided to press on the Castilian church. However, the Castilian church soon rejected any demand of money from Rome. We can think about three reasons for this rejection : Firstly- The Castilian church was very involved in the Reconquest : Secondly- in the same way, it was strongly linked and dependant on the Castilian kings — who were very jealous of their resources — and, thirdly, the economic situation of the church was not so enviable as could be thought. The Castilian prelates seem to have strongly protested against these papal attempts of extracting resources of them. Was not them who supported the War, the Crusade in the Peninsula against the infidels, in a war that could mean even Europe´s salvation ? This seems to have been the reason given by the Castilians for their boicot to the Levant taxes in 1215-17 and 1262 (after seven years of dessastreous crops) [40]. In fact, the Reconquest was almost based upon the resources of the Castilian church. Fernando III had taken the money and resources from the church either with the agreement of the prelates, or the papal authorisation or even by force. One example is the « tercias » (the half of the third of the fifths, which was ussually dedicated to the fabric of the church — the Castilian church, of course). In 1247, the pope granted it to Fernando, during three years, for his crusade against Seville. However, from this point onwards, Fernando and all the Castilian kings continued to perceive that sum of money in spite of the protests of both the Castilian church and Rome. Alfonso was not different. He continued extracting the « tercias » and other helps from the church. The only thing popes could do was to change the theoretical taxes raised for the Holy Land, to the use of Alfonso's campaigns (as in 1255 and 1262-65) [41]

On the other hand, the Castilian church always supported the papacy in its crusades, as the Albigensian one [42]. In 1246, the Castilian church formed the frontline against the Hohenstauffen, perhaps because that was an indirect way to oppose to the control of the church by laymen and kings.

Alfonso and the Military Orders

Alfonso continued with the traditional attitude to the Orders in the Castilian kingdom. Alfonso continued relying on the Orders, specially Santiago and Calatrava, both for their military and repopulating role. The Orders, because its discipline and permanent availability had an important

40. *La Iglesia Española..., op. cit.*, p. 110.

41. In 1265, the pope granted helps for the fight against the Mudejar revolt. Meanwhile, the Aragonese church had to face new petitions from Rome for new taxes for the Levant.

42. *Crónica Latina..., op. cit.*, p. 37 & 75 ; R. Jiménez de Rada, *Historia rebus Hispaniae*, Madrid, Alianza Universidad, 1989. p. 307.

role in the defence of the kingdom, althought this king's dependency on the Military Orders was much less important than that situation in Levant or Germany. In the same way, the Orders were much less independent in Castile than in other kingdoms, specially the national Orders, due to the direct leadership of the monarchy in the war as well as his own important resources. Following his centralizing policy, Alfonso notably decreased the number of new concessions to the Orders (in fact, only Santiago, Calatrava and the Hospital received some), and even in these cases, the king put much care in preserving royal rights in those places. Until 1271, there was a good cooperation between the king and the orders, with an active participation of the latter in the campaigns against Niebla and the Mudejar rebellion. From 1271 to 1281 there was a period of gradual distance between both due to the king´s centralizing policy — fighting against lordship rights —, in spite of the continous presence of the Orders in the battlefields against the new Marinid invasion. Finally, from 1281 to 1284 we saw the civil war, when the orders took a clear political side, in favour of his son Sancho [43].

In the last two years a research group directed by Dr. Carlos de Ayala (Univ. Autónoma, Madrid), have thrown new light on the history of the Military Orders in the kingdom of Castile [44]. However we still do not know the real contribution — the exact quantities — of the kingdom of Castile to the eastern effort thorought the activity of the Military Orders, both national and international, in the Peninsula. We do know that, in 1271, Alfonso established Alicante and Cartagena as the seaports where all the merchandises and goods to Levant must depart from ; making special reference to the Orders of the Temple and Hospital. We have already talked about the Bizantine episode, with the failed treaty between the Order of Santiago and Baldwin.That time Alfonso supported the idea of Castilian contingents in the Levant, however it seems as it would have been an isolated attempt ; moreover if we take into account that all the Castilian kings showed themselves too jealous of their kingdom resources to give them away for other purposes than the Reconquest.

On the other hand, Alfonso made an unique aportation to the history of the Military Orders, because he created the first Military Order exclusively dedicated to the war in the sea against the infidels, in 1272 : The Order of Santa María de España [45]. Created for defensive reasons against the Berber pirates and nothern african threathen, had as its ultimate goal « el fecho

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43. C. de Ayala Martínez, « La Monarquía y la Ordenes Militares durante el reinado de Alfonso X », *Hispania*, 178 (1972)., p. 409-465. See also, A. Forey, *The Military Orders. From the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries*, Londres, Macmillan, 1992.

44. Works on the Orders of Santiago, Alcántara, Calatrava and St. John.

45. « La Orden de Santa María... », *op. cit.*

allend la mar ». It was instituted « ad modum Calatravae » and it was integrated by clerics, knights and other laic friars. The kingdom was divided in 4 maritime areas, controlled from 4 seaports : Cartagena (Mediterranean sea), San Sebastian (Cantabrico sea), La Coruña (Atlantic Ocean) y Santa María del Puerto (Strait). However in 1278, the site of Algeciras led to the destruction of the Castilian fleet, and when in 1280 the Master of the Order of Santiago was completly defeated by the Moors, the king decided to fill the gaps of that Order with the members of Santa María, which involved the end of the latter.

Ideal and Reality of Crusade

The Castilian sources pointed out that the king must fight the Moors, as God's servant and leader of his people. However, this fight did not look for the extinction of the Muslim as a people, but all the sources rather stressed the fight as the recovery of the lands which were, now, occupied by the Moors, and as a way of providing wealth to the Christian soldiers, as well as a means to serve God. This was one of the features of the castilian crusades which made it different from others, like the French [46]. Of course, the religious difference was always present and was basic to distinguish the enemy [47], althought this enemy, usually represented as « treacherous », needed not to be completely evil. In fact the images of the Moors shown in Fernando's chronicles and even in the *Poema de Fernán González*, written about 1254, are quite radical against them ; and now Alfonso's images would seem to be more tolerant : in his *Seven Parts* he stated that « conversion of the Moors must be through good words and rightful predications... not by force or by pression...and if some of them wanted to convert to cristianity...that nobody fear to oppose it » [48]. However, the war against the infidel is always present. In his Second Part he talked about three reasons to wage war. The first one was « to increase the people's faith and destroy those who wants to oppose it » [49]. The war against the infidel must be fought for the land and to avoid the threat of conversion to Islam. Alfonso is not interested in the « problematic » of launching a crusade to favour conversion. Furthermore, in his *Cantigas*, the Moors are the external enemy, both politi-

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46. Just remember the different attitude towards the Moors shown by Castilian and French crusaders in Las Navas, 1212.

47. « The king of Granada is enemy of God, and enemy of the faith, and of the king [Alfonso] and all his people », *Crónica de Alfonso X, op. cit.*, p. 25.

48. Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, Salamanca, 1555, part. VII, tit. XXV.

49. *Las Siete..., op. cit.*, part. II.

cal, economic and religiously[50]. His Second Part also stated that those who died for God and the Faith would go to Paradise ; and he added that the worse kind of prison was that suffered by Christians at infidels´ hands. In that case, there was an « obligation » to free them as soon as possible. In his *Cantigas* it can also be seen the decision of a total reconquest of the Peninsula and even its extension to the north of Africa. Two Cantigas also seem to justify the new method of repopulation used by Alfonso after the Mudejars´ rebellion : the total expulsion of the Muslim inhabitants of a place[51].

The End :The last years of Alfonso´s life saw his confrontation with France, which was a main source of worries for the papacy as it was considered a great handicap in the attempt of launching a new crusade to the East. He also witnessed his treaty with his old enemy Abu Yusuf against his own Christian son Sancho. At the same time he seems to have ordered the translation from French of the *Gran Crónica de Ultramar*[52], and signed his last will with the already well knwon project of a Franco-Castilian Crusade. Anyway, quite an ironic end for a king who pretended and spent most of his life acting as a « new crusader » and leader of the Christendom.

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50. M. García Arenal, « Los Moros en las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio », *Al-Qantara*, 5 (1985), p. 133-151.

51. « Los Moros en las Cantigas ... », *op. cit.*

52. C. González, *La tercera crónica de Alfonso X : « La Gran Crónica de Ultramar »*, London, 1992.

Eugene GREEN

SPEECH ACTS
and the Transports of Margery Kempe's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land

A XV[th] century autobiography, *The Book of Margery Kempe* invites study of whether its including a divinely ordained pilgrimage affiliates it with traditions generated by Pope Urban's crusade sermon of 1095. Although Kempe nowhere discusses crusades, she nevertheless reveals through her concerns with deific speech on pilgrimaging and with like experiences of predecessors a set of attitudes plausibly comparable to Urban's. This set of attitudes consists in attributing pilgrimages and crusades to God's will, in assuring participants of divine assistance and redemption, and in urging efforts to vanquish or convert infidels. Concomittant with these attitudes are uses of commands, promises, admonitions, and acknowledgments, speech acts all identified as God's, that recur in sermons, prayers, and enraptured dialogues on crusades and pilgrimages. Yet asserting a set of attitudes and rhetorical practices associated with travel to the Holy Land hardly implies a uniform tradition seemingly unchanged from the XI[th] century to the XV[th]. When in Kempe's book God « comawyndyd » Margery « in hir sowle » to pilgrimage to Jersualem, her transports of commitment, akin to crusaders' devotions, exhibit even so uncharacteristic sympathies for outsiders [1]. That Kempe fondly recalls the comfort and aid given her, say, by Saracens in Jerusalem, yet hopes for their conversion, shows her power to contravene the more usual antipathies. Viewed against such predecessors as Urban's Clermont

1. S.B. Meech, H. E. Allen, *The Book of Margery Kempe,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1940 (EETS).

sermon, unknown to her, or Bridget of Sweden's *Liber Celestis,* its translation familiar enough, Kempe's book affirms spiritual complexities in crusading and pilgrimaging.

What this study proposes is a framework and analysis of the spiritual complexity that *The Booke of Margery Kempe* brings to traditions of crusading and pilgrimaging in the Holy Land. The framework, tied to Kempe's engagement with pilgrimage and Saracens, provides for examining her care for redemptive travel in the Holy Land and her difference from customary approaches to infidels. To appreciate this framework of redemptive travel and affinity for infidels, the analysis juxtaposes Kempe's and Urban's linguistic practices, especially in the presumptive utterance of speech acts by God. The focus on deific speech acts presupposes that for both Kempe and Urban, God's voice, insofar as it is intelligible, is the authority for crusading and pilgrimaging. Thus, Kempe's regard for infidels, as the analysis aims to show, is due to God's speech acts, as she hears them, and to her reported experience in the Holy Land. The attention to God's speech acts, however, centers on their purport rather than on their form, inasmuch as Urban's sermon survives in four separate variants and Kempe's Latin is problematic [2]. So whatever likeness the analysis of God's speech acts offers depends on the premise that Urban's call for a crusade as divinely authorized retained some significance in Kempe's XVth century.

The following analysis takes Kempe's sense of a deific command to pilgrimage not as peculiar to her but as traditional, a summons written and oral, widely disseminated. Since a tradition of God's commanding pilgrimage affects Bridget of Sweden's *Liber Celestis,* a XIVth century work available to Kempe, examples from a Middle English version appear below as well. In sum, the argument presented here submits that conservative traditions of God's undergirding crusades and pilgrimages had vitality enough to link Margery Kempe to Pope Urban's sermon.

More than thirty speech acts — commands, admonitions, and promises — that Kempe attributes directly to God and the saints concern pilgrimaging in her extended journey to Jerusalem and Rome. These speech acts command her undertaking pilgrimage, govern her behavior, urge her wholehearted devotion, and, further, promise her safety and deliverance. In scope, these resonant utterances, propelling Kempe's trip of 1413-1415, have an orthodoxy endorsed en route at Constance by a papal legate and anticipated, moreover, by Urban's sermon in 1095 at Clermont. A comparison of the ut-

2. K. Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. Lochrie discusses passages in Kempe's autobiography that imply some familiarity with Latin.

terances Kempe hears and those Urban also attributes to God indicates a body of speech acts sufficiently alike in purport. That this likeness is not simply adventitious gains some support from speech acts in Bridget of Sweden's *Liber Celestis.*

Since Urban's crusade sermon has several variants, each expressing what he may have said at Clermont, the comparison proposed assumes a body of speech acts, loosely inherited. Thus of the four variants of Urban's sermon supplying rhetorical elements for comparison — Fulcher of Chartres, Robert of Reims, Baudri of Dol, and Guibert of Nogent — none takes precedence. Instead, whether Margery Kempe actually knew of the proceedings at Clermont counts less than her imagining utterances that plausibly resemble speech acts attributed to God in Urban's crusade sermon. What follows now are examples of God's utterances as Kempe has them recorded, comparable speech act utterances possibly delivered in 1095, as well as evidence from Bridget's *Liber*.

To begin, Kempe asserts that God directs her to pilgrimage to the Holy Land. She says, « owyr Lord bad hir in hir mend ij yer er than sche went that sche schuld gon to Rome, to Iherusalem, & to Seynt Iamys... ». Likewise, Fulcher has Urban affirming that not he, but God commands the faithful to go on crusade. So Urban says, praesentibus dico, absentibus mando, Christus autem imperat. cunctis autem illuc euntibus, aut gradiendo aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit [3]. Bridget of Sweden also registers God's injunction : « Criste apperid to Saint Bride in Rome, and bad hir ordeine hir to Jerusalem to visit the sepulcre and othir holy places, and that sho suld wende when he warned hir » [4]. That these instances of speech act are indirect hardly diminishes a belief in their divine authenticity.

Other speech acts ascribed to God presumably manifest themselves directly in human language, as in the assurance that those going forth shall have deific support and guidance. So Kempe hears the divine voice tell her to journey in full confidence. « Go forth, dowtyr », the voice says, « in the name of Ihesu, for I am the spirit of God, the whech xal helpyn þe at al þy nede, gon wyth þe, & supportyn þe in euery place, & therfor mystrost me not ». Baudri of Dol, a cleric in attendance at Clermont as Fulcher was, records Urban quoting and then paraphrasing Christ's words in Scripture on the need to take up the Cross. Here Urban says, *« Si quis non bajulat crucem*

3. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, Winter, 1913.

4. *The Liber Celestis of St Bridget of Sweden,* ed. R. Ellis, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987 (EETS).

suam et venit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus ». Iccirco, inquit, debetis vobis crucem coaptare vestris in vestibus, quatinus et ex hoc tutiores incedatis, et his qui viderint et exemplum et incitamentum suggeratis [5]. Cognizant of the need to preach crusading to many communities, Urban addresses the clergy at Clermont and urges their exhorting wider audiences to embrace God's example and dedication. Although Kempe nowhere mentions such a sermon, nevertheless the *Liber Celestis,* which a priest at Lynn read to her, evidences Christ's promise to help Bridget of Sweden reach Jerusalem. According to St Bridget, « Criste bad the spouse that sho suld wende to Jerusalem, and that sho suld noght lete for eld, [...] and he suld strengthe hir and hirs and puruai for thame and bringe againe to Rome ». Christ's promise of assistance to St Bridget corresponds well enough with the assurance of help to Kempe and the encouragement to participants in the First Crusade.

Although *Liber Celestis* relies on indirect speech acts for indicating divine assistance on pilgrimage, St Bridget quotes, as if heard, Christ's promise to redeem the devout who come to Jerusalem. He says to her, « all that commen with gude deuocion vnto this place Jerusalem, with will to amend thame and noght to turn againe to sinne, all thaire sinnes are forgifen thame, and thai sall hafe grace of wele doinge ». That Kempe also pilgrimages to help inspire faith among others appears in a promise she believes God gives her. « Dowtyr », He says, « I xal makyn al the world to wondryn of þe, & many man & many woman xal spekyn of me for lofe of þe & worshepyn me in þe ». This salvatory promise has some compatibility with what Guibert, who was not at Clermont, produces as part of « God's plan », according to Cole, in his version of Urban's sermon [6]. For Guibert has Urban say, *Moveat memoriam vestram quod voce ipsius Domini ad Ecclesiam dicitur : « Ab Oriente », inquit, « adducam semen tuum, et ab Occidente congregabo te »* [7]. To have the faithful gathered in Jerusalem, a deific promise quoted from Isa. 43.5 and linked to Urban's Crusade, generates contexts similar to St Bridget and Kempe's divinely inspired purpose and example.

What does not appear in Kempe's book, however, is Urban's program for vanquishing infidels. She would not expect to hear, as Robert of Reims does from Urban, that God sanctions a violent campaign to seize the Holy Land. Kempe nowhere imagines God endorsing what Robert transcribes : *Viam*

5. Baudri of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana,* ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1844-95, 5 vols. (RHC, Hist. occ.).

6. P.J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270,* Cambrdige (Mass), The Medieval Academy of America, 1991.

7. Gnibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos,* ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1844-95, 5 vols. (RHC, Hist. occ.).

sancti Sepulcri incipite, terram illam nefariae genti auferte, eamque vobis subjicite, terra illa filiis Israel a Deo in possessionem data fuit... [8]. Nor would she have joined with those in assembly at Clermont who, at the close of Urban's sermon, responded, according to Robert, *Deus vult ! Deus vult !* Indeed, her experience in the Holy Land makes the likelihood of her supposing a similar situation for herself inimical.

Her hopes for non-Christians meet, instead, with God's praise, as in « dowtyr, I thanke þe for the charite that þu hast in þi preyer whan þu preyist for alle Iewys & Saraγenys & alle hethen pepil that thei xulde comyn to Cristen feith... [9]. This contrast between Urban's urging war and Kempe's prayer for conversion, despite the comparabilities in other speech acts already cited, focuses an issue on what crusading means to her pilgrimage. If Urban's audience and Kempe believe that God directs them to the Holy Land, regardless of difficulty, and promises widespread spiritual renewal thereafter, the attitudes toward infidels remain incompatible. Thus if the First Crusade begets a tradition, one consequence to entertain is that the idea of a Holy War breeds some alternatives and even resistance.

By the XV[th] century, the period of Kempe's pilgrimage, the Church had already considered modifying Urban's concept of Holy War against infidels, to urge conversion as well as slaughter. Raymond Llull's *Libre D'Evast E Blanquerna,* a romance of the XIII[th] century, depicts, for example, the pope's encouraging conversion as integral to the purposes of a crusade. In a chapter headed by the epigraph *Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis,* Pope Blanquerna reconciles two Christian kings and spurs them on a remarkable crusade against Saracens. The crusade's purpose, according to the Pope, is for friars, trained in Arabic, « esser misstages als sarrains que es convertissen ans que els dos reis lus auciessen... [10]. Llull's conception, furthermore, does not remain fictive but foreshadows, as Richard suggests, a project advanced for « nouvelles plantations de la foi », during the papacies of Urban V and Gregory XI [11]. In England of the late XIV[th] century too, the support

8. Robert of Reims, *Historia Hierosolimitana,* ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1844-95., 5 vols (RHC, Hist. occ.).

9. J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. J.O. Urmson, New York, Oxford University Press, 1965. Austin classifies thanking among speech acts as a behabitive.

10. R. Llull, *Llibre D'Evast E Blanquerna,* ed. M. J. Gallofre, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1982.

11. J. Richard, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs,* London, Variorum Reprints, 1983.

for crusades and for converting Saracens remained, as Siberry concludes, in accord with Llul'ls program [12].

For St Bridget, also in the XIVth century, Christ distinguishes between the virtues of preaching to pagans and the vices of slaughter for purposes of expropriation. Attentive to Christ, she notes his saying, « There are some cristend that gose amange the paynems, and has a likynge to sla thair bodis and to wyn thair temporall gudes. Bot this is no likynge to me. And therfore he that will wende to the paynems, putt fro hym all coueytise and all worldly drede, and haue will to wyn thayre saules, and to lyue or dye for the loue of Gode ». Had Kempe compared her own purposes of pilgrimage to what Christ urges here, she would have found no contradiciton. By the time of Margery Kempe's pilgrimage, then, despite the disastrous crusade against Nicopolis, the attempt to convert infidels had entered visibly into the undertakings of the Church. In sum, her hope for widespread conversions, although not espoused in the Clermont sermon of 1095, none the less draws upon a legacy developed from analogies between crusades and missionary purposes.

If hopes to convert the nonbeliever owe their orthodoxy partly to Llull and St Bridget, who advocated proselytizing through pilgrimage sooner than slaughter, Kempe's fond attitude for Saracens is unwonted. Although Llull's *Libre D'Evast E Blanquerna* exhibits tolerance and openmindedness, no passage in his works nor in St Bridget's expresses a pleasure like Kempe's for Saracens. She affirms that Saracens « mad mych of hir... & leddyn hir abowtyn... wher sche wold gon. & sche fond... pepyl good on-to hir & gentyl saf only her owyn cuntremen ». Jerusalem, for her, was so much filled with « gret grace & gostly comfort » that she found herself wishing to remain until the « Lord comawndyd hir for to gon to Rome... ». Her pleasures in the Holy Land, moreover, prompt her seeking help at Mount Quarantine, a request that those in « hir felawshep » refuse but that a Saracen honors for a « grote ». What is extraordinary in Kempe's request, if contrasted with traditional speech acts of pilgrimage and crusading, is that it enables her through a Saracen's compliance to attain a spiritual fulfillment. Remembering that in the Holy Land « sche preyd hir felawshep to helpyn hir up on-to the Mownt », Kempe discovers that the refusal of Christians opens her to the civility of Saracens. In short the courtesy of an infldel exposes the shortcomings of her Christian company. That Kempe sees in Saracenic courtesy « the grace that God wrowt in hir... » and discovers herself « euyrmor strengthyd in the lofe of owyr Lord » argues her transportive receptivity to civility. The

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12. E. Siberry, « Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England », in Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, University College Cardiff Press, 1985, p 127-34.

effect of her request for assistance, then, hardly revises her sense of belief but demonstrates for her that God's grace transcends parochial divisions between Christians and Saracens.

Kempe's pleasure at Saracenic courtesy must never have left her. From the middle of her life, according to her editors, she « must have... used » intercessory prayers that include requests of mercy for « Iewys, & Sarayins, & alle hethen pepil » *(op. cit.)*. One such intercessory prayer closes her book, its place at the end at least implying, for one critic, their value « as models for devotion » [13]. To imagine readers adopting her intercessory prayer for themselves and to request mercy, as she does, for infidels is almost to turn Urban's program for crusading on its head. For Kempe to urge, furthermore, « Good Lord, haue mende that ther is many a seynt in Heuyn whech sumtyme was hethen in erde », is to recognize a holiness worth supporting. Moreover, her interceding for infidels immediately precedes statements that, as her editors also say, exemplify utterances related to « the transports of the contemplative life,... to an experience of ecstasy, rapture » (*op. cit.*). These statements read,

> « Lord, þu seist þi-self ther xal no man comyn to þe wythowtyn þe ne no man be drawyn wyth-owtyn þu drawe hym. And therfor, Lord, yf ther be any man vndrawyn, I prey þe drawe hym aftyr þe. Me hast þu drawyn, Lord, & I deseruyd neuyr for to ben drawyn, but aftyr þi gret mercy þu has drawyn me ».

The repetition of the word *drawyn* and its variants has its source in John 6,44, at Christ's saying, *Nemo potest venire ad me nisi Pater, quis misit me, traxerit eum*. That Kempe should link the idea that God *traxerit or drawyth* souls, traditionally descriptive of empassioned transcendence, makes the nearness of these quoted statements to those on infidels strikingly significant. In some sense Kempe identifies herself, rebuffed by other Christians pilgrimaging in the Holy Land, with the Saracens who had behaved civilly. Deeply devout though alienated from other pilgrims, welcomed by Saracens themselves opposed by Christianity, Kempe binds them to her own circumstances and prays for their salvation.

Her intercessory prayer is unusual, too, largely because it differs in spirit from prayers said for infidels at the Good Friday Mass. References to Jews and heathens in the Orationes Sollemnes emphasize a need for them to reject their own beliefs and idols as much as the hope that they accept Christ. Communicants at the Good Friday Mass, as Kempe certainly was, would hear,

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13. L. Staley, *Margery Kempe Is Dissenting Fictions*, University Park, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania University Press, 1994.

Oremus... pro perfidis judaeis : Ut deus et dominus noster auferat uelamen de cordibus eorum : Ut et ipsi agnoscant christum iesum dominum nostrum. Oremus et pro paganis : Ut deus omnipotens auferat iniquitate a cordibus eorum, et relictis suis conuertantur ad deum uiuum at uerum et unicum filium eius iesum christum deum... [14].

Clearly, Kempe's request for mercy does not allude to a removal of a cover from Judaic hearts or to a Christian significance for pagan idols.

The Orationes Sollemnes are, of course, not the only source for intercessory prayers in the XV[th] century, for as Müller-Geib's study demonstrates, the Carolingian period began a considerable expansion. During the early XII[th] century, Honorius of Regensburg included pilgrims to Jerusalem in his prayer, expressing his hope *ut deus uota suscipiat et eos incolomes amicis suis cum pace restituat (op. cit.).* So by the time of Kempe the practice of including pilgrims, associated with the crusades, too, as Müller-Geib also says, became traditional in intercessory prayers. While Kempe, however, does not mention pilgrims in her intecessory prayer, she recalls her journey to the Holy Land and her having « ben in that holy stede » of the Crucifixion. In sum, her sense of herself as a pilgrim remains fast in her memory as she prays for her salvation and that of disparate groups, including infidels. Her request for God's eternal grace is a speech act to crown her devotion and pilgrimaging, rooted in a legacy advanced by crusade sermons and modified by her spiritual needs.

Kempe's faith and intercessory prayer, her hope that God would grant at her request deliverance for herself and for others, infidels, too, redound to her vision of a spiritual Jerusalem. One early indication of her desire to see the heavenly Jerusalem occurs at her entrance into the Holy Land. There she remembers herself thanking « God wyth al hir hert, preyng hym for hys mercy that lych as he had browt hir to se this erdly cyte Ierusalem he wold grawntyn hir grace to se the blysful cite Ierusalem a-bouyn, the cyte of Heuyn ». This likening of the heavenly and earthly cities is fundamental to Kempe as integral to her devotion to the tenets of her faith. Jerusalem as earthly and heavenly recurs in crusade sermons, in Urban's to begin, as Robert of Reims attests : *Iherusalem umbilicus est terrarum, terra prae ceteris fructifera, quasi alter Paradisus deliciarum*. If Urban emphasizes the purpose of recapturing the earthly Jerusalem, he does not forget the heavenly. Although Kempe directs her vision, finally, to the eternal Jerusalem, she finds her faith strengthened by the fruits of her pilgrimage. What familiarity

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14. W. Müller-Geib, *Das Allgemeine Gebet der sonn- und feiertaglichen Pfarrmesse im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Altenberge, Oros Verlag, 1992 (Munsteraner Theologische Abhandlungen).

Urban had with infidels is not certain, but Kempe's recollection of Saracen civility on Mount Quarantine had spiritual consequences that affected her responsiveness to the transports of grace.

Jacques PAVIOT

LA DÉVOTION VIS-À-VIS DE LA TERRE SAINTE AU XV[e] SIÈCLE :

L'exemple de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1396-1467)

En 1486, le Dijonnais Huguenin de Brégilles célébra dans un poème la procession de la confrérie de la Sainte-Hostie, ainsi appelée à cause de l'hostie miraculeuse donnée par le pape Eugène IV au duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et placée dans la Sainte Chapelle de Dijon. Il écrivit notamment :

Les Cordelliers du Saint Sépulchre avoient
Mil ducatz d'or que tous frans recevoient
Par an de luy, il fut large d'honneur,
Quand il fut mort on y porta son cuer [1].

Cette dernière affirmation est fausse car le cœur du bon duc se trouvait en fait dans la ville de Bruges. Que vingt ans après sa mort, on pouvait croire que le cœur de Philippe le Bon ait été enseveli à Jérusalem est un témoignage que sa dévotion pour la Terre Sainte a marqué la mémoire de ses

1. E. Roy, « Où est le corps de Philippe le Bon ? », *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'en 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1924, p. 121. C'est ce que croyait aussi quelqu'un qui aurait dû être mieux informé, frère Francesco Suriano (*Treatise on the Holy Land*, trad. T. Bellorini, E. Hoade, Jérusalem, 1949, p. 123 [nous n'avons pu consulter l'édition originale en italien, éd. G. Golubovich, Milan, 1900]).

contemporains [2]. En quoi a consisté cette dévotion ? On peut y distinguer trois aspects : le pèlerinage, l'intérêt pour l'état de la Terre Sainte (la croisade), enfin les fondations.

Au contraire du futur empereur Frédéric III en 1436 ou, plus proches de lui, son cousin le comte de Saint-Pol en 1426, ou encore son neveu le duc de Clèves en 1450, Philippe le Bon n'a jamais effectué personnellement le pèlerinage de Jérusalem [3]. Seulement en 1421, deux ans après son accession au principat, il envoya l'ancien chevalier et nouveau chartreux de Champmol, Ferrandos de Sarrabie, le faire en son nom. Un paiement à Pierre Pyolet, serviteur de ce chartreux, fait avant le 9 février 1422, indique en effet, à propos de Ferrandos de Sarrabie : « lequel icelui monseigneur avoit envoyé *pour lui* en pelerinage a Jherusalem et d'ilec a sainte Katherine du mont Sinay » [4]. Il semble aussi qu'en 1441, le duc a fait faire un nouveau pèlerinage en son nom par le seigneur picard Godefroy de Moncel. En effet, celui-ci reçut un don de dix francs des autorités ducales à Dijon pour la raison suivante : « pour lui aidier a passer son chemin jusques a Venise pour desla aler ou saint voyage d'oultre mer *pour l'entencion et devocion de mondit seigneur le duc*, consideré par mesdis seigneurs [du conseil et des comptes de mondit seigneur le duc (à Dijon)] ce qu'il a esté destroussé ou pays de monseigneur de Savoye et de ses gens » [5].

En dehors de ces deux pèlerinages faits pour lui-même, le duc de Bourgogne a financé quelques autres pèlerinages :

- celui de Guillebert de Lannoy qui a aussi rempli des missions diplomatiques et de renseignements dans le Levant ; il reçut cinq cents écus à son départ en 1421 [6] et cinq cents francs à son retour deux ans plus tard [7] ;

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2. Cf. aussi l'anecdote tirée du *Defensorium sacerdotum* de Christophe Scheurlus et rapportée dans Baron de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or*, Bruxelles, 1830, p. 41, n. 2.

3. Pourtant un tableau le représentant vêtu en pèlerin de Jérusalem se trouvait en 1628 dans la salle du chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Lille (*ibid.*).

4. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord (par la suite ADN), B 1929, f° 81v (c'est nous qui soulignons).

5. Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or (par la suite ADCO), B 1677, f° 118v (c'est nous qui soulignons).

6. ADN, B 1923, f° 117v-118. Sur le personnage et ses écrits, voir la notice que nous lui avons consacré dans R. de Smedt (sous la direction de), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle*, Francfort sur le Main, 1994, n° 12, p. 42-45 ; son récit a été publié dans les *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, voyageur, diplomate et moraliste*, éd. Ch. Potvin et J.-C. Houzeau, Louvain, 1878.

7 ADN, B 1929, f° 92r-v.

- celui de son frère bâtard Guyot, en 1426, en compagnie du seigneur de Roubaix, de Baudouin de Nedonchel, des frères Guillaume et Simon de Lalaing, et d'Albert, bâtard de Bavière ; on peut aussi remarquer que cette troupe d'hommes d'armes partait aussi combattre en Chypre contre le soudan d'Egypte [8] ;
- en 1432, celui d'André de Toulongeon, à qui furent délivrés cinq cents nobles d'Angleterre à son départ, puis quatre mille ducats à Venise [9] ; trois membres de sa suite furent aussi défrayés : Bertrandon de La Broquière qui reçut deux cents livres (il était en fait chargé d'une mission de renseignement dans l'empire ottoman) [10], Geoffroy de Thoisy qui reçut cent cinquante sept livres dix sous à son retour [11], et Bertrand de Remenuel qui reçut cent livres [12] ; André de Toulongeon mourut durant le voyage ;
- à l'automne de cette même année 1432, celui d'Álvaro de Brito, un Portugais à son service, qui fut gratifié de cinq cents livres [13] ;
- au mois de janvier 1441, celui de Jean de Neufchâtel, seigneur de Montaigu, qui reçut la grosse somme de mille saluts d'or [14] ;
- au printemps 1443, celui de de Philippe de Viesville qui reçut deux cents francs [15] ;
- au printemps 1444, celui de Jean, seigneur de Beauvoir, qui reçut à son retour cinq cents francs (il a aussi accompli le pèlerinage de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle) [16] ;
- celui de Guillaume de Vaudrey qui fut gratifié de deux cents livres en 1447, à son retour de Rome, de Venise et d'outremer [17].

8. J. Paviot, « Les ducs de Bourgogne et les Lusignan de Chypre au XVe siècle », *Actes du colloque « Les Lusignans et l'Outre mer », Poitiers-Lusignan 1993*, Poitiers, 1995, p. 241-242.

9. ADN, B 1945, f° 95, et B 1948, f° 193v-194.

10. ADN, B 1945, f° 106. La Broquière a écrit tardivement son rapport, vers 1457 : *Le Voyage d'Outre mer*, éd. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1892.

11. ADN, B 1948, f° 162v.

12. ADN, B 1945, f° 130v.

13. ADN, B 1948, f° 169.

14. ADN, B 1972, f° 163v-164. Y a-t-il un rapport avec le fait que son grand-oncle homonyme, chassé de l'ordre de la Toison d'or, est mort en septembre 1433 en Terre Sainte (cf. *Les Chevaliers de l'ordre de la Toison d'or*, *op. cit.*, n° 24 et 52, p. 65-67 et 113-115).

15. ADN, B 1978, f° 183.

16. ADN, B 1982, f° 176.

17. ADN, B 1994, f° 154.

Des étrangers furent favorisés ; citons notamment Gilbert Cligast, conseiller et maître d'hôtel du duc de Bretagne, qui reçut cent vingt livres à son retour à l'automne 1446 [18], et Pierre de l'Ostriche, écuyer aragonais, capitaine d'hommes d'armes en Normandie, qui reçut aussi cent vingt livres à son départ, durant l'été 1462 [19].

Le duc gratifia encore des pèlerins moins importants, surtout des hérauts d'armes ou des religieux, régulièrement durant son principat, d'une somme variant de trois à vingt livres. Pourtant il ne finança pas en général le pèlerinage de ses nobles, comme celui de Jean de Créquy à Jérusalem et à Rome en 1448-1450 [20]. Enfin, jamais un bourgeois d'une ville ne reçut de gratification.

A côté de l'aspect spirituel du pèlerinage, le duc de Bourgogne n'oubliait pas qu'il était un des héritiers, par le duché de Lothier, de Godefroy de Bouillon, premier souverain de Jérusalem. Il entretenait notamment ce souvenir par la lecture des différentes gestes de la conquête de Jérusalem [21]. Son esprit n'était cependant pas tourné complètement vers le passé : il s'intéressait aussi activement à l'état contemporain de la Terre Sainte. Si, à son retour, Guillebert de Lannoy fournit un état militaire des Lieux Saints, le duc de Bourgogne fut en fait régulièrement informé de l'état religieux, plus particulièrement de l'établissement des Franciscains de l'Observance.

Les premières mentions de telles informations datent du premier séjour en Orient d'Albert de Sarteano [22]. Ce dernier y fut envoyé durant l'été 1435 pour effectuer une visite des Lieux Saints et pour y installer le nouveau gardien du couvent du Mont-Sion à Jérusalem, frère Giacomo Delfino, de l'Observance, nommé par le pape contre le choix du chapitre général qui avait désigné un conventuel. De ce séjour, on ne conserve qu'une seule lettre d'Albert de Sarteano au duc de Bourgogne, écrite le 6 octobre 1436 au monastère du Mont-Sion, où il le remercie entre autres de ses aumônes [23]. En

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18. ADN, B 1991, f° 203v.

19 ADN, B 2051, f° 292.

20. *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or, op. cit.*, n° 23, p. 64.

21 Dans le catalogue de sa bibliothèque dressé après sa mort, on trouve les divisions *Livres de gestes* et *Oultre-Mer, Médecine et Astrologie* (*Bibliothèque protypographique, ou Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*), éd. J. Barrois, Paris, 1830, p. 182 et 217.

22. Sur ce qui suit, A. Codazzi, « Berdini, Alberto (in religione Alberto da Sarteano) », *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. VIII, Rome, 1966, p. 800-804 ; P. Santoni, « Albert de Sarteano, Observant et humaniste envoyé pontifical à Jérusalem et au Caire », *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age-Temps modernes*, 86 (1974), p. 165-211.

23. B. Alberti a Sarthiano, *Opera omnia*, éd. F. Harold, Rome, 1688, n° XLIV, p. 273-274.

fait, la mission d'Albert de Sarteano fut un échec. Il ne put démettre l'ancien gardien du Mont-Sion, bien établi, non plus que le procureur de Terre Sainte, un certain frère Antoine qu'il a décrit comme un personnage rustre et intrigant, sans cesse occupé à parcourir la chrétienté pour extorquer des aumônes en faveur de la Terre Sainte. Après son retour en Italie en 1437, Albert de Sarteano réussit finalement à faire nommer frère Gandolfo de Sicile comme gardien : celui-ci fut installé en 1439 par Jean de Capistran et la Terre Sainte devint une province de l'Observance.

Le 6 juillet 1439, Albert de Sarteano assista à l'union de l'Eglise grecque et de l'Eglise latine à Florence. Par des bulles délivrées le 22 août, le pape le nomma commissaire apostolique en Inde, en Egypte, en Ethiopie et à Jérusalem pour traiter de l'union avec les autres Eglises orientales. Au retour de sa mission, de Rhodes, à la fin du mois de décembre 1440, Albert de Sarteano écrivit au duc Philippe le Bon [24]. Il lui annonçait une lettre beaucoup plus détaillée narrant ses actions qui n'a pas été conservée [25]. Plus importante, car concernant la Terre Sainte, est la rencontre, toujours à Rhodes, d'Albert de Sarteano avec un héraut d'armes du duc de Bourgogne qui revenait du pèlerinage de Jérusalem. Malheureusement les registres de la comptabilité bourguignonne, pourtant complets pour cette période, ne permettent pas de connaître qui était ce héraut [26]. Celui-ci demanda *vehementer* à Albert de Sarteano qu'il écrivît avant toutes choses au duc Philippe sur son action en faveur de la foi et de l'Eglise du Christ, c'est-à-dire l'union des Eglises. Toutefois, avant d'écrire cette longue lettre, Albert de Sarteano exhorta le duc de Bourgogne à pratiquer, par l'imitation et l'émulation, les vertus de ses ancêtres de la famille royale de France qui avaient mené des guerres sous la bannière de Dieu et sous la tutelle de l'Eglise. Maintenant qu'il prospérait dans la paix avec ses voisins — il est fait ici référence à la paix d'Arras de 1435 —, il l'appelait à triompher des ennemis de la foi [27].

Cet appel à la croisade et à la libération de la Terre Sainte des armées des mauvais est à relier avec les visites que rendit un frère mineur au duc de Bourgogne entre les années 1442 et 1448. Ce frère est *Johannes de Valdirombus*, Jean de Valombreuse, en fait Jean Marquet dont nous ne connaissons presque rien malgré le rôle qu'il joua durant ces années. Entre les mois d'août et d'octobre 1442, venu de Jérusalem, il reçut du duc un don de vingt livres « pour soy aidier a deffrayer dez la ville de Dijon où il est venuz de-

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24. *Ibid.*, n° LXV, p. 330.

25. Le contenu doit être semblable à celui de la lettre adressée à Lionel d'Este : *ibid.*, n° LXVII, p. 333-340.

26. Il nous faut donc supposer que le pèlerinage de ce héraut a été payé personnellement par le duc, sans doute par son Épargne dont les comptes n'ont pas été conservés.

27. Voir n. 24.

vers mondit seigneur [le duc] et soy en retourner audit Jherusalem » [28]. Au printemps suivant, le pape délivrait des bulles en faveur de cet ancien gardien du couvent du Mont-Sion qui devait voyager dans diverses parties du monde pour la récupération de la Terre Sainte et pour recevoir des aumônes dans ce but [29]. Au mois de février 1445, frère Jean Marquet était de nouveau auprès du duc Philippe, à Bruges, « pour aucunes choses et matieres secretes dont mondit seigneur [le duc] ne veult autre declaracion estre faicte » [30]. Il retourna le voir à la fin de l'année 1447. Le 24 octobre, il est mentionné à Dijon où il reçut cent sous « pour ses despens d'aler devers monseigneur le duc lui dire et exposer aucunes choses touchans la foy cristienne » [31]. Un mois plus tard, il se trouvait auprès du duc « pour aucunes choses touchans la recouvrance et reunion de ladicte Terre saincte » et celui-ci le gratifia de soixante livres [32]. Il resta auprès du duc jusqu'au mois de février 1448, où il reçut de nouveau soixante livres « pour eulx *(sic)* deffroyer quant ilz sont venuz par-devers mondit seigneur [le duc] a Bruxelles oudit mois de fevrier et aller par-devers plusieurs princes cristiens pour aucunes matieres dont mondit seigneur ne veult aucune declaracion estre faicte » [33]. On peut remarquer que l'année suivante le duc de Bourgogne envoya une ambassade en Angleterre dans le but de la croisade, mais le moment était mal choisi, car les Anglais se faisaient expulser de France [34].

La décennie qui suivit l'union des Eglises grecque et latine à Florence en 1439 fut marquée par une intense activité de croisade de la part du duc de Bourgogne. En 1441, il envoya une petite aide navale aux chevaliers de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Rhodes. Trois ans plus tard, les Bourguignons retournèrent à Rhodes pour repousser une attaque mamelouke. Cette même année 1444, ils participèrent à la croisade organisée par le pape Eugène IV pour soutenir l'empereur de Constantinople contre les Ottomans. En 1445, les navires bourguignons croisèrent en mer Noire et, en

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28. ADN, B 1975, f° 125v (« frere Jehan Valdyron, de l'ordre des freres prescheurs [sic] demourant en Jherusalem »).

29. *Bullarium franciscanum*, n.s., t. I (1431-1455), n° 682 (*Iohanni de Baldironibus, ordinis fratrum Minorum*, 31 mai 1443) et 691 (22 juin 1443), p. 321 et 324.

30. ADN, B 1982, f° 203 (« frere Jehan de Valderon, de l'ordre des Cordelliers ») ; il semble avair été accompagné de « messire Jehan de Chippre, cordellier » et de « messire Jehan de Baptifolis, presbtre du royaume de Cyppre » (*ibid.*).

31. ADCO, B 1702, f° 56v (« frere Jehan Marquet, de l'ordre des freres prescheurs [sic] et gouverneur de l'ordre de saint Jehan de Jherusalem »).

32 ADN, B 1996, f° 25 (« frere Jehan de Valdirombus, religieux de l'ordre des freres meneurs qui vient de la Terre saincte »).

33. ADN, B 1998, f° 121v-122 (« frere Jehan Marcquet, dit de Valdirombus, religieux de l'ordre des freres meneurs, commissaire de la Terre saincte »).

34. J. Paviot, « Angleterre et Bourgogne : deux voies pour la croisade au XVe siècle », *Pubication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.)*, 35 (1995), p. 27-35.

1446-1447, on les trouve en Méditerranée orientale et occidentale. Durant les années 1446-1449, alors qu'avaient lieu les visites de frère Jean Marquet, le duc Philippe faisait construire à Anvers des galées qu'il désirait envoyer dans le Levant. Elles furent équipées en 1449, mais, à la suite d'un incident avec l'Angleterre, elles n'allèrent pas plus loin que Vannes en Bretagne [35].

Le commissaire de la Terre Sainte Jean Marquet ne réapparut plus à la cour de Bourgogne et le duc de Bourgogne n'envoya plus de flotte dans le Levant. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'intérêt de Philippe le Bon pour la croisade faiblit. Il changea seulement de direction. En effet, les années suivantes virent la prépondérance de Jean Germain, le chancelier de l'ordre de la Toison d'or et évêque de Chalon-sur-Saône. Celui-ci — qui était le chantre de la croisade à la cour de Bourgogne, mais qu'on n'a pas vu en relation avec Jean Marquet — avait une vue plus générale, c'est-à-dire la lutte contre l'infidèle. La libération de la Terre sainte n'avait pas un caractère d'urgence pour lui [36]. Plus tard, les événements dans les Balkans allaient détourner vers Constantinople, du point de vue militaire, les préoccupations du duc de Bourgogne.

Son intérêt pour la Terre Sainte ne faiblit pourtant pas, mais se manifesta seulement sous la forme d'œuvres pieuses en faveur du couvent du Mont-Sion à Jérusalem [37]. Dans son testament rédigé le 8 décembre 1441, il demandait déjà que ses héritiers fissent don annuellement et à perpétuité de cinq cents ducats d'or aux cordeliers du Mont-Sion [38]. Au mois de janvier 1447, dans un discours aux Gantois où il leur demandait une augmentation des aides, le duc de Bourgogne remarquait que depuis longtemps il avait beaucoup dépensé de ses propres finances, et qu'il continuait à le faire, en faveur de la foi et de la chapelle du Saint-Sépulcre à Jérusalem et autres lieux saints et pour son propre salut et celui de ses sujets. Il soulignait qu'on pouvait se renseigner à ce sujet auprès des pèlerins et il espérait que ses sujets étaient bien reçus par les chrétiens d'Orient [39]. D'autre part, plus tardi-

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35. J. Paviot, *La politique navale des ducs de Bourgogne, 1384-1482*, Lille, 1995, p. 105-126.

36. Pour l'action de Jean Germain en faveur de la croisade, H. Müller, *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philipp des Guten von Burgund*, Göttingen, 1993, p. 25-28. Nous nous permettons de renvoyer aussi à notre contribution au catalogue de l'exposition sur la Toison d'or, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, automne 1996.

37. A ce sujet, L. Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner im Hl. Lande*, t. I, *Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1335-1552)*, Münster (Westphalie), 1925, p. 108-120 ; D. Jacoby, « Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte : la perspective vénitienne », *Ateneo veneto*, t. CLXXIII, n.s. 24 (1986), repris in *Id.*, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton, 1989, IV, p. 46-47.

38. *Choix de testamens anciens et modernes* ..., éd. G. Peignot, t. I, Paris-Dijon, 1829, p. 107.

39. *Dagboek van Gent van 1447 tot 1470*, éd. V. Fris, t. I, Gand, 1901, p. 59-60.

vement, entre les années 1484 et 1493, frère Francesco Suriano écrivit que le duc Philippe fit reconstruire après 1460 la chapelle du Saint-Esprit au Mont-Sion et qu'il y dépensa quatorze mille ducats. Depuis il donna mille ducats par an aux frères pour leur subsistance et, à sa mort, il légua six mille ducats [40].

Déjà, dans sa lettre écrite de ce lieu le 6 octobre 1436, Albert de Sarteano remerciait chaleureusement et louait le duc de Bourgogne de ses riches aumônes (*amplissima pecuniarum subsidia*) en faveur des religieux du couvent [41]. Par elles, les frères du Mont-Sion purent se libérer de leurs dettes. Cet argent fut apporté par un envoyé du duc jusqu'à Jérusalem. De même que pour le héraut de 1440, les archives ne nous permettent pas d'identifier cet envoyé. Le duc Philippe fut sans doute sollicité par frère Pierre Clarey, cordelier de Jérusalem, « quand il est (...) venu devers luy a Brouxelles », et qui reçut seize livres dix sous « pour avoir ses necessitéz et luy aidier a vivre » [42].

Ce n'était pas la première fois que le duc de Bourgogne envoyait de l'argent en Terre Sainte. La première mention semble être, en 1432, l'ambassade d'André de Toulongeon qui, en dehors des cinq cents nobles qu'il reçut à son départ, emprunta quatre mille ducats à Venise [43], dont sans doute une partie, sinon la totalité, fut utilisée comme aumônes du duc de Bourgogne : peut-être était-ce le don même auquel a fait référence Albert de Sarteano. Le don suivant, celui mentionné par Albert de Sarteano, est celui fait en 1437 à Simon de Verdeau, « cordelier et gardien du couvent de Bethleam de Jherusalem ». Il reçut quarante-trois livres quatre sous « pour faire faire et mectre en l'eglise du mont de Syon empres ledit Jherusalem une verriere aux armes de mondit seigneur [le duc], et aussi un calixce pour la chapelle de mondit seigneur en ladite eglise », et trente-six livres « pour avoir ung breviaire » [44]. Dix ans plus tard, au plus fort des relations avec frère Jean Marquet, le duc

40. Voir n. 1.

41. Voir n. 23.

42. ADN, B 1954, f° 126.

43. Voir n. 9.

44. ADN, B 1961, f° 163 ; une copie dans le compte relié à la suite, f° 21, d'où la citation dans l'*Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Nord. Archives civiles. Série B*, t. IV, par A. Dehaisnes, Lille, 1881, p. 137. Le mandement concernant ce paiement fut donné à Lille, le 29 juin 1437. Le 8 avril précédent, les autorités ducales à Dijon faisaient verser dix saluts d'or à frère Simon de Verdeau «pour en avoir et acheter un cheval pour soy en aler des pays de Bourgoingne par devers mondit seigneur [le duc] en ses pays de Flandres, Picardie ou quelque part qu'il soit, pour aucunes choses tres-neccessaires et dont icellui seigneur desire tres-fort parler a lui» ; dans ce dernier voyage, frère Simon de Verdeau fut accompagné par « frere Anthoine de Villaffans, prieur de Saint Vivant de Vergy, conseillier de mondit seigneur le duc »» (ADCO, B 1663, f° 77v).

de Bourgogne fit délivrer mille saluts d'or à Pierre de Vaudrey, un de ses écuyers, conseillers et échansons, pour les porter à Venise et remettre en mains propres « a frere Marc de Ducaz [pour Duraz ?], de l'ordre des freres meneurs du couvent du mont de Syon estant audit lieu de Venise [...] icelle somme, pour par icelluy frere Marc estre delivree de par mondit seigneur [le duc] aux freres crisitens dudit mont de Syon et de Bethleem qui sont en grant necessité, ausquelz mondit seigneur la donne pour leur secourir et aidier a vivre, ainsi comme autrefois a fait » [45].

L'année suivante 1448, le duc Philippe envoya Pierre de Vaudrey en Terre Sainte dans le but d'y convoyer les matériaux nécessaires à la restauration et à la réfection de l'église de Sainte-Marie (de la Nativité) à Bethléem. Dans ce but, le 27 août 1448, le pape Nicolas V délivra la bulle *Sincerae devotionis affectus* en faveur duc de Bourgogne et de son émissaire Pierre de Vaudrey [46]. La mission de Pierre de Vaudrey semble avoir été plus importante. Le 26 avril 1448, il se rendit de Bruges à Lille auprès du duc pour « matieres secretes ». Il mourut durant le voyage de Jérusalem qu'il fit en compagnie d'Ernoul de Gouy. À son retour, celui-ci alla auprès du duc Philippe, entre le 22 août et le 7 octobre 1449, pour, en dehors de certaines affaires concernant Chypre, « lui avoir fait le rapport d'aucunes choses dont feu Pierre de Vauldrey nagaires trespassé oudit voyaige [de Jérusalem] avoit [été] chargé de par lui [le duc] » [47].

D'autre part, le duc Philippe avait pris à cœur de faire réédifier la chapelle du Saint-Esprit sur le Mont Sion. Déjà, en 1437, il y avait envoyé un vitrail à ses armes. Les travaux s'étaient poursuivis, et l'on a conservé des témoignages de pèlerins sur la beauté et la richesse de cette chapelle qui fut détruite en 1452 et 1457 [48]. D'après le témoignage déjà cité de frère Francesco Suriano, le duc Philippe envoya quatorze mille ducats pour sa reconstruction en 1460 [49]. Pourtant, Georges Lengherand, maire de Mons en Hai-

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45. ADN, B 1993, n° 59982 (reçu de Pierre de Vaudrey, Bruges, 29 mars 1447). Dans son voyage jusqu'à Venise, Pierre de Vaudrey fut accompagné par «frere Symon de Verdeau, du couvent des freres mineurs de Beaune» (ADN, B 1997, n° 60175 [quittance de P. de Vaudrey, Bruges, 1er septembre 1447]). Plus tard, frère Simon de Verdeau devint gardien du couvent de Bethléem et procureur de toute la Terre Sainte (*Bullarium franciscanum, op. cit.*, n° 1574 [5 avril 1452] et 1580 [18 avril 1452], p. 785 et 788).

46. *Bullarium franciscanum, op. cit.*, t. III (1471-1484), suppl., n° 211, p. 986 ; le texte en est publié dans *Diarium Terræ Sanctæ*, IV (1911), n° XLIII, p. 85-86. Pierre de Vaudrey avait fait partie de l'ambassade d'André de Toulongeon en 1432 (voir n. 8).

47. ADN, B 2002, f° 92 et 77 v.

48. Le témoignage d'un pèlerin rhénan cité par Lemmens, *op cit.*, p. 113 ; le souvenir de cette chapelle dans L. de Rochechouart, *Journal de voyage à Jérusalem*, éd. C. Couderc, Paris, 1893 (extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient latin*, t. I), p. 80.

49. Voir n. 1 et 40.

naut, qui effectua le pèlerinage en 1485-1486, a indiqué : « Et n'a guères que le bon duc Philippe de Bourgoigne y envoya une chappelle de bois toutte faicte, mais les Mores ne vollurent souffrir qu'elle y fust mise » [50]. De même, avant sa mort, le duc acheta du bois pour la réfection du toit de l'église de la Nativité à Bethléem, mais qui ne put être employé [51].

Frère Francesco Suriano a indiqué que le duc Philippe faisait un don annuel de mille ducats aux frères mineurs de Terre Sainte. Cette affirmation est vérifiée par la découverte d'une quittance du gardien du Mont-Sion du 29 août 1454. Le duc avait fait verser mille ducats à Venise à frère Hugues Grillet, de Beaune, qui la porta lui-même jusqu'à Jérusalem ; quatre ducats furent déduits pour ses frais de voyage jusqu'à Venise, dix-huit pour les frais jusqu'à Jaffa, dix pour le tribut des Sarrasins et le trajet jusqu'à Jérusalem, et dix pour le retour à Venise [52].

En dehors des dons faits aux religieux, le duc de Bourgogne a aussi financé des fondations pour les pèlerins. On a écrit que l'hôpital de Ramlah, étape entre Jaffa et Jérusalem, a été acquis grâce aux deniers ducaux [53]. De son côté, Georges Lengherand a noté « que la coutume est que le jour que les pellerins visitent ledit Mont de Sion, ilz y doibvent tous disner par une fondacion que fist Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgoigne » [54].

Est-il possible d'expliquer la dévotion du duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon pour la Terre Sainte, ainsi que nous venons de la décrire ? Sans aucun doute, il y avait sa piété personnelle qui s'inscrit dans le mouvement de dévotion pour la Terre Sainte qui s'est développé en Occident à partir du XIe siècle. Il ne faut cependant pas oublier la dimension politique que rappelait d'ailleurs Albert de Sarteano. D'une part, il y avait l'ascendance française et la tradition établie par le roi Philippe VI, dans la branche des Valois, des projets de libération des Lieux Saints. D'autre part, il y avait la tradition que Philippe le Bon a trouvée dans ses héritages des Pays-Bas : il était notamment l'un des successeurs de Godefroy de Bouillon, le premier roi de Jérusalem dont il aimait à relire régulièrement la geste.

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50. *Voyage* [...] *à Venise, Rome, Jerusalem, Mont Sinaï & Le Kayre, 1485-1486*, éd. de Godefroy Ménilglaise, Mons, 1861, p. 130.

51. Lemmens, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ; Jacoby, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

52. Voir la pièce justificative.

53. Lengherand, *op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 102.

54. *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

Pièce justificative

Quittance du gardien du Mont-Sion de mille ducats
donnés par Philippe le Bon
29 août 1454
(ADN, B 3375, n° 113516)

Tres noble prince de haute et redouptee segnorie, humble et subjecte recommendacion presuppousee. Per cestas presens vous signifioms que nous avoms receu voustre benigne lettre aveque voustre tres pieteuse et devote aumoyne : c'est a scevoyr mil ducas de ce que par la mayn de noustre frere, frere Hugue Grillet de Beaune, noustre procureur dela lez mons, au quel vous avez donné la charge de lez recevoyr a Venise ; qui nous a declaré la grant affection et devocion que vous avez a ces lieux de la terre sainte et a toute noustre religion ; pour la quel chouse nous faisoms continueblement et feroms noustre devoir si plet a Dieu. De la quelle summe ledit frere Hugue a despendut 4 ducaz an venant jusques a Venise, et 18 de Venise en Ierusalem pour le pourt, et 10 pour le tribut des Sarrazins et par chivauche du pourt de Japha jusques en Ierusalem, et 10 ducas au retorner les quels ont pris a Venise par vous porter response. Autre chouse noustre cher et redoptelle syra ne savoms que escrivre, mes que le benoit saint Esperit vous tiegne en sa garde et en bona prosperité amen. Escript en monte Syon a 29 d'aost 1454.

Vous trez humbles oratours, le guardian de monte
Syon et tous lez autrez freres de terre sainte

(Au dos) : Au trez noble et redoupté prince noustre segnour le duc de Bourgogne

N.B. Le filigrane du papier est une paire de ciseaux.

— V —

LES ÉTATS FRANCS DE SYRIE - PALESTINE

LES FRANCS ET LES AUTRES

Kay Peter JANKRIFT

IN ERWARTUNG EINES GÖTTLICHEN WUNDERS
Sprache als Barriere zwischen Kreuzfahrern und orientalischen Christen

Ihre Eroberung des Heiligen Landes konfrontierte die Kreuzfahrer mit einer geheimnisvoll-exotisch anmutenden Welt, von der sie kaum mehr als ein vages, wirres Bild besaßen. Nicht nur Riten, Gebräuche und Sprache der Muslime, sondern auch Gottesbild, Liturgie und Brauchtum der östlichen Christen waren den Eroberern ebenso fremd wie die verschiedenen religiösen und ethnischen Bevölkerungsteile selbst. Um zwischen diesen höchst unterschiedlichen Gruppen zu unterscheiden, bezeichneten die Kreuzfahrer sie gemeinhin – wenngleich nicht immer treffend – als *nationes* [1]. Dennoch entband ihre anfängliche Unwissenheit die Abendländer keineswegs von der Notwendigkeit, mit der demographischen Mehrheit der fremdartigen Nicht-Lateiner zu einem *modus vivendi* zu gelangen. Eine der größten *nationes* waren die Jakobiten, die in weiten Teilen der Kreuzfahrerstaaten, insbesondere aber in der Grafschaft Edessa und dem Fürstentum Antiochia ansässig waren [2]. Während des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts erlebte die jakobitische

1. A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die « Nationes Christianorum Orientalium » im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie. Von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Köln, 1973.

2. J. Prawer, « Social Classes in the Crusader States: the "Minorities" », in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. V, London, 1985, s. 67. Prawer betont, daß diese « Minderheiten » zahlenmäßig den größten Bevölkerungsanteil stellten und definiert den Begriff im Sinne einer Gruppe ohne politische Einflußmöglichkeit, s. 59. Nestorianer waren, außer in der Grafschaft Edessa kaum in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten ansässig. Ein Zeugnis ihrer Sicht der Kreuzzüge findet sich bei T. Nöldeke, « Zwei syrische Lieder auf die Einnahme Jerusalems durch Saladin », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 27

Kirche eine neue Blütephase, die in der Forschung bisweilen als « syrische Renaissance » bezeichnet worden ist [3]. Dieser Wiederaufschwung, der nahezu zeitgleich mit dem Beginn der Kreuzzüge einsetzte, führte neben einer Beeinflußung auf liturgisch-religiöse Lebensbereiche vor allem zu einem letzten Aufleben der syrischsprachigen Literatur. Drei zeitgenössische Chronisten – Michael der Syrer, Gregorius Bar Hebraeus und der unbekannte Verfasser der anonymen Chronik *ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens* – berichten in ihren Werken von den großen Ereignissen dieser Zeit und sparen dabei auch Schilderungen über die Begegnung zwischen ihren jakobitischen Glaubensgenossen und den Kreuzfahrern nicht aus [4].

Die in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten angesiedelten Jakobiten profitierten im religiösen Bereich von der fränkischen Eroberung, die für sie gleichzeitig eine Verdrängunng der jahrhundertelang dominierenden und ungeliebten Griechen mit sich brachte. Der Patriarch Michael macht keinen Hehl aus seiner Zufriedenheit über die Vertreibung der Griechen aus Antiochia, die er in seiner Schilderung der Ereignisse ebenso erwähnt wie die anfängliche Organisation der lateinischen Kirche in Outremer [5]. Während er den Muslimen nachsagt, nichts von den christlichen Mysterien und Bekenntnissen zu wissen, so hebt er dennoch hervor, daß nicht einmal diese Christen wegen ihrer unterschiedlichen Geisteshaltung verfolgten, wie die « bösen und häretischen » Griechen dies täten [6]. Demgegenüber berichtet Michael erstaunt, daß die Jakobiten auf religiösem Gebiet durch die Lateiner keine Bedrängung er-

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(1873), s. 489-511. Zu weiteren Quellen nestorianischen Ursprungs vgl. C. Cahen, « Some New Editions of Oriental Sources about Syria in the Time of the Crusades », in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, s. 328.

3. P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance*, Berlin, 1960 ; auch : A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, 1922, s. 285 u. 290.

4. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, éd. J.B. Chabot, Paris, 1899-1910 ; *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum. E Codd. MSS. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum*, éd. P. Bedjan, Paris, 1890 ; E.A.W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu 'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, Being the First Part of his Political History of the World*, London, 1932 ; J.B. Abbeloos, T. J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, Louvain, 1872-1877 ; A. Ṣālḥānī, *Muḫtaṣar ta'rīḫ ad-duwal*, Beirut 1890 ; J.B. Chabot, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, CSCO 81/82 u. 109, Louvain, 1916-1920-1952. Französische Teilübersetzung : A.Abouna, J.M. Fiey, CSCO 354, Louvain, 1974 ; Englische Teilübersetzung : A.S.Tritton, H.A.R. Gibb, « The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymus Syriac Chronicle », *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1933, s. 69-101 u. s. 273-305 ; Deutsche Auszugsübersetzung : A. Rücker, « Aus der Geschichte der jakobitischen Kirche von Edessa in der Zeit der Kreuzfahrer », *Oriens christianus*, 3. s., 10 (1935), s. 124-139.

5. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 590.

6. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 607.

führen : « ...ellā kul d-la-slibā sged krestyānā yādᶜin leh d-la ᶜuqqabā w-buhhana » (sondern sie betrachteten jeden als Christen, der das Kreuz verehrte, ohne Untersuchung und Prüfung)[7]. Doch selbst wenn, wie der Patriarch ausführt, die Jakobiten unter lateinischer Vorherrschaft ihren religiösen Bräuchen ungestört nachgehen konnten und die Unzufriedenheit mit der eigenen Geistlichkeit edessenische Jakobiten zur Kindstaufe bisweilen in lateinische Gotteshäuser führte [8], waren die orientalischen Christen den Lateinern keineswegs gleichgestellt. Rechtlich blieben sie Bürger zweiter Klasse, die unabhängig von Vermögen oder Ansehen den gleichen gesellschaftlichen Rang bekleideten wie nicht-christliche Gruppen [9]. Wie diese waren sie zur Zahlung einer Kopfsteuer, der *capitatio*, verpflichtet, die bisher auch die Muslime in Anlehnung an koranische Bestimmungen im Umgang mit den Andersgläubigen in Form der sogenannten *ğizya* erhoben hatten [10]. Auch die Einsetzung jakobitischer Patriarchen wurde weiterhin entsprechend der islamischen Praxis durch ein Diplom des säkularen Machthabers bestätigt [11]. Die unvermeidbare Verständigung zwischen Kreuzfahrern und orientalischen Christen in nahezu allen Lebensbereichen war jedoch nicht immer einfach. Eine nicht zu unterschätzende Barriere dürfte dabei die Sprache dargestellt haben. Selbst so gebildete Angehörige der jakobitischen Oberschicht wie der Patriarch Michael oder Bar Hebraeus, der neben dem Syrischen das auch bei den Christen als allgemeine Alltagssprache verwendete Arabisch sowie Hebräisch und Griechisch beherrschte, war weder des Lateinischen, geschweige denn einer anderen abendländischen Sprache mächtig [12]. Die Lateiner ihrerseits dürften sich — besonders anfangs — mit den orientalischen Sprachen schwer getan haben.

In der Chronik des Bar Hebraeus findet sich eine bemerkenswerte Theorie über die Entstehung des babylonischen Sprachwirrwarrs, die gleichzeitig Licht auf das jakobitische Selbstverständnis wirft. Demnach entstanden durch göttliche Bestrafung der ehrgeizigen Turmbauer 70 verschiedene Sprachen, deren älteste nach Auffassung der Heiligen Basilios und Afrem das Syrische gewesen sein soll [13]. Afrem, der große syrische Heilige des 4. Jahrhunderts, scheint seine höchst eigenen Erfahrungen mit den Tücken fremder Sprachen gemacht zu haben. Eine der zahlreichen Wundergeschich-

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7. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 607.

8. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 602.

9. Minorities, *op. cit.*, s. 59.

10. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, s. 201.

11. *Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, s. 86.

12. A. Lüders, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen*, Berlin, 1964, s. 13. Es ist allerdings umstritten, ob Bar Hebraeus des Griechischen mächtig war, cf. T. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1892, s. 254.

13. Bar Hebraeus, *Chrongraphy*, *op. cit.*, s. 8f.

ten seiner Vita erzählt in diesem Zusammenhang von einer erstaunlichen Begebenheit [14]: Begeistert vom Wirken des Heiligen Basilios, begibt sich Afrem auf die mühevolle Reise in das kappadokische Cäsarea, um sich mit eigenen Augen ein Bild des Wundertäters zu machen. Vor allem aber, um mit eigenen Ohren dessen Worten zu lauschen. Damit der des Griechischen nicht mächtige Afrem die Rede des berühmten Heiligen auch versteht, so unterstreicht der Bericht, führte der Syrer einen Dolmetscher in seiner Begleitung. Nach der Predigt des Basilios geschieht dann das Wunder. Der Grieche, des Syrischen unkundig, beginnt plötzlich, in der ihm fremden Sprache zu reden, und Afrem antwortet seinerseits auf Griechisch.

Über die Darstellung der Allmacht Gottes und seines Eingreifens in menschliche Geschicke hinaus verdeutlicht die Schilderung, welche Bedeutung der Sprache im Rahmen einer gegenseiten Verständigung zwischen unterschiedlichen Religions- oder Bevölkerungsgruppen von jeher zukam. Dies gilt in gleicher Weise für den rund 700 Jahre später einsetzenden Dialog zwischen Kreuzfahrern und orientalischen Christen. Sogenannte Dragomanen, eine Verballhornung des arabischen Wortes *turǧumān* (Übersetzer), mußten in Ermangelung eines neuerlichen Sprachwunders linguistische Verständigungsprobleme überbrücken helfen. Ein bekannter Bericht Fulchers von Chartres zeigt, wie rasch die Abendländer in ihrer neuen Heimat Outremer ein eigenes Selbstbewußtsein ausbildeten [15]. Zwar schafften sich selbst die « Alteingesessenen » *pullani* oder *poulains* ihr *France d'Outremer* [16], doch übernahmen sie eine Reihe zweckmäßiger orientalischer Lebensgewohnheiten, so in bezug auf Ernährung und Körperpflege. Notwendig war es für viele auch, das Arabische zu erlernen und mancher Franke mag die schwierige Sprache bald gut genug beherrscht haben, um als Dragoman fungiert zu haben [17]. Darüber, wie die Verständigung zwischen Kreuzfahrern und Orientalen im Alltagsleben vor sich ging, schweigen sich die syrischen Chronisten leider aus. Der Schilderung des alltäglichen Geschehens schenken sie in ihren Werken ohnehin kaum Beachtung. Im Vordergrund stehen vielmehr ekklesiastische Themen von inner-jakobitischen Auseinandersetzungen bis hin zum Dialog mit den Lateinern. Doch obgleich der spitzfindige theologische Diskurs mit den Abendländern ein hohes Maß an Sprachfertigkeit voraussetzt, erwähnen die jakobitischen Historiographen höchst selten Probleme sprachlicher Natur oder den Einsatz von Dragoma-

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14. C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomatie und Glossar*, Leipzig, 1976, s. 36*

15 H.E Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, 1989, s. 80.

16. M.R. Morgan, « The Meanings of Old French *polain*, Latin *pullanus* », *Medium Aevum*, 48 (1979), s. 40-54 ; J. Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders*, Jerusalem, 1972, s. 83.

17. J. Riley-Smith, « Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria », *English Historical Review*, 87 (1972), s. 15 ff.

nen. Die Übersetzerqualitäten der Dragomanen ließen bisweilen offenbar zu wünschen übrig, wie ein Bericht des Patriarchen Michael beschreibt [18]. Als der von seiner Glaubensgemeinschaft exkommunizierte jakobitische Patriarch von Edessa, Bar Ṣabouni, sich im Jahre 1119 beim lateinischen Patriarchen von Antiochia über den Patriarchen Athanasios beklagt, verlangen die Lateiner die Aufhebung der Exkommunizierung. Athanasios, der sich standhaft weigert, dem Drängen der Franken nachzugeben, gerät im Verlaufe eines erregten Streitgesprächs durch einen Übersetzungsfehler des hinzugezogenen Dolmetschers bei den Lateinern in Mißkredit. Die geschilderte Szenerie verdeutlicht, wie sehr Verständnis oder Mißverständnis von der Kompetenz des Dragomanen abhingen. Von diesen scheint selbst zu einem so wichtigen Anlaß wie der Streitfallregelung zwischen hohen jakobitischen Würdenträgern nur ein einziger hinzugezogen worden zu sein. Andernfalls hätten weitere Sprachkundige dabei helfen können, das Mißverständnis — auch nach mehreren Erklärungsversuchen seitens des Athanasios versteht der Dolmetscher nicht den eigentlichen Wortsinn — zu vermeiden. Darüber hinaus stellt sich die Frage, in welcher Sprache gemeinhin übersetzt wurde. Das semantisch bedingte Mißverständnis bei der Übersetzung deutet an, daß der Dolmetscher anscheinend aus dem Syrischen übersetzte [19]. Michael der Syrer macht allerdings keine Angaben darüber, ob die Jakobiten bei ihren Diskussionen mit den Franken generell auf das Syrische zurückgriffen oder ob sie sich hierfür auch des Arabischen als einer gewissermaßen orientalischen *lingua franca* bedienten. Immerhin könnte der Chronist angesichts der engen Verwandschaft der semitischen Sprachen recht mühelos und ohne entscheidenden Verlust des Sinngehalts einen auf Arabisch geführten Diskurs ins Syrische übertragen haben.

Doch nicht nur das gesprochene, auch das geschriebene Wort wurde übersetzt. Der Patriarch berichtet, daß Armenier und Jakobiten aufgrund einer angeblich von den Griechen vorgebrachten Beschuldigung der Häresie, zu einer gemeinschaftlichen Synode von den Lateinern nach Jerusalem geladen wurden [20]. Beide Gruppen präsentierten dort « Kompendien », in denen die Inhalte ihres Glaubens niedergelegt waren. Der Chronist fährt fort, daß die Bücher zunächst gelesen und dann in die « italienische Sprache » — gemeint ist wohl Latein — übersetzt worden sein. Wer sich um die Erstellung solch spezialisierter Übersetzungen kümmerte, verschweigt Michael, doch liegt nahe, die Übersetzer im klerikalen Kreis zu vermuten. Zwischen der lateinischen und jakobitischen Geistlichkeit, so geht aus den syrischen Chroniken allgemein hervor, herrschte ein reger Gedankenaustausch. So nimmt es wenig Wunder, wenn der Patriarch Michael mit Kenntnissen über

18. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol IV, s. 589.

19. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. III, s. 206.

20. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 626.

die Gründung des Tempelordens und, wenngleich nicht immer zutreffend, deren Statuten aufwarten kann [21]. Die Templer, lobt der Chronist, hätten sich eines Jeden erbarmt, der « das Kreuz verehre » [22]. Aus Informationen dieser Natur, die Michael des häufigeren in sein Werk einbringt, läßt sich konstatieren, daß die sprachlichen Barrieren zwischen Kreuzfahrern und Jakobiten – besonders zu Beginn der fränkischen Herrschaft in Outremer – zwar hoch aber nicht unüberwindbar waren.

21. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 595 f.

22. Patriarch Michael, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, s. 597.

Mahmoud Said OMRAN

TRUCES BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND CRUSADERS (1174 - 1217 A.D.)

The aim of this research is the study of an important aspect in the relations between the Moslems and the Crusaders in the Levant, which is the truces signed between the two parties.

The research will examine the influence of peace on social, economic and intellectual life in particular, and on other aspects in general. It will also examine the terms of each truce ; the reasons it was accepted by both sides, or suggested by one side and rejected by the other ; its duration and how influential that was on the two warring sides, and whether the truce was observed by all the Crusaders or only by the principality that signed the truce. In addition, the research will explain whether all the truces with all their terms were documented by the sources or whether some were overlooked, and whether or not the conflicts between Moslem rulers in the Levant influenced the signing of truces.

This research is divided into three parts. Part one is an introduction concerned with the reign of Imad El-Din Zengi and his son Nur El-Din (1126-1174) ; Part two is concerned with the succeeding period, which is the reign of Saladin that lasted till his death in 1193 ; and part three is the period following the reign of Saladin until 1217.

Part One

Imad El-Din Zengi succeeded to the throne of Mosul (1127-1146). He considered himself the only Moslem leader capable of fighting the Crusaders

or annexing new Moslem lands to his prosperity. The year after he had ascended the throne he raised an army and arrived at the borders of Edessa, where he made peace with Joscelin I prince of Edessa, and returned with his forces to Aleppo [1]. Obviously, this peace was not violated, nor did it disturb him. till the death of Joscelin in 1131.

This truce allowed Imad El-Din to establish his power in the Levant. Both the lord of Shaizer and the lord of Homs acknowledged his sovereignty. Kamal El-Din has exaggerated in his description of Imad El-Din's power at this stage, mentioning that the lordship of Imad El-Din extended to Mosul, Jezireh, Rahba, Aleppo and all the Moslem land in Syria were signed over to him [2]. It is to be noticed that the truce with Joscelin I did not apply to Antioch or Tripoli or Jerusalem. Imad El-Din also signed a truce with Fluk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem (1131-1144). There are several reasons for this treaty, the direct one being that the Crusaders in the fort of Barin had raided the neighbouring Moslem lands, « laying waste and looting the lands between Hama and Aleppo, and making the roads unsafe » [3]. In addition, Pons prince of Tripoli (1113-1137), was murdered, along with a great number of his generals, leaving Tripoli undefined. Imad El-Din laid siege to the fort of Barin, in revenge on the Crusaders for their recurring raids [4].

Under the leadership of Imad El-Din in 1137, the Moslem forces met Raymond II (1137-1152), who had succeeded to the throne of Tripoli after Pons. Raymond realized that his forces were not sufficient to face those of Imad El-Din, so he sent a hasty message to King Fulk of Anjou asking for help. The king summoned his forces and sped to the north, where the forces of the kingdom united with those of Tripoli. When Imad El-Din knew of this he retreated slightly and lifted the siege for a shore while, without the knowledge of the Crusaders, whose main concern was to arrive there as soon as possible with relief. In their haste the crusaders chose a shore but rocky road, which put them in a difficult situation. Imad El-Din took advantage and in the ensuing battle the Crusaders were defeated and they retreated to the fort of Barin [5], they suffered heavy losses : two thousand were killed and many prisoners taken, among them Raymond II and several knights [6].

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1. Matthieu d'Edesse, *Chronique*, Paris, 1885, p, 320.
2. Kamal el-Din, *Chronicle of Alepp*, Damascus, 1951-1967, II, p. 244.
3. Ibn al-Athir, *History of Atabegs of Mosulm*, Cairo, 1963 p. 61.
4. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, New York, 1943, I, p. 84-85.
5. Kamal el-Din, *op. cit.*, II, p. 261-262.
6. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 87.

Imad El-Din gave the Crusaders the chase till the fort of Barin and attached violently before Crusaders' help could arrive. When the besieged Crusaders felt that they were in mortal danger, they sent a message to Imad El-Din requesting safe passage. He refused at first, then consented when he heard the Crusaders' help was about to arrive from Antioch, after the fort of Barin had been razed to the ground by the blows of the Moslem forces had given it. In the end, the peace terms were the handing over of the fort and the payment of fifty thousand dinars in return for the Crusaders' safe passage [7].

Sources have not mentioned that this peace was accompanied by a truce. However, there are some texts that mention in the following year that the inhabitants of Antioch and of some coastal towns had violated the truce with the Moslems. One of these sources was Ibn El Qalanisi, who in the following year 1138 recorded that the Franks had violated the truce between them and Imad El-Din Zengi, concerning Aleppo. they displayed rebellions tendencies and captured around five hundred Merchants' Moslem from Antioch, the coastal Crusaders' cities, Aleppo, and travellers [8].

Now from the previous discussions, we can remark that there was a previous truce between Imad El-Din Zengi and the principality of Antioch. If this truce began before the battle of Barin, the Antioch troops should not come to help the Crusades troops that Zengi besieged, so the researcher sees that the truce which is mentioned by Ibn Al-Qalanisi and Kamal Al-Din was held with the peace after the battle of Barin. If there was a truce with Antioch that came to help king Fulk and Raymond of Tripoli who was besieged by Zengi, it was necessary for a truce with Raymond and the king for their bad situations we compared with the prince of Antioch. So the researcher sees that Barin peace was ended by a truce with King Fulk, Antioch and Tripoli.

In 1139, the king tried to make use of the combat between the people of Damascus after the murder of Shehab Al-Din, and Anur at once assumed control of the city. Because that was against Zeng's will, he laid siege to the city, and offered to Mohammed son of Shehab ad-Din, Baalbek and Homs in exchange for Damascus, and he would have excepted, but at this crisis on 29 March 1140, Mohammed died, and his son Abag held the city [9].

At this point Anur regent of Damascus sent to king Fulk to ask for help against Zengi and offered the king twenty thousand besants a monthly and

7. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Continuation of the Chronicle of Damascus*, Damascus, 1983, p. 150. Wilham of Tyre, *op. cit*., II, p. 91.

8. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *op. cit.*, p. 414 ; Kamal el-Din, *op. cit*., II, p. 264.

9. Kamal el-Din, *op. cit.*, II, p. 273.

the return of fortress of Banyas if he would drive Zengi from Damascus [10]. After hostages had been received from Anur to full the promise, the king summoned his council to consider the offer, there was a general feeling to accept it [11]. At last Zengi withdrew from Damascus, Anur and the Crusaders troops moved to Banyas, but the city opposed the troops at first, and after some weeks it fell [12].

Another truce was held between Moslems and Crusaders when Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin of Edessa made an agreement to attack the Moslems in north Syria, Raymond harried Bizaa, but Sawar, governor of Aleppo, opposed him. Raymond hoped that Joscelin would follow him to unite the two forces against Aleppo, but this event ended by a peace in a meeting between Sawar and Jescelin [13]. This peace must be held with the agreement of Zengi.

In 1144 Zengi, having no anxiety about the Crusaders, crossed the Euphrates and attacked Ortoqid, so Kara Arslan asked help from Jescelin made peace and allied to fight Zengi. Zengi felt aggrieved with Jeseelin, and employed every means of capturing Edessa and succeeded [14].

After Imad El-Din's death, his son Nur El-Din became emir of Aleppo. Because of the fall of Edessa the second Crusade came to Syria, but it did nothing against Nur El-Din and decided to concentrate all its strength on an attack against Damascus. Most of the historians said that a decision of utter folly. Some said that the Crusaders wanted to cut the way between Damascus and Egypt, but this work spoiled the good relations between Anur and the Crusaders, because Anur was the only Moslem ruler who was on good terms with the Crusaders.

In spite of this situation, Anur asked Nur El-Din for help when the second Crusade attacked Damascus, so we can remark that the alliance between Anur and Nur El-Din was a good reason for the failure of the second Crusade. It was a fact that Anur made peace with the local barons after the departure of the second Crusade.

Another truce was held between Nur El-Din and Antioch, the reason for it was that after the departure of the second Crusade Nur El-Din attacked Azaz. Raymond of Antioch and Ali Ibn Wafa the leader of the Assassins al-

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10. Ibn al Qalanisi, *op. cit.*, p. 375-376.

11. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 105-106.

12. Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamel Fi Al-Tarich*, Beirut, 1966, 11, p. 74.

13. Kamal el-Din, *op. cit.*, II, p. 277.

14. *Anonymous Syria Chronicle, The First and Second Crusades*, London, 1933, p. 280-281.

lied to drive out Nur El-Din's troops, but both were killed [15]. Nur El-Din marched to Antioch and demanded surrender. Aimery the patriarch said that this matter must be settled by king Fulk and Nur El-Din agreed. It means that he permitted Antioch a temporal truce and stayed near the town. When he knew of Fulk's preparation to fight him, he made peace with Antioch and left after the two parties decided that the land near Aleppo belonged to Aleppo, and that which was near Antioch belonged to it [16]. From the series of truces between Damascus and the Crusaders was what happened after the departure of the second Crusade when bad terms started between Anur and the local barons. Ibn El-Qalanisi said the Franks of Tyre, Acre and the coastal cities spoiled the peace, this sentence meant that there was a truce between Anur and the Crusaders as we mentioned above.

In any case, Anur responded to the Crusaders' raids by attacking their borders. In the end, peace was made between Anur and the king of Jerusalem, the truce was renew, and some territories were given up. It was a two-year truce beginning in May 1149 [17].

A few months later Anur died. He was succeeded by Mujir El-Din son of Buri grandson of Toghtekin in whose name Anur had ruled. Mujir El-Din began to conciliate Nur El-Din whose might he feared when the latter attacked Damascus. Nur El-Din did not withdraw his forces until he and Mujir El-Din had decided on peace to avoid bloodshed. The ruler of Damascus swore loyalty to Nur El-Din and that the Friday sermon in the Damascus mosques would be said in his name after those of the khalifa and the Sultan [18].

But in spite of all this, it is evident that Mujir El-Din had acted in this way to keep Nur El-Din away from Damascus [19]. The evidence for this is that after Nur El-Din departure, the Crusaders' forces arrived, with king Baldwin III (1144-1162) at their head, on the 20th of June 1151. A great number of crusaders enter Damascus to « see to their needs », while Nur El Din himself, with a number of his followers, went to the Crusaders' camp and met the king and his men. They allied to attack fort Bosra whose ruler, Serkhak, had revolted against Damascus. However, this attempt failed, as Sirkhak called upon Nur El-Din for help. After the Crusaders had returned,

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15. M.S. Omran, *The Eastern Policy of The Byzantine Empire*, Alexandria, 1985, p. 168-173 and footnotes.

16. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *op. cit.*, p. 474-475.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

18. *Ibid*, p. 480.

19. Kamal el-Din, *op. cit.*, II, p. 304.

Baldwin asked for a price in return for driving Nur El-Din out of Damascus, saying, « if we do not drive him out, he will not leave » [20].

In 1153 the Franks captured Ascalon and in the following year 1154 Nur El-Din captured Damascus. Nur El-Din alone was left to confront the Crusaders in Antioch, Tripoli and Jerusalem. If the previous stage reveals the Damascus' fear of Nur El-Din hence their alliance with the crusaders, what would the case be now that Nur El-Din had become the sole Moslem leader confronting the Crusaders.

The truth is that after Nur El-Din had taken Damascus, he honoured the truce between Mujir El-Din and Baldwin and even renewed it in 1156. lbn El-Qualanisi said that in Shawal it was decided to extend the truce between the king of the Franks and Nur El-Din for a whole year beginning in Shaaban, that Nur El-Din paid eight thousand dinars, and that each swore to honour the truce. Perhaps its was Nur El-Din problems with the Seljuks-Rom at this stage that made him sign the truce [21].

However, the truce did not last long. Baldwin was encouraged by the arrival of some Christian forces from the west, as well as by some of the evil people around him, as the historian William of Tyre calls them, in addition to his need for money. The king attached a forest near Banyas where a lot of Moslem shepherds lived. He killed many, and took others prisoners and slaves. Nur El-Din retaliated by making some raids, but they were ineffectual [22].

One of the truces made by Nur El-Din was with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180). It was more beneficial for the Crusaders, because when Manuel I was in Antioch establishing his sovereignty over the pincipality in 1159, he agreed with the Crusaders to fight Nur El-Din. But Manuel I did not want to go to war so that the Crusaders would be constantly in need of him. So a truce was agreed upon between him and Nur El-Din that the Christian prisoners held by Nur El-Din would be set free, and that Nur El-Din would side with Manuel against the Seljuks-Rom [23].

When competition between Shawar and Dhirgam had increased in Egypt, the forces of Nur El-Din, under the leadership of Assad El-Din Sherkuh and Saladin, quickened the attacks and the Crusaders under the leadership of

20. lbn al-Qalanisi, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

21. *Ibid*, p. 511-516.

22. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 255-259.

23. Cinamus, *Deed of John and Manuel Comnenus*, New York, 1976, p. 143-144.

Amalric I king of Jerusalem (1162-1174) in order to win control over Egypt. Hence the campaigns of 1164, 1167,1168,1169.

Undoubtedly, these campaigns were random and unsupervised by Nur El-Din Zengi, Since there were no communications between Nur El-Din and Sherikuh and the latter did not know of Nur El-Din's deeds and his attach on Banyas [24].

The last truce Nur El-Din signed with the crusaders was in 1172. The Crusaders in Lattakieh had captured two ships that had left Egypt on their way to Syria. That was considered a violation of the existing truce between Nur El-Din and the crusaders and confirms what Ibn Al-Athir had written, that « Nur El-Din had made a truce but they had violated it. Nur El-Din was angered and asked them to return what they had taken, but they refused and gave some excuses and said that some sea-water had got into the ships, and that it was the custom with them to take all ships that are filled with sea-water. So Nur El-Din attacked the suburbs of Antioch and Tripoli and looted them and laid them waste. Consequently, the Crusaders sent messages promising to return what they had forcibly taken and they renewed the truce [25].

What is significant here is the sentence written by Ibn Al-Athir, Nur El-Din had made a truce but they had violated it ». This sentence means that there had been a truce between Nur El-Din and Antioch which held sway over Lattakieh. Also, the sentence which says « Nur El-Din attacked Antioch and Tripoli means that Tripoli, too, was responsible for attacking the Egyptian ships. The fact that the Egyptian ships were sailing to the Syrian coat necessarily means there was a truce with the crusaders in general, especially as until this point the Moslems held no cities on Syrian coast.

It seems clear that there was at least a truce with Tripoli and Antioch at this stage and earlier too. Sources have not determined the duration of this truce, which complicates matters in the earlier stages. Perhaps what had driven Nur El-Din to renew the truce with the Crusaders was his preoccupation with the question of Egypt and Saladin who looked like he had taken the control of Egypt for himself.

In short, Nur El-Din made truces with the kingdom of Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripoli, while the rulers of Damascus had constant semi-peaceful relations with the rulers of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

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24. Al-Hanbaly, *Shefaa El-Kulub*, Bagdad, 1979, p. 25 ff.

25. Ibn al-Athir, *History of Atabegs*, p. 155.

Part Two

This part deals with the truces made with the Crusaders during the Ayubite state. When Nur El-Din died in 1174, he was succeeded by his son El-Saleh Ismail, who was only around eleven years old. Consequently, there was turmoil in Syria. king Amalric took advantage of the situation and marched at the head of his army and laid siege to Banyas. Ibn El-Moqaddam sent them a conciliatory message, but Amalric refused to make peace, hoping to get a vast sum of money.

The siege lasted fifteen days, during which Ibn-Moqaddam offered peace or else he would send to Saladin in Egypt and Seif El-Din in Mosul asking for help. He told the Crusaders, « You know that Saladin feared to meet Nur El-Din, and now the fear has gone, and if we ask him to come to your country, he will not refuse ». The Crusaders believed him and Amalric accepted the sum offered to him. He released some Moslem prisoners, said by some sources to be around twenty, and made a truce [26]. The sources do not mention the duration of this truce.

It seems a truce was made in 1175 with Raymond III prince of Tripoli (1152-1187). The historian William of tyre has mentioned that Saladin – in his attempt to take over Syria – sent a message from Homs to Raymond asking him not to interfere in the conflict between the Moslem rulers and offered to release the prisoners of Tripoli and other hostages, to which Raymond consented [27].

If this was considered a truce between Saladin and Raymond, then the latter violated it the next year (1176). While Saladin was besieging Aleppo, Raymond attacked the Bekaa region. At the same time, the forces of Jerusalem headed north. Saladin's army had a first manged to defeat Tripoli army, but the coalition of the forces of Jerusalem with those of Tripoli led to the defeat of the Moslem army. Accordingly, Saladin marched north to the battle field, so the Crusaders withdrew.

Saladin made a truce with Baldwin IV king of Jerusalem (1174-1185) in 1180. After his might had grown in Syria [28]. Saladin marched forth from Damascus to confront the Crusaders, while some ships from the Egyptian approached the southern coast of Syria. This disturbed king Baldwin and made him contact in Marj El-Soffer and ask for a truce. The terms of the

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26. Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamel fi al. Tarich*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 408.

27. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 410.

28. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 435 ; William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 413.

truce included land and sea, locals and foreigners equally. Both parties swore an oath to observe the truce, whose duration was two years. William of tyre considered this truce a humiliation for the Crusaders. What might have made Saladin consent to this truce was the draught that hit Damascus and the surrounding area and that lasted for five years, causing a shortage of food and fodder [29].

This truce lasted only one year, for it was violated by Reynald of Chatillon when he made raids on the Red Sea and reached Aidib, Saladin retaliated by attacking the Christian lands, where the Crusaders and the Moslems met at Ain Jalud, the Crusaders retreated after the Moslems had conquered Beisan and Zirin [30].

lbn Al-Athir writes, concerning the treachery of Reynald, that he « was one of the greatest of the franks and the most cunning ». When Saladin saw this, he constantly raided and besieged his country until Reynald was humiliated and submitted, asking for peace. Saladin responded and agreed to a truce and an alliance, so that caravans went back and forth between Egypt and Syria [31]. It is known that Reynald did not honour this later.

The truce Saladin made with Baldwin in 1180 did not include Tripoli and Antioch. That might have encouraged Saladin to attack Tripoli by land and by sea. In 1180 – the same year in which Saladin made a truce with Baldwin – the Egyptian fleet attacked the area north of Beirut up to the island of Irwad and the part of Tortosa. Saladin also attacked some property belonging to Tripoli and left it in ruins. When Raymond know of Baldwin's truce, he made a truce with Saladin, and the Moslem forces returned [32].

After Saladin had made truces with Jerusalem and Tripoli, he made a third one with Antioch in 1183, which lasted for four years until the Battle of Hattin in 1187. The reasons for the truce were that Saladin had attacked Emad El-Din Zengi II ruler of Aleppo and Izz El-Din Mas'ud of Mosul and took Aleppo and Harence. This was undoubtedly a threat to the Crusaders of the northern Principality, especially Antioch, which realized it was in a state of permanent sleaze. Consequently Antioch prepared for war and asked Baldwin IV for help. However, Prince Bohemond III (1163-1201) finally realized that it was futile to go to war, and so he made a truce with Saladin. Perhaps one of the reasons why Saladin accepted was that the wanted to devote more time to the reorganization of his state in Egypt and the Syria, or

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29. William of Tyre, *op. cit*., II, p. 447-458.

30. lbn Shedad, *Life of Saladin*, Cairo, 1964, p. 61-63.

31. lbn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 527-528.

32. William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, II, p. 448-449.

may be because he wanted to return to Egypt to prepare his forces and raise the money necessary for future campaigns against the Crusaders when the truces came to an end.

Another truce between Jerusalem and Saladin was made in 1185 for four years, King Baldwin IV had died and was succeeded by Baldwin V, with Raymond prince of Tripoli as regent. Considering the deteriorating state of internal affairs, Raymond had no choice but to ask for a truce with the Moslems. Saladin consented, and as a result trade was resumed between Moslems and Crusaders [33]. One of the reasons why Saladin consented to the truce would be the disturbances caused by Izz El-Din Mas'ud of Mosul during this period [34].

The Crusaders had hoped that the truce would be maintained till Christian relief arrived from the west. But a catastrophe befell the Crusaders. Baldwin V died the following year, in 1186. As a result intrigues increased in the Christian kingdom. When Guy Lusignan ascended the throne after his marriage to Sybilla, heiress to the kingdom, he removed Raymond from the regency and the kingdom was torn into conflicting parties [35].

In this way Saladin made truces with the kingdom of Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch, in addition to Reynald. Saladin was justified in accepting the truces. The crusaders, too, were justified in offering them. Until this point, Saladin had never offered the Crusaders a truce but only accepted one when it was offered him.

The truce was disturbed when, at the end of 1186, Reynald attacked a large caravan of pilgrims, laden with money and containing a great number of men and a group of soldiers. The treacherous Reynald looted all, beasts, money and weapons, and imprisoned the men he had taken. Among the pilgrims were relatives of Saladin, one of whom was his nephew Mohamed Ben Lagin. In spite of Saladin's threats and insistence that Reynald release the prisoners and return the money, Reynald refused, even when Saladin threatened to kill him. The Christian king, too, failed to prevail upon Reynald to return what he had looted, so war became inevitable. [36]

So as to be totally prepared to fight the Crusaders forces of Jerusalem, with Reynald's forces at their head, Saladin sent to king Al-Muzaffar in Hama asking for a peace settlement between Aleppo and the Franks – the

33. Ernoul, *La Chronique d'Ernoul*, Paris, 1871, p. 124-126.

34. Ibn Shedad, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.

35. Ernoul, *op. cit.*, p. 127 ff.

36. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 528-530.

« buy immunity of Antioch ». He also asked all the Egyptian and Syrian forces to gather in Damascus, raiding all the coastal lands that lay on the way, which they did [37]. This was the first time for Saladin to ask for peace with the Crusaders.

Raymond, Count of Tripoli, sensed the dangers that threatened the possessions of the Crusaders, and sent conciliatory messages to Saladin. Saladin released some of Raymond's knights, and this caused a violent attack by the clergy and the knights on Raymond, accusing him of converting to Islam. Thus they were divided among themselves and this was an excellent opportunity to conquer their lands [38].

After the battle of Hattin and after the lands and citadels of the Crusaders had fallen one after the other, Saladin arrived at the citadel of Darbsaq, one of the citadels of Antioch. When the siege grew too severe, they asked for peace, after referring to Antioch. The Moslem forces next made for the citadel of Baghras and fought fiercely till the citadel asked for peace, after taking permission from Antioch, on the 28th of September 1188. On the same day, while Saladin was in the great camp, the people of Antioch asked for peace. His soldiers were so restless that he complied, on condition that all Moslem prisoners be freed. The truce was to last seven months ; if help came the truce was to be ended, but if no help came they would surrender the city to Saladin. lbn El-Athi writes that the truce was for eight months [39], and that supplicating messages came to the lord of Antioch begging him to accept these terms [40]. The duration implies that the Crusaders were expecting help to arrive from across the seas by spring at the latest.

After Raymond Prince of Tripoli had fled from the Battle of Hattin, he went to Tripoli where he died, and Bohemond Prince of Antioch took over the principality. It is to be noted that the truce involved Antioch only, not the rest of the Crusaders' lands [41].

One of the truces Saladin made as he swept across the Crusaders' lands was the one with Reynald lord of Sidon. When Saladin had tried to lay siege to Beaufort in April 1189, Reynald deceived him and appeared to be friendly and obedient, and asked Saladin for a four-month period of grace. But

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37 lbn Shedad, *op. cit*., p 74-75.1

38. bn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 527-5332.

39. lbn Shedad, *op. cit*., p. 93-94..

40. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit* , 12, p. 19.

41. Kamal el-Din, *op. cit* , 11, p. 107.

Reynald procrastinated, which forced Saladin to imprison him and march him to Damascus. The Moslems did not gain the citadel [42].

The third Crusade came, headed by Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany (1152-1190) who drowned, and Philip Angustus king of France (1180-1223) who left, and Richard Lion-Heart who fought and negotiated and made a truce. What concerns us here is the truce he signed with Saladin. It is beyond the scope of this study to go into the details of the negotiations that led to the finalization of the truce, but, in brief, it can be said that the negotiations began as soon as the English king arrived at Syria coast.

The negotiations went through several stages, around six, instigated by Richard Lion-Heart. The first one began ten days after his arrival. He asked to meet with Saladin, who turned down the offer, saying that kings do not meet except to lay down terms for a truce, and that if a truce were decided on, then a meeting would be held with the English king.

The truce was not signed at this stage, nor did Richard meet with Saladin. King El-Adil. Saladin's brother, took over the negotiations, which took a long time and involved incessant messages between the Moslem and Crusader camps. The purpose of the Crusaders was to test the morale of the Moslems, which the purpose of the Moslems was to find out what the crusaders had [43].

The second stage of the negotiations had to do with the question of handing Acre over to the Crusaders, not with the Crusade as a whole.

The third stage was described by Ibn Shaddad, who said, quoting Richard's messengers, « the fighting between us has lasted too long, and on both sides have died men and heroes. We have come to help the Franks of the coast. Make your peace together and each of us will go his way ». When Saladin knew of this he wrote to his brother El-Adil to delay the negotiations till Moslem help reached Saladin. During this stage, the messengers of Conrad of Montferrat — who had arrived at Tyre after the battle of Hattin and had defended it — arrived at Saladin's camp to make peace and an alliance against the forces of Richard, which Richard got to know of [44].

Like the earlier stages, the fourth stage was begun by Richard. The reason for it is mentioned by Richard's messengers to king El Al-Adil. They said, « Both Franks and Moslems have perished, and the country has been ruined.

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42. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, 12, p. 27-28.

43. Ibn Shedad, *op. cit.*, p. 163-166.

44. Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, New York, 1941, p. 330-331.

Matters have got out of hand. Money and souls have been lost on both sides. Things have run their course, and now there is no talk except of Jerusalem, the Holy Cross and the land. Jerusalem is our place of worship and we will never give it up, even if not one of us remains of the land, give us back transjordan. As for the Cross, it is a piece of wood that has no value for you and for us is great. Let the Sultan grant it to us so that we can make peace and be relieved of this eternal suffering » [45].

It is noticeable that the way of the messenger spoke is different from previous times, for in the phrase « Let the Sultan grant it to us » there is an indication that the English king is pleading with Saladin to hand him the True Cross. Perhaps what drove Richard to that was his knowledge of the negotiations Conrad was making with the Moslems.

The fifth stage was characterized by a movement along tow parallel lines, the first being negotiations with Richard's messengers and the second concerning the negotiations with Conrad. Saladin took council with his wise men regarding the suggestions of Richard and Conrad. It was decided to proceed with the negotiations with Richard but not with Conrad. The messengers of the English king hastened to make peace with the Moslems after the king knew of the communications with Conrad and of his brother John's attempt to seize the throne of England. This stage ended with the murder of Conrad [46].

The sixth and last stage of the negotiations was long and complicated and lasted for nearly five months. After the Battle of Jaffa, Saladin returned to Jerusalem and fortified it. He went back on the same day to El Natroun, where help came — first the troops from Mosul, them the Egyptian troops. When Saladin saw the forces gathered, he met with the wise men said, « the English king has fallen desperately ill, and the French forces — left behind by Philip — are bent on sailing to Europe after having run out of money. We should proceed to Jaffa. If we find something worth while there, we take it, or else we return by night to Asealon which we can take before Crusader relief reaches it ». During these events Richard's messengers had not ceased asking for fruit and ice. lbn Shaddad writes that God sent a sickness to Richard so that he would crave pears and peaches. Saladin used to provide him with them, hoping to discover news through the messengers who frequented him. Saladin discovered that the soldiers in Jaffa did not exceed three hundred Crusader knights and the French troops were determined to sail to Europe after they had refused to fortify the walls of the city of Jaffa, and had fortified only the walls of the citadel. At this stage king Richard as-

45. lbn Shedad, *op. cit*., p. 194.

46. Ambroise, *op. cit*., p. 334-336.

ked for chamberlain Abu-Bakr, with whom he got along well. The news of the king's request, in addition to the news he had of Jaffa, made Saladin set off in the direction of Ramleh[47].

By now the chamberlain Abu-Baker had returned to Saladin's camp with a messenger from Richard thanking Saladin for the fruit and ice. Ibn Shaddad narrates that Abu-Baker said that Richard took him to one side and told him, « Tell my brother – meaning king El-Adil to see how he can broach the question of peace with the Sultan, and to secure Ascalon for me. I will then go and he can stay here with this handful of weaklings from whom he can seize this country, for I have no purpose save to establish my esteem among the Franks. If the Sultan will not give Ascalon up, let him compensate me for what I have spent on repairing its walls ». When Saladin know of this he asked his brother El-Adil to make peace with the Franks if they gave up Ascalon because the Moslem troops had grown weary of fighting[48]. It is clear, therefore, that Richard persisted in asking for peace in order to raise his position among the Crusaders, The kings of Europe and the Papacy. Saladin too wanted peace, for the fighting with the local Crusaders and the forces of the third Crusade had lasted for nearly fifteen months.

On the 28th of October 1192 a message arrived from Richard stating that he was relinquishing his demand for Ascalon and any recompensation for it. Thus the obstacle to peace was removed. This is proof of Richard's insistence on peace, owing to his long absence from home, and his growing fears that a conspiracy might overthrow the throne of England[49]. On the second of September 1192 a peace treaty, known as the peace of Ramleh was settled upon in its final form. It held that the truce would last three years[50], or three years and eight months, as another source states[51].

The lands allotted to the Crusaders by the treaty were Jaffa and its Suburbs, Caesaria and its suburbs, Haifa and its suburbs, Acre and its suburbs, except for Nazareth and Sephoris, while Lydda and Ramleh would each be divided equally between Moslems and Crusaders. In this way, the Crusaders retained all the coastal lands from Tyre till Jaffa. It was also decided that Ascalon would be demolished, that the Crusaders would be free to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that the Moslems, too, would be free to enter lands held by the Crusaders. Antioch and Tripoli agreed to the terms of the

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47. Ibn Shedad, *op cit*., p 231 ; Ambroise, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

48. Ibn Shedad, *op. cit*., p. 231-232

49. Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, London, 1891, II, p. 122.

50 Ibn Shedad, *op. cit*., p. 232-4 ; Roger of Wendover, *op. cit.*, II, p. 132 ; Ambroise, *op. cit* , p 431.

51. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit*., 12, p. 85

treaty and entered into it, the local baron, the Templers and the Hospitallers accepted the peace treaty [52].

Part Three

After the death of Saladin, the sons of the Ayubite quarrelled over the inheritance, until king El-Adil took control. Western Europe was aware of this result, which encouraged Henry VI Emperor of Germany (1190-1197) – one of the most fervent Crusaders to send a Crusade to recapture Jerusalem. The Crusade landed in Acre in 1197. The relative peace that had been established after the truce ended was thus disturbed. El-Adil managed to hold back the attack and to capture Jaffa. During these events Henry count of Champagne, king of Jerusalem had died, and conflict had started among the Crusaders. But they married his widow Isabella to Amalric 11 king of Cyprus (1196-1205). The activity of the German Crusade was restricted to a great extent after the Moslems attacked Tyre and Sidon. Its activity ceased altogether when news of the death of Emperor Henry VI reached it, and it departed from the Syrian Coast [53].

After the German Crusade departed from Syria, king Amalric began to negotiate with king El-Adil. Moslems and Crusaders exchanged messages concerning peace, and matters were delayed. Finally, peace was made between the two parties, on condition that the Franks retain Beirut [54]; the historian Ernoul also includes Byblos [55]. Ibn Wasil mentions that the truce lasted for three years [56], while western sources said five years and three months [57], which is closer to the truth since talk of the truce was not resumed with the kingdom of Jerusalem till 1204.

The north of Syria was a different story. A truce was signed in 1203 between king El-Mansur of Hama and the Crusaders in the north of Syria. This was due to the attacks made by the knights of the Hospitallers on the fort of the Kurds de Chevaliers and the fort of the Margat to force king El-Mansour to deliver the fort of Barin. However, they were defeated twice that year and had to sign the truce. It seems the duration was one year only, because in the following year 1204 they attacked Hama after the truce had ended. This time

52. Ibn Shedad, *op. cit.*, p. 234-235.

53. M.S. Omran, *The Fifth Crusade*, Alexandria, 1985, p. 89-91

54. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, m 12, p. 129.

55. Ernoul, *op. cit.*, p. 316-317.

56. Ibn Wasil, *History of the Ayubites*, Cairo, 1972, IV, p. 78.

57. Eracles, p. 228-30.

a great number of Crusaders joined the Knights of the Hospitallers. They looted, burned and killed and returned to their country with many slaves. King Az-Zahir of Homs faced these armies, attacked Crusaders lands and returned carrying a lot of booty [58]. Perhaps what drove the Crusaders to attack Moslem lands were the events of the fourth Crusade end its deviation, and the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Crusaders in the same year. These events would also have a great influence on the way, the Crusaders acted in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the same year, that year the truce was ended and was renewed.

Some skirmishes had occurred between Moslems and crusaders when a great number of Crusaders came to Syria in 1204 after the fall of Constantinople. They were set on seizing Jerusalem, thus they sacked and looted the lands round Jordan. The Crusader fleet also attacked the Egyptian coast and penetrated down the Rosetta Nile as for as Fowa [59].

King El-Adil retaliated and marched to Mount Thabor to halt the Crusader advance on Jerusalem. At the same time he sought help from Egypt and all the Moslem kingdoms. When help reached him, he attached Kafr Kina which lay between Nazareth and Tiberias, sacked it, and took slaves and loots [60].

The princes accompanying El-Adil urged him to attack more Crusader property, but the peace-loving king was not swayed. Things remained as they were, with the king facing them and keeping a close watch over them. Messages of peace were exchanged until a truce was decided upon [61]. According to this truce Jaffa was given to the Crusaders and Al-Adil gave up the Moslem half of Laydda and Remleh [62]. Ibn Al-Atir adds that Al-Adil gave the Crusaders Nazareth and other cities [63]. This truce was last around six years.

Obviously, El-Adil's acceptance of the truce and the Crusaders' willingness to make peace is due, to a great extent, to the Fourth Crusade that captured Constantinople and seized Byzantine lands. Ibn El-Athir clarifies this when he mentions the reasons for the Crusaders' attacks on Moslem property

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58. M.S. Omran, *op. cit.*, p. 98-101.

59. Ibn Wasil, *op. cit.*, III, p. 159.

60. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, 12, p. 198.

61 Ibn Wasil, *op. cit.*, III, p. 163.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 162-163.

63. Ibn al-Ahir, *op. cit.*, 12, p. 194-195.

and adds that « their possession of Constantinople made it easier for them » [64].

The truce of 1204 ended in July 1210, while the Moslems were building the citadel of Mont Thabor two months before the arrival of the new king of Jerusalem, Jean de Birenne (1210-1225). king El-Adil sent to Acre asking for the truce to be renewed. However, the knights of the two Orders of Hospitallers and Templars could not agree upon this issue, and it was decided not to renew the truce, so that the awaited king would not be obliged to follow a certain policy. Consequently, these were some skirmishes between Moslems and Crusaders [65].

After king Jean de Birenne arrived at Ace in September 1210 he consented to sign a truce with king El-Adil. Jean de Birenne wrote to the pope in Rome asking him to prepare a Crusade that would land in the Holy Lands as soon as the truce ended. Since the truce was made in 1211, and since the vanguard troops of the fifth Crusade, those of the Hungarian Crusade, reached the Holy Lands in 1217, the duration of the truce must have been six years.

The truce was maintained by Moslems and Crusaders, though there were some limited raids made by the Hungarian Crusade, which was a preliminary to the fifth Crusade and was driven by the hope of saving the Holy Lands.

The forces of the fifth Crusade arrived in waves from Europe and landed in Acre, from whence to Damietta where they landed in 1218 under the leadership of king Jean de Birenne.

After the destruction of the bridges of the Nile, the Crusaders became like frogs in the water, or like fish caught in nets. They fell under the mercy of the Moslems who defeated them. They surrendered and sent an embassy to king Al-Kamel asking for peace. Opinions were divided over the Crusaders' request for peace, and some called for the destruction of the Crusaders' forces. But king Al-Kamel chose peace, Which was concluded by the unconditional departure of the Crusaders from Damietta and the release of prisoners on both sides. A truce was agreed upon, that would last for eight years and would apply to the Crusaders in Syria, and that any king or emperor arriving from Europe would have the right to violate it [66].

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64. *Ibid.*, 12, p 194.

65. M.S. Omran, *op. cit.*, p. 102-13 and footnotes.

66. Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, 12, p. 329 ; Eracles, p. 351.

It is clear, then, from this study, that Emad El-Din Zengi was in constant conflict with the rulers of Damascus who allied themselves to the Crusaders, that he made a truce with Antioch more than once, and with Edesse and Kingdom of Jerusalem in the reign of king Fulk, and that he never broke a truce but it was the Crusaders who did.

Nur El-Din, too, made truces with Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripoli. The rulers of Damascus had constant semi-peaceful relations with the Crusaders, until Nur El-Din took Damascus in 1154. In spite of the fact that Nur El-Din faced the Crusaders alone, he honoured the truce that he had made with the king. Nur El-Din's problems with the Seljuks may have driven him to that.

This study also reveals that Saladin made truces with Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch, in addition to an independent truce with Prince Reynald of Chatillon, despite his allegiance to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin honoured truces he made with the Crusaders. It was always the Crusaders who broke the truces, especially Reynald, whom the Crusader king could not control. This led to Saladin's great blows against Crusader property. It was then that, for the first time, Saladin requested king of Hama to make truce with the Franks of the north so that he could concentrate on dealing the Crusaders the final blow in the Battle of Hattin.

When the third Crusade arrived, and Richard Lion-Heart took control after the death of Fredrick Barbarossa and the departure of Philip Augustus, negotiations for peace took place between him and Saladin. Saladin never met Richard ; it was his brother El-Adil who was in charge of the negotiations. Saladin aimed at delaying the negotiations, until in 1192 the Treaty of Jaffa between Moslems and Crusaders was concluded, with one of the conditions being a truce between them for almost three years.

After the death of Saladin, turmoil tore the Ayobite state apart because of the struggle for power, until king Al-Adil took matters in hand. During this period the truce between Moslems and Crusaders lasted and even exceeded the period decided upon. The relative quiet that spread over the area was not disturbed except with the arrival of the German Crusade in 1197. King El-Adil managed to siege Jaffa, and this tension ended with a six-year truce between Moslems and Crusaders, with king El-Adil giving up Beirut, and some sources say, Byblos.

This truce lasted till 1204, when the fighting broke out again after Constantinople fell to the Crusaders Finally. A six-year truce was made, in which El-Adil gave up Jaffa and the Moslem share in Lyda and Ramlen which had been agreed upon in the Jaffa truce of 1192.

The truce ended in 1210 and was renewed in 1121 for six more years. Peace reigned in the country until 1217 and the event of the Hungarian Crusade and them the fifth Crusade (1218-1221) on Damietta.

During the presence of the crusaders in Damietta, king El-Kamel offered to the Crusaders all the land Saladin had conquered, with the exception of the two forts of Kark de Moab and Kark de Montreal. The Crusaders rejected the offer four time, and finally the Crusaders was defeated and left Egypt and an eight-year truce was hold by the two sides.

The conclusion of this paper is that : The peace was a good occasion for Saladin to unite Egypt and Syria, and to prepare for war. We can remark that Saladin never asked for peace, but he accepted or refuse it, expect once only when he ordered the lord of Hamma to make peace with Antioch in 1186.

Al-Adil was a peaceful ruler, so he offered peace for twenty four years, and it lasted until one year before his death which occurred in 1218 A.D.

Margaret JUBB

SALADIN VU PAR GUILLAUME DE TYR ET PAR L'*ERACLES* : Changement de perspectives

The idea for this paper arose in the first instance after reading Schwinges's study of William of Tyre [1], which, in contrast to the work of other commentators [2], draws attention to what he sees as the marked hostility of William's portrayal of Saladin. Being aware, as my audience here will be also [3], of the discrepancies which exist between William's *Historia* [4] and the Old French version of it, *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer* (hereafter *Eracles*) [5], I was interested to discover whether the *Eracles* in any way modifies the content and tone of the passages relating to Saladin, and if it can be seen to do so, what might possibly account for such changes.

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1. R.C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz : Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1977.

2. J. Hartmann, *Die Persönlichkeit des Sultans Saladin im Urteil der abendländischen Quellen*, Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1933 (Historische Studien, 239).

3. J.H. Pryor, « The *Eracles* and William of Tyre : an interim report », in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin : Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, London, 1992, p. 270-293.

4. All references to the *Historia* are to R.B.C. Huygens (ed.), *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63-63A)

5. All references to the *Eracles* are to P. Paris (ed.), *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs : texte français du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, Librairie Firmin Didot, 1879-1880, 2 vols.

Let us start by considering occasions when the *Eracles* abridges or omits material which we find in the *Historia*. Thus, where the *Historia* reads, *Anno sequenti Salahadinus cum ingentibus copiis et infinito equitatu... et ex omni Egypto copias educens innumerabiles* (20, 27, 1-3), the *Eracles* has « Salehadins... qui ot assemblée mout grant chevauchiée de Turs et tout le pooir d'Egypte... » (20, 26, p. 354). Again in the following chapter, the *Historia* reads *congregata ex universis Egypti finibus infinita militia et ingentibus copiis* (20, 28, 4-5), where the *Eracles* has « Lors assembla tout le pooir d'Egypte et assez autres Turs por venir en Surie » (20, 27,p. 356). We might simply see this as an avoidance of circumlocution or overstatement on the part of the compiler of the *Eracles*, but further examples may lead us to question such a conclusion.

It is true that as others before me have noted [6], William evidently had greater literary pretensions than the compiler of the *Eracles*, and one way in which these were manifest was in his search for varied terminology. Rather, for example, than refer to Saladin simply and repeatedly by name, he employed such variants as *predictus magnus et potentissimus princeps* (20, 19, 9), *saepedictus magnus et nobilis princeps* (22, 20, 30), and *sepedictus Salahadinus* (22, 27, 2-3). The *Eracles* (22, 18, p. 337 ; 22, 18, p. 444 ; and 22, 25, p. 456) simply has « Salehadins » on these occasions. William's repeated insistence on Saladin's power and might and on the vast armies at his disposal may be seen perhaps not so much as literary circumlocution or overstatement, but rather as a reflection of the fears he felt for the very future of the Latin kingdom which was threatened in the late 1170s and early 1180s by the massed forces of Islam newly united under Saladin's command. The compiler of the *Eracles*, who is estimated to have written his work between 1205 and c.1234 [7], was working in a different climate, and naturally enough, we would suggest, wrote about Saladin in less awe-inspired terms. He did not share William's immediate concern for the fate of the kingdom of Jerusalem, or his despair at the growing power of Saladin.

Schwinges has suggested that William's emphasis on Saladin's vigour and power in action, seen in such descriptions as *Interea vir impiger et per omnia strenuum agens principem Salahadinus* (22, 25, 1-2), reflects fear rather than admiration. The *Eracles* simply has « or vos dirons coment Salehadins fesoit sa besoigne » (22, 23, p. 452) at this point. In the smallest of details, William plays up Saladin's power, e.g. *in eam aciem cui preerat Salahadinus* (19, 25, 37-38), in contrast to the more neutral *Eracles* which reads « la bataille en que Salehadins estoit » (19, 26, p. 294). William's emphasis on Saladin's power and vigour goes alongside a highlighting of his pride and

6 J.H Pryor, *op.cit.*, p 273.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 293

presumption. Thus, for instance, the Christian king and barons note their enemy's *superbiam* (22, 21, 5) in going off to raid Mosul without even bothering to draw up a truce with them first. The *Eracles* (22, 19, p. 444), by contrast, although it mentions Saladin's evident contempt for the Christians, does not level the specific accusation of pride against him. Again, William mentions Saladin's presumption *et de eorum absentia presumens plurimum* (21, 8, 46-47), whereas the *Eracles* states without comment or criticism « prisa petit le remenant de ses anemis » (21, 7, p. 374). William even goes so far on one occasion as to describe Saladin as tyrannical. Thus, *tandem pro votis tyrannide potitus in Egyptum circa finem Septembris reversus est* (20, 28, 29-30). By contrast, the *Eracles* simply has « Après, s'en retorna sanz rien perdre au roiaume d'Egypte » (20, 27, p. 356). The compiler of the *Eracles* can thus be seen to be more emotionally distant than William from the events which he is recounting.

In a more extended passage, William's initial commendation of Saladin for his vigilance develops into very evident criticism of the enemy's overweening ambition to increase both his personal glory and the extent of his dominions. There is also indignation at his manifest contempt for the Christians. Thus :

> *Salahadinus interea, sicut vir erat vigilantissimus et toto mentis ardore ad dilatandam nominis sui gloriam et regni incrementum anelabat, nostrorum vires quasi pro nichilo ducens et ad maiora suspirans, ad partes transire disponit Orientales* (22, 20, 1-4).

The *Eracles* at this point is characteristically less severe.

> « En grant porpens et en trop fiere angoisse estoit Salehadins d'acroistre son pooir sur ses voisins. Bien savoit que noz genz n'avoient mie mout grant pooir de lui faire grant domage ; por ce pensoit à greigneur chose enprendre que movoir guerre encontr'eus. Il avoit en talent de mener grant plenté de genz à armes sur la terre d'Orient et guerroier les genz de sa loi » (22, 18, p. 443)

The only critical edge here is to be found in the « trop fiere angoisse ». Where William emphasises Saladin's contempt for the Christians, *nostrorum vires quasi pro nichilo ducens*, the *Eracles* gives a more neutral statement of Saladin's awareness of their limited strength.

William constantly reminds his readers that Saladin's origins were very humble, and that he owed his ascent to chance, rather than to rightful inheritance. Thus we read *Salahadinus, de quo sepius mentionem fecimus, vir genere quidem humilis, extreme conditionis homo, secunda nimis arridente fortuna possidet* (21, 7, 65-67). The *Eracles*'s version, « Salehadins

qui plus fu puissanz que li autre, estoit nez de vils genz et de serf lignage ; mès de grant emprise fu mout, et bien l'i cheï » (21, 5, p. 373), omits both William's weary reference to the frequent recurrence of Saladin's name in the narrative, and the reference to the role of *fortuna* in his elevation. On another occasion, William mentions *fortuna* in connection with Saladin's pride and presumptuous behaviour, *Nam hostis immanissimus Salahadinus dextris eventibus et prospera fortuna in tantam est elatus superbiam* (21, 29, 15-16). At this point, the *Eracles* mentions Saladin's pride, but omits both the epithet *hostis immanissimus* and the reference to *fortuna*, reading simply « car Salehadins, qui fu montez en grant orgueil » (21, 28, p. 407).

It is interesting to examine further how the two texts treat the matter of Saladin's rise to power. In a very significant passage, William comments on the perfidy of Saladin's rebellion against the family of his rightful overlord, Nur-al-Din.

> *Salahadinus spretis humanitatis legibus, inmemor factus sue conditionis et beneficiorum sibi a patre pueri collatorum ingratus, ita contra dominum suum adhuc inpuberem insurrexisset* (21, 8, 3-6).

The *Eracles* at this point reads :

> « Salehadins avoit einsi oblié de queus genz il estoit nez et si grant outrage avoit empris qu'il vouloit à tort desheriter l'enfant qui ses sires estoit » (21, 7, p. 373).

Clearly, the *Eracles* gives less emphasis to Saladin's flouting of feudal and natural justice, and the whole tone of this passage lacks the force of William's indignation at the upstart Saladin's sheer presomption in rising up against his overlord.

If we turn our attention now to instances where the *Eracles* expands upon or modifies the tone of what William has to say about Saladin, we may be able to draw further conclusions. The first significant instance occurs during the account of the siege of Alexandria. Where William reads

> *Interim populum simul cum patribus alloquitur, monet pro uxoribus et liberis usque ad mortem decertandum, hortatur ut legis et paternarum traditionum sint emulatores* (19, 28, 56-58),

the *Eracles* elaborates thus :

> « Après envoia querre devant lui les hauz homes d'Alixandre et grant partie du peuple ; debonairement parla à eus com cil [qui] bien le savoit faire ; dou-

cement leur pria que bien se gardassent de leur anemis et se contenissent com preudome » (19, 29, p. 301).

Where William's version has Saladin appealing to the people to follow ancestral laws and traditions and to protect their families to the death, the *Eracles* has him exhorting them to behave like « preudome », in other words like noble, valiant men of arms. Furthermore, Saladin's manner of address is characterised in the *Eracles* by two adverbs, « debonairement » and « doucement », which have no equivalent in William's account. The *Eracles* seems here, as elsewhere, to be addressing itself to a lay audience interested in the epic qualities of the Crusade narrative, and in what we may broadly term chivalric deeds [8]. So, the enemy Saladin is here painted not as a rebellious upstart, but as a noble leader, well skilled in gently encouraging his people's valour. We might also adduce another instance where Saladin is seen encouraging his troops. William reads *verbis quoque, sicut in talibus fieri solet, manipulos suos ad conflictum animabat et dictis vires addere nitebatur* (21, 21, 21-22), in contrast to the *Eracles*'s « aus chevetaines parloit et les amonestoit de bien faire, come cil qui de ce s'entremetoit mout bien » (21, 20, p. 393). As with the « com cil qui bien savoit le faire » of the previous example, here again, this time with « come cil qui de ce s'entremetoit mout bien », the *Eracles* singles out Saladin as being particulary skilled as a leader of men. There is no parallel at all in William for the first observation, and in this second case William's *sicut in talibus fieri solet* is a general impersonal statement about what is usually done in such circumstances rather than a particular commendation of Saladin. The *Eracles* also extends its approval and personalising touch to Saladin's uncle, Shirkuh, observing that he encourages his men « com il estoit sages et apensez » (19, 26, p. 293). William (19, 25, 18-21) makes no such observation.

It is noteworthy that the *Eracles* gives more emphasis than does William to the courtesy with which the Christians treat Saladin when they escort him out of Alexandria. Thus, « L'en li bailla gardes qui ne soffrissent que l'en li deist nule vilaine parole ne à lui feist se bien non et cortoisie » (19, 33, p. 305), whereas William reads *dato sibi custode qui eum tractaret honeste et temerariorum ab eo propulsaret iniurias* (19, 32, 2-4). Rather than simply reporting that the Christians treated him fairly and made sure that he did not suffer undue abuse, the *Eracles* couches the passage in chivalrous, courtly terms. William's *iniurias* become « vilaine parole », the sort of uncouth speech that it would be unfitting to address to a high-ranking man of arms, albeit an enemy, who is to be treated not only well but also with « cortoisie », the favour and respect which would be the due of a fellow knight.

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 272-277.

We would note in parenthesis that one surviving manuscript of the *Eracles* (the Didot ms) gives an idiosyncratic and interesting extension to book 19. The additional chapters, 34 to 36, are in fact taken from the Ernoul-Bernard *abrégé* [9]. Of particular interest to our argument here is the fact that chapter 34 recounts how Shirkuh decided to ransom Saladin from prison in Crac, « por ce qu'il estoit larges et cortois et mout amez de Sarrasins ». The generous, courtly and esteemed Saladin then asked the Lord of Crac to make him a knight : « Quant cil fu hors de prison, si pria au seigneur du chastel qu'il le feist chevalier » (20, 34, p. 306). The incident is not elaborated, as it was in the anonymous XIIIth-century poem, *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* [10], which describes at some length the ritual of initiation by which Hue de Tabarie made Saladin a knight. What is significant however, is the fact that a manuscript of the *Eracles* should include this additional information about Saladin, which, along with the other comments which we have considered above, presents the enemy as espousing the same sort of chivalrous virtues as a Christian noble. Whoever compiled the Didot manuscript evidently considered that Saladin was of sufficient interest to his audience to warrant the inclusion of supplementary material, and accordingly he includes the *abrégé*'s explanation of his name « ce est à dire en françois : li sires qui ovre de la loi » (19, 34, p. 307) and more surprisingly its account of Saladin's murder of the moulana of Egypt. This latter inclusion is surprising, because it seems to anticipate and to some extend duplicate the less graphically described account taken from William (20, 10, p. 325-326) of Saladin's murder of the caliph, but confusing or contradictory as it may strike us, it may well have been included as grist to the mill of a good story.

If we now move to this later account of Saladin's murder of the caliph, we note an interesting difference between William's version and that of the *Eracles*. William (20, 11, 8-11) explains without further comment that Saladin murdered the caliph, because he feared for his own skin if he did not do so. The *Eracles* with « Maintes genz distrent que ce fist-il à bon droit » and « Cil qui s'en douta se vout mieuz avancier que soi lessier ocirre » (20, 10, p. 325), seems to be going somewhat further in seeking to justify what may appear as distinctly unchivalrous, not to say treacherous, behaviour on the part of Saladin.

This same chapter furnishes us with a further contrast between William and the *Eracles* as regards their attitude towards Saladin. William reads :

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9. *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, éd. L. de Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1871, p. 35-41.

10. Raoul de Hodenc, *Le Roman des Eles* and The Anonymous *Ordene de Chevalerie*, ed. K. Busby, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins,1983 (Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature, 17).

> *Cui successit Salahadinus, fratris eius Negemedini filius, vir acris ingenii, armis strenuus et supra modum liberalis* (20, 11, 1-2).

By contrast, the *Eracles* has :

> « Cil Salehadins fu mout de grant cuer, de tresjuste sens, preuz aus armes et larges sur touz homes » (20, 10, p. 325).

Whereas William stresses the acuity of Saladin's mind, the *Eracles* stresses his good sense and magnanimity. In other words, William sees in Saladin someone to be greatly feared, an enemy who took the initiative whilst the Christians all too often had only very uncertain intelligence as to his movements [11]. The *Eracles*, on the other hand, distanced from the immediate danger which William and his contemporaries faced, takes a more measured view of the enemy, evidently having regard to the many occasions on which Saladin showed his temperance and mercy to the Christians. We might also contrast William's *armis strenuus*, which stresses Saladin's vigour with the *Eracles*'s « preuz aus armes », his valour as a true man of arms. Finally, William's rather two-edged *supra modum liberalis*, which might be interpreted as « excessively generous », is rendered without a hint of criticism by the *Eracles* in « larges sur touz homes ».

In a very similar passage, at a later point in the narrative, William has *erat enim vir consilio providus, armis strenuus, supra modum liberalis* (21, 6, 27-29), where the *Eracles* reads « porce que cil estoit sages et entendans à sa besoigne faire, chevaliers bons et hardiz, larges sur touz les princes qui lors estoient » (21, 5, p. 371). Here we have a further development in the *Eracles*'s evident admiration of Saladin. Not just « preuz aus armes », Saladin is described explicitly this time as a good and brave knight.

The *Eracles* even goes so far as to see in Saladin a pre-ordained instrument of divine punishment for the Christians. Thus we read « et fu nez, ce sembla, por chastier les mefez du pueple Nostre Seigneur » (21, 6, p. 373). It is true that in this same chapter, William (21, 7) expounds three reasons for the downturn in the Christians' military fortunes, and one of these reasons is that God was punishing the present generation for its sins. However, William does not personalize this general statement in the way that the *Eracles* does. The *Eracles* is distinguished here, as elsewhere, by a preference for a more highly coloured and personalized account, and one which shows more interest in Saladin as an individual.

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11. J. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 101-102.

Even as the *Eracles* colours its narrative with human drama, by reflecting the Christians' admiration for Saladin, it also on one occasion presents Saladin, in a moment of temporary setback, as holding them in higher esteem than usual. Thus, we read, « mout fu corrouciez, [et comença les noz à douter plus qu'il ne souloit] » (22, 15, p. 438). William (22, 17, 80), simply describes the defeated Saladin as *confusus*. One further example is to be found in a brief reference which the *Eracles* makes to the esteem in which Saladin held Raymond, Count of Tripoli « Salehadins oï dire que li cuens de Triple [que il tenoit mout à preu et à sages] conduisoit ses genz » (22, 29, p. 465). William makes no reference to this, simply reading *Salahadinus vero, cognito... quod Tripolitanus comes prefectus esset legionibus* (22, 31, 45-47). William may have wished to avoid alluding to the controversial relationship between Saladin and the count, but the *Eracles*, on the other hand, was distanced from any such partisan considerations, and did not miss the opportunity to add a touch of personal interest to its narrative. Furthermore, since it had already shown the Christian's admiration for their chivalrous enemy (see p. 446-447 *supra*), what more fitting than that Saladin should be seen to return their regard ?

In conclusion, let us return to the two questions posed at the start of this paper. First, to what extent does the *Eracles* modify the content and tone of what William has to say about Saladin ? We have seen how it consistently downplays William's emphasis on Saladin's awe-inspiring power and might, and tones down references to his pride and presumption, in the process omitting entirely William's insistence on his flouting of feudal and natural justice and on the role of *fortuna* in his elevation to power. Against these attenuations or omissions, are to be set the occasions when the *Eracles* adds to what is found in William. These additions serve to increase the prestige and interest attaching to Saladin and in particular to credit him with behaviour which accords with a noble, knightly ethos.

As to the second question of what may account for these changes made by the *Eracles*, various suggestions have been made. First and foremost, the *Eracles* was written considerably later than William's *Historia*, in a different political climate, and for a different audience. It is hardly surprising that the compiler of the *Eracles* does not then share William's gloom and despair at the growing power of Saladin. Instead, he reflects an increasing Western interest in, and indeed admiration of Saladin, whose behaviour is seen to exemplify many of the characteristics of the knightly ethos which his audience would have espoused. Whenever possible, he enlivens his tale with personalising detail. Taken individually, the differences between William's treatment of Saladin and that of the *Eracles*, are small, but collectively they bear witness to a change in the climate of opinion and point the way forward

to a time when Saladin would be treated in Romance literature not as the terrifying upstart enemy, but as the adoptive chivalrous hero of the West [12].

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12. See G. Paris, « La Légende de Saladin », *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 284-299, 354 365, 428-438, 486-498.

Claude MUTAFIAN

L'ENJEU CILICIEN ET LES PRÉTENTIONS NORMANDES (1097-1137)

En 1137, le basileus Jean Comnène prit la tête d'une grande expédition militaire destinée à faire rentrer dans le giron byzantin la Cilicie et Antioche. Evoquant la prise des trois grandes cités ciliciennes — Tarse, Adana, Mamistra —, Guillaume de Tyr écrit : « Il conquit ainsi ces cités et ces châteaux que le prince d'Antioche avait tenus en paix quarante ans ou plus » [1].

1097 : Tancrède en Cilicie

C'est en effet en octobre 1097 que la plaine cilicienne a été pour la première fois traversée par un contingent normand d'Italie, commandé par Tancrède, jeune cousin du fameux Bohémond, l'un des principaux chefs de la Première Croisade. Tancrède avait quitté le gros des troupes au nord du Taurus, préférant franchir cette barrière montagneuse, plutôt que la contourner, pour rejoindre Antioche. Mais un autre seigneur avait eu la même idée, avec une armée bien plus nombreuse : le Flamand Baudouin de Boulogne.

Tous deux étaient des cadets, ambitieux, qui ont très probablement pris la Croix dans le but de s'installer à la tête de fiefs en Orient. Leur décision de faire bande à part est sans doute à examiner dans ce contexte plutôt que dans celui d'une « mission d'exploration » qui entrerait dans une stratégie d'en-

1. Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, éd. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986, p. 663.

semble. La Cilicie offrait un cadre idéal pour de tels « condottieri » : protégée des Turcs seljoukides par la chaîne du Taurus, dépourvue d'homogénéité de population [2], trop éloignée de Constantinople pour être fermement tenue par le basileus, truffée de fiefs appartenant à des seigneurs arméniens dont certains étaient connus des Croisés à leur entrée en Asie Mineure, la riche plaine de Tarse s'offrait au plus audacieux. En cet automne 1097, elle fut le théâtre d'affrontements entre les deux rivaux, le Normand devant toujours s'incliner devant les forces supérieures du Flamand [3]. Mais des perspectives plus alléchantes s'étaient entre temps présentées à Baudouin en Euphratèse, dans la région d'Edesse [4], si bien que Tancrède pouvait se considérer comme conquérant de la Cilicie. En quittant le territoire pour rejoindre l'armée occupée au siège d'Antioche, il y laissa un contingent, bien décidé, le cas échéant, à faire valoir ses « droits » [5].

1098-1100 : Bohémond prince à Antioche

La lutte pour Antioche fut longue et difficile. Plusieurs seigneurs francs désertèrent et s'en retournèrent via la Cilicie [6]. Le représentant du basileus, chargé de faire respecter le pacte imposant la restitution à l'Empire des anciennes terres byzantines que les Francs reprendraient aux musulmans (en particulier Antioche), retourna lui aussi à Constantinople [7]. Il passa par Chypre et non par la Cilicie, déjà considérée comme peu ancrée à Byzance et qu'il aurait même, selon une version peut-être tendancieuse d'un témoin [8], cédée à Bohémond. Toujours est-il que ce dernier n'eut pas de mal — et peu de scrupules — à se faire accorder la suzeraineté sur Antioche après sa prise, en été 1098.

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2. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 222 ; Benoît d'Accolti, *Histoire de Godefroy*, Paris, 1895 (RHC, Hist. occ., 5), p. 564.

3. Albert d'Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Paris, 1879 (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), p. 345 ; Raoul de Caen, *Faits et gestes du prince Tancrède*, Paris, 1866 (RHC, Hist. occ., 3), p. 633.

4. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 350 ; Matthieu d'Edesse, *Chronique*, trad. E. Dulaurier, Paris, 1858, p. 218.

5. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 639.

6. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 284, 312, 319 ; Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 649 ; P.Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitana itinere*, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1977, p. 97, 105 ; *Histoire anonyme de la Première Croisade*, éd. L. Bréhier, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1964, p. 127, 141 ; A. Comnène, *Alexiade*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1945, t. 3, p. 27.

7. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 263 ; Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p.81 ; Tudebode, *op. cit.*, p. 69 ; A. Commène, *op. cit.*, p. 20 ; Orderic Vital, *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, éd. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1975, t. 5, p. 76.

8. Raymond d'Aguilers.

La marche sur la Ville Sainte étant repoussée de quelques mois, Flamands et Lorrains allèrent en Euphratèse s'attaquer au plus puissant des princes arméniens de la région, Kogh Vasil, c'est-à-dire « Basile le Voleur » [9]. Bohémond, lui, se dirigea tout naturellement vers la Cilicie, rêvant de créer une principauté englobant, avec Antioche, cette région qui était stratégiquement de la plus haute importance [10]. Egalement importante était, au sud, la possession du port byzantin de Laodicée. Déjà hors-la-loi pour Constantinople à cause de sa prise de pouvoir à Antioche, Bohémond n'hésita pas à aller l'attaquer, de concert avec une flotte pisane et le nouveau légat du pape, Daimbert. Mais les autres chefs francs mirent le holà à cette agression qui dépassait les bornes [11]. Bohémond songea alors à consolider des positions portuaires en Cilicie, mais là il fut pris de court par l'envoi d'une flotte byzantine qui occupa Korykos et Séleucie, en y laissant une forte garnison ; à partir de ces bases, Byzance reprit le contrôle d'au moins une partie de la plaine cilicienne [12].

En 1100, avec la création de la principauté d'Antioche, il était inévitable que le titulaire grec du plus ancien siège patriarcal de la chrétienté quittât la scène, et fût remplacé par un patriarche latin d'Antioche. Or les frontières historiques du patriarcat grec incluaient la Cilicie, ce qui n'était pas le moindre des arguments normands pour justifier les prétentions d'Antioche. Dès son séjour de l'été 1098, Bohémond avait probablement songé à créer des sièges épiscopaux latins en Cilicie. Fin 1099, lors de leur voyage à Jérusalem, les deux premiers fondateurs d'Etats latins en Orient, Baudouin et Bohémond, ne manquèrent pas d'emmener avec eux quatre religieux qui furent intronisés par le patriarche Daimbert de Jérusalem. Deux d'entre eux allaient être les premiers titulaires des deux évêchés latins de Cilicie, Roger de Tarse et Barthélémy de Mamistra ; ces sièges devaient être rattachés au patriarcat latin d'Antioche créé l'année suivante [13]. Il y avait là en gestation une source potentielle de conflits lorsque le pouvoir arménien se sera affirmé en Cilicie, et avec lui la mainmise de l'Eglise arménienne, considérée comme « hérétique » depuis qu'au VIe siècle elle avait décidé d'ignorer les conclusions de Chalcédoine.

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9. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 441 ; Guillaume de Tyr, *op .cit.*, p. 349.

10. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 345 ; Benoît d'Accolti, *op. cit.*, p. 594 ; Tudebode, *op. cit.*, p. 118 ; Orderic, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

11. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 44 ; Orderic, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

12. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 45-46.

13. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 704 ; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, trad. J.-B. Chabot, Paris, 1905 [rééd. 1963], t. 3, p. 191 ; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, dans *Gesta Dei per Francos*, éd. Bongars, t. I, Hanau, 1611, p. 1068 ; *Historia peregrinorum*, Paris, 1866 (RHC, Hist. occ., 3), p. 226.

En 1100, alors que Byzance venait de reprendre le contrôle de la Cilicie, Bohémond chercha à étendre sa principauté au nord-est, du côté des fiefs de deux seigneurs arméniens chalcédoniens vassaux de l'Empire, Tatoul de Marache et Gabriel de Mélitène. Alors qu'il guerroyait autour de Marache [14], il reçut un pressant appel de Gabriel, demandant secours face à la menace de l'émir turc Danichmend. C'était une aubaine pour le Normand, qui n'hésita pas à se diriger vers Mélitène ; en chemin, il fut capturé par l'émir, en août 1100 [15]. Les versions de l'embuscade et les causes de la capture varient suivant les sources. Plusieurs auteurs, en particulier syriaques, évoquent une complicité arménienne, de la part soit de Tatoul, soit de Gabriel, soit de Basile le Voleur et des princes roupénides [16]. Une telle complicité est probable, et même assez logique. D'une part, les relations arméno-latines, bonnes au départ, s'étaient rapidement détériorées devant l'attitude arrogante des Francs qui ne voyaient dans les Arméniens qu'un côté utilitaire à sens unique : les événements d'Edesse en furent le symbole [17]. D'autre part, il était clair que l'expansionnisme latin, en particulier les visées ciliciennes de Bohémond, inquiétait de plus en plus certains dynastes arméniens qui caressaient le projet de recréer en Cilicie un Etat remplaçant les royaumes détruits en Arménie proprement dite par Byzance et les Turcs au XIe siècle ; parmi ceux-ci, les plus entreprenants étaient les Roupénides, retranchés dans leur fief de Vahga, dans le Taurus [18], qui allaient même bientôt commencer à frapper monnaie en arménien [19].

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14. Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

15. Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 230-231 ; Michel le Syrien, *op. cit.*, p. 188 ; Foucher de Chartres, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, Paris, 1866 (RHC, Hist. occ., 3), p. 368 ; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronique*, trad. E.A. Wallis Budge, Londres, 1932 [rééd. 1976], p. 237 ; *The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle*, trad. A. Tritton, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933, p. 74 ; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damas de 1075 à 1145*, trad. R. Le Tourneau, Beyrouth, 1952, p. 44 ; Kamal ad-Din, « Extraits de l'histoire d'Alep », trad. S. de Sacy, in R. Röhricht (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1874, t. 1, p. 229.

16. Michel le Syrien, *op. cit.*, p. 188 ; Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

17. Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 231, 294.

18. Karékine I Hovsépian, *Colophons de manuscrits*, Antelias, 1951, p. 257, 265 (en arménien) ; L. Alichan, *Hayabadoum*, Venise, 1901, p. 343 (en arménien).

19. P.Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia*, Danbury, 1979, p. 67a.

1100-1103 : Tancrède régent à Antioche

Bohémond allait rester prisonnier trois ans. Tout naturellement, la régence d'Antioche fut proposée à Tancrède, alors prince de Galilée.

Ce n'était pourtant pas là une position enviable : la principauté était alors bien réduite, et de plus Tancrède n'en était que le maître provisoire, jusqu'à l'éventuelle libération de son cousin. Il commença par s'attaquer aux deux « appendices naturels » de ses domaines, alors aux mains des Byzantins : il leur reprit la Cilicie [20] en été 1101, puis eut raison de Laodicée [21] au début de 1103 grâce à l'aide génoise. En Cilicie il nomma un gouverneur, Bernard l'Etranger.

Durant cette régence, la Cilicie redevenue normande servit de refuge aux victimes des désastreuses Croisades de 1101 [22]. C'est aussi là que fut capturé l'un des plus prestigieux barons, Raymond de Saint-Gilles, futur comte de Tripoli, que Tancrède soupçonnait d'agir pour le compte de son allié le basileus Alexis Commène. Il fut libéré contre la promesse — qu'il tint — de ne plus interférer dans les affaires d'Antioche [23].

En 1103, maître d'une principauté largement agrandie et que Byzance n'était plus en mesure de revendiquer, Tancrède avait bien sûr intérêt à ce que son cousin, prince titulaire, restât captif. La rançon nécessaire à sa libération allait être réunie par les rivaux du régent, Baudouin du Bourg, comte d'Edesse depuis le couronnement à Jérusalem de Baudouin de Boulogne, et Basile le Voleur. En été 1103, Tancrède dut bon gré mal gré remettre la principauté à Bohémond qui venait d'être libéré [24].

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20. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 706.

21. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 706, 708.

22. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit.*, t. 21, p. 575-582 ; Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 467. Foucher de Chartres, *op. cit.*, p. 399 ; Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 680, 709 ; Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 243 ; Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Paris, 1879 (RHC, Hist. occ., 4), p. 243.

23. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 582-583 ; Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 708 ; Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 242 ; Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

24. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 709 ; Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

1103-1104 : Bohémond prince à Antioche

Depuis Constantinople, Alexis redemanda alors ces terres pour l'Empire en brandissant le fameux pacte dont Bohémond avait été l'un des signataires. Essuyant un refus, le basileus envoya fin 1103 une armée en Cilicie, aux ordres du prestigieux général Boutoumitès et de son lieutenant Monastras [25]. Arrivée sur place, l'armée se contenta de prendre acte de l'impossibilité de la tâche, et poursuivit sur Marache afin de consolider le pouvoir de son vassal arménien Tatoul [26]. Une consolidation bien éphémère : dès 1104 Tatoul dut céder à la pression franque et remettre la ville à Jocelyn de Courtenay — époux de la soeur du prince roupénide Thoros Ier —, entérinant ainsi la naissance du comté franc de Marache [27].

Resté sur place, Monastras ne pouvait rien contre le pouvoir normand en Cilicie, sauf événement exceptionnel. Un coup de théâtre allait effectivement se produire : le « désastre de Harran » en mai 1104, où une alliance Edesse-Antioche fut écrasée par les Turcs, laissant prisonniers Baudouin comte d'Edesse et Jocelyn. Tancrède se vit chargé de la régence d'Edesse, affermissant la suprématie normande sur la Syrie du Nord latine [28]. Chez les chrétiens indigènes, las du joug latin, la défaite de Harran fut accueillie par une explosion de joie [29] qui facilita la reprise, par le contingent byzantin, de la Cilicie, pendant qu'une flotte grecque aux ordres de Cantacuzène assiégeait victorieusement Laodicée [30].

1104-1112 : Tancrède régent puis prince à Antioche

La principauté d'Antioche se retrouvait de nouveau bien réduite lorsque Bohémond décidait, en 1104, de s'embarquer pour l'Europe, dans le but de chercher des renforts et d'y combattre son ennemi juré le basileus. Il n'allait en fait jamais rentrer en Orient. Tancrède retrouvait ainsi la régence d'Antioche, confiant celle d'Edesse à son cousin Richard de Salerne. Le Normand attendait l'occasion pour récupter les territoires repris par Byzance. Afin de

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25. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

26. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

27. Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 257, 294 ; J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* , Paris, 1894, t. 1, p. 112.

28. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 712 ; Kamal ad-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

29. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 712 ; Kamal ad-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

30. Raoul de Caen, *op. cit.*, p. 712 ; A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

faire face à Bohémond en Europe, Alexis dut rappeler des troupes de Syrie, avec leurs généraux Cantacuzène et Monastras. Ce dernier fut remplacé en Cilicie par un Arménien, Aspiétès, valeureux guerrier au service de l'Empire mais devenu totalement amorphe en Cilicie [31]. Tancrède n'allait pas laisser passer l'occasion, et reconquit la Cilicie par une offensive éclair au début de 1109 [32] ; il y nomma bientôt un gouverneur, Gui le Chevreau [33]. Laodicée ayant aussi été reprise, Tancrède se retrouvait de nouveau au faîte de sa puissance. Pendant ce temps, son cousin avait été vaincu en Europe et avait dû signer en 1108 l'humiliant traité de Deabolis [34].

Bohémond mourut peu après, en 1111, et Tancrède n'avait aucune raison de se sentir lié par ce traité. Quant à Alexis, il tenta bien de fomenter une coalition contre le nouveau prince d'Antioche, mais il n'eut aucun succès et Byzance allait disparaître de la scène cilicienne jusqu'à l'expédition de Jean Commène en 1137. Côté chrétien, seuls Edesse et les Arméniens menaçaient la suprématie de Tancrède en Syrie du Nord chrétienne. Baudouin et Jocelyn, libérés de captivité en 1108, se sont heurtés à Tancrède en voulant récupérer le comté. Ils ont été soutenus par le baron arménien Basile le Voleur [35], qui allait se trouver directement en guerre contre Tancrède quelques années plus tard [36]. Mais les deux rivaux moururent en 1112. Avec Basile disparaissait l'espoir d'une Euphratèse arménienne, mais la mort du puissant prince normand laissait le champ libre aux ambitions des Roupénides sur la Cilicie.

1112-1137 : De Tancrède à Jean Commène

Le prince roupénide Thoros Ier s'était emparé en 1110 de la métropole historique d'Anavarza, qui allait provisoirement tenir lieu de capitale de la dynastie [37]. Jusqu'à sa mort en 1129, il se garda de heurter de front le pou-

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31. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

32. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58 ; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

33. Albert d'Aix, *op. cit.*, p. 682 ; Ch. Kohler, *Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat*, Paris, Leroux, 1900, p. 8 ; H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre sainte provenant de l'abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, Paris, Thorin, 1880, p. 27.

34. A. Comnène, *op. cit.*, p. 129-135.

35. A. Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 82 ; Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 264-266 ; Ibn al-Athir, *Histoire*, Paris, 1872 (RHC, Historiens orientaux, 1), p. 262.

36. Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

37. Samuel d'Ani, *Chronique*, Vagharchapat, 1893, p. 137 (en arménien) ; V. Hakobian, *Chroniques mineures*, Erevan, 1956, t. 2, p. 100 (en arménien) ; A. Matevossian, *Colophons de manuscrits (Ve-XIIe s.)*, Erevan, 1988, p. 583 (en arménien) ; Vahram d'Edesse, *Chronique rimée*, Paris, 1869 (RHC, Documents arméniens, 1), p. 499.

voir antiochéen. Il aida même les Normands dans certaines expéditions et fournit un contingent, en 1119, à l'*Ager sanguinis* où le prince Roger d'Antioche, fils de Richard de Salerne, trouva la mort [38]. Jusqu'à la majorité de Bohémond II, fils du grand Bohémond, la régence d'Antioche fut assurée par Baudouin du Bourg, devenu depuis 1118 roi Baudouin II de Jérusalem. La sagesse de la politique roupénide, qui attendait son heure, se traduisit par une décennie de paix en Cilicie, où la suzeraineté d'Antioche n'était pas remise en cause officiellement.

C'est en 1126 que le jeune Bohémond II devint prince d'Antioche. Très ambitieux, il épousa Alice, fille du roi Baudouin II et de son épouse arménienne Morfia et voulut tout de suite affirmer son autorité sur ses territoires [39]. Or la Cilicie normande était menacée, à la fois dans l'immédiat par la puissance de l'émir danichmendite, et à plus longue échéance par l'affermissement des Roupénides. Profitant de la mort de Thoros Ier en 1129, Bohémond II monta une expédition en 1130, mais il se heurta au Danichmendite qui avait envahi la Cilicie, et fut tué près d'Anavarza [40].

Une aubaine pour le nouveau prince roupénide Léon Ier, plus agressif que son frère, d'autant plus qu'Antioche était le théâtre d'intrigues de succession entre la veuve du défunt, Alice, et les partisans de sa fille Constance. En 1132, Léon Ier concrétisa les ambitions roupénides en s'emparant, pour la première fois, de la plaine cilicienne [41]. Il poursuivit ses conquêtes à l'est, du côté des passes de l'Amanus. Mais en 1136 Constance épousa Raymond de Poitiers qui, devenu ainsi prince d'Antioche, ne pouvait admettre la perte de la Cilicie. Plutôt qu'attaquer de front le puissant prince roupénide, il préféra utiliser un piège pour, de connivence avec le comte de Marache, capturer Léon Ier et l'emmener à Antioche. Ce dernier fut vite libéré contre rançon et cession de la Cilicie [42]. Mais la raison de cette rapide libération était plus tactique : il s'agissait de faire front commun [43] contre la grave menace qui venait de Constantinople, d'où le basileus Jean Commène était sorti avec une puissante armée afin de récupérer Antioche et la Cilicie, en accord avec le

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38. Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 298-299 ; Kamal ad-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 255 ; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

39. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 613 ; Orderic Vital, *op. cit.*, 1978, t. 6, p. 134 ; Matthieu d'Edesse, *op. cit.*, p. 319 ; A. Miquel, *Un prince syrien face aux croisés*, Paris, Fayard, 1986, p. 52 ; Ibn Chaddad, *Description de la Syrie du Nord*, trad. A.-M. Eddé, Damas, 1984, p. 251.

40. Guillaume de Tyr, *op. cit.*, p. 623 ; Orderic Vidal, *op. cit.*, p. 136 ; Michel le Syrien, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 255 ; A. Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

41. L. Alichan, *op. cit.*, p. 344 ; V. Hakobian, *op. cit.*, p. 100 ; Sempad le Connétable, *Chronique*, Paris, 1869 (RHC, Documents arméniens, 1), p. 615 ; A. Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

42. Sempad le Connétable, *op. cit.*, p. 616 ; A. Tritton, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

43. J. Kinnamos, *Chronique*, éd. A. Meineke, Bonn, 1836, p. 16.

pacte conclu quarante ans plus tôt, sur les rives du Bosphore, entre son père et les chefs de la Croisade.

Cette expédition de 1137 allait donner le coup de grâce à la Cilicie normande. Antioche n'allait plus faire que de brèves et inoffensives tentatives pour reprendre le contrôle de ce territoire, qui allait passer une quarantaine d'années sous le contrôle direct de Byzance avant de voir l'accomplissement d'un siècle d'acharnement roupénide : la fondation, en 1198, du royaume arménien de Cilicie doit paradoxalement beaucoup à ces quarante ans de Cilicie normande qui ont donné aux Roupénides un cadre adéquat afin de créer la base de leurs ambitions étatiques.

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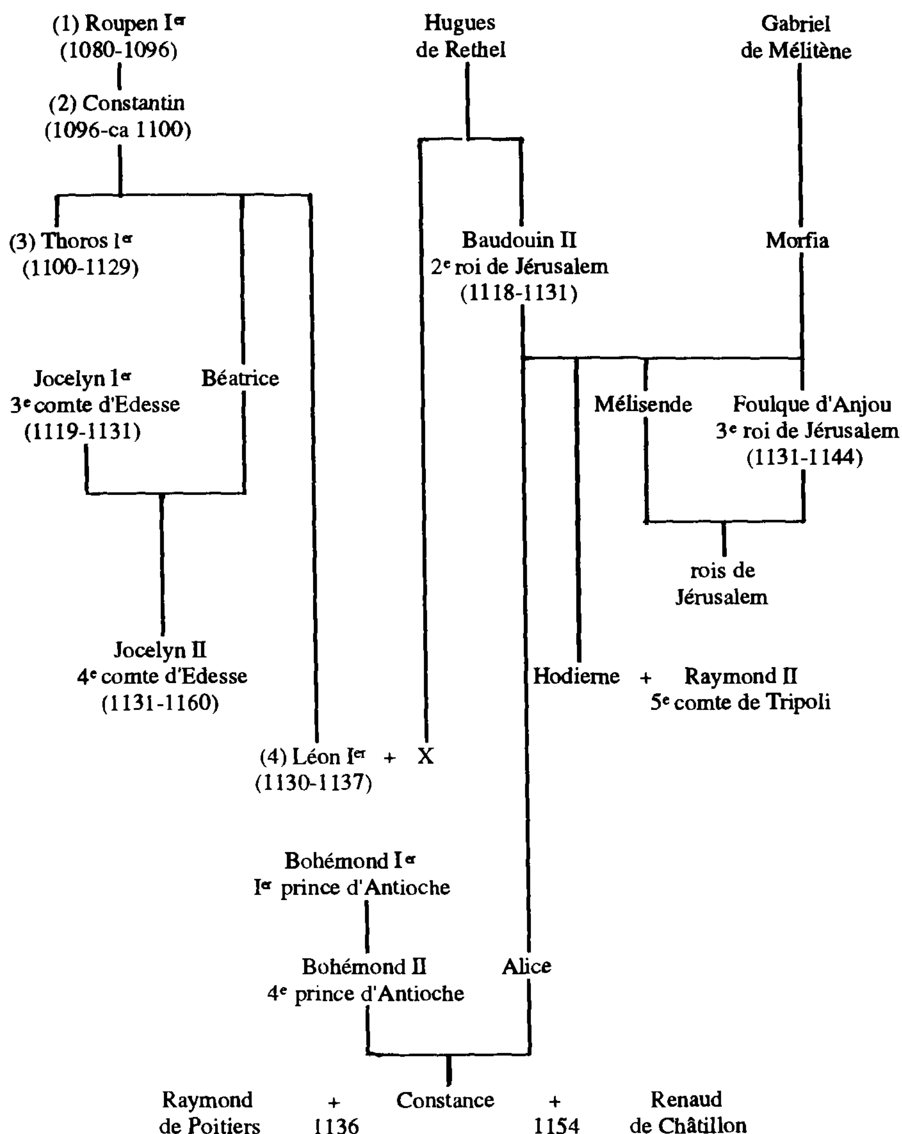
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L'étude la plus complète du peuplement et des fiefs arméniens en Cilicie se trouve dans la monumentale thèse de Gérard Dédéyan, encore inédite.


(1) Roupen Ier
(1080-1096)
(2) Constantin
(1096-ca 1100)
(3) Thoros Ier
(1100-1129)
Jocelyn Ier
3e comte d'Edesse
(1119-1131)
Béatrice
Jocelyn II
4e comte d'Edesse
(1131-1160)
(4) Léon Ier + X
(1130-1137)
Hugues
de Rethel
Baudouin II
2e roi de Jérusalem
(1118-1131)
Gabriel
de Mélitène
Morfia
Mélisende
Foulque d'Anjou
3e roi de Jérusalem
(1131-1144)
rois de
Jérusalem
Hodierne + Raymond II
5e comte de Tripoli
Bohémond Ier
Ier prince d'Antioche
Bohémond II
4e prince d'Antioche
Alice
Raymond
de Poitiers
+
1136
Constance
+
1154
Renaud
de Châtillon

Johannes PAHLITZSCH

ATHANASIOS II,
a Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem (c. 1231-1244) [1]

In 1229, the crusaders regained rulership in Jerusalem as a result of the treaty between emperor Frederick II and the Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil [2]. Little is known about this period in Jerusalem's history — the reason being that for the Franks as for the Ayyubids, Jerusalem was a matter of secondary importance. The Frankish nobility in the Holy Land was mostly occupied with combatting the emperor's attempts to incorporate the Kingdom of Jerusalem into his empire [3]. On the part of the Church, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold of Lausanne, refused to leave his safe residence in Acre to live in the unfortified city of Jerusalem. Furthermore, he objected to the terms of this treaty as a matter of principle since it stipulated that the Holy City be shared with the Muslims — who, even worse, were permitted to remain on the Temple Mount. Bernhard Hamilton states that, had Gerold been

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1. This paper presents preliminary results concerning Athanasios II. I intend to expound this subject in greater detail in my dissertation entitled « Das griechisch-orthodoxe Patriarchat von Jerusalem im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert » — « The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in XII[th] and XIII[th] century Jerusalem ».

2. For the terms of this treaty as related by western sources, cf. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954, p. 187-188 and Th. C. van Cleve, « The Crusade of Frederick II », in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2[nd] ed. 1969, p. 458-459. The Muslim point of view is described by H.L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kamil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, p. 156-159 and R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1977, p. 202-203.

3. H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 7[th] revised edition 1989, p. 224-227.

willing to accept the restoration of Jerusalem on the terms which Frederick II negotiated, he might have succeeded in making the city the Church's administrative center in the kingdom. At any event, the reasons stated above make the recovery of the Holy City a wasted opportunity as far as the re-establishment of the Latin Church in Palestine is concerned. As a consequence, the communities of the shrine churches also preferred to stay in Acre [4]. One reason for this was certainly the fact that, according to the treaty signed by Frederick II, the villages surrounding Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Muslims.

Although sultan al-Kamil defended the surrender of Jerusalem, saying that the city would soon be regained, he never made any efforts to reach this goal. After his death in 1238, his Egyptian-Syrian empire disintegrated quickly, the members of the Ayyubid family increasingly being caught up in internal strifes [5]. During this transitional period which is marked by constantly changing coalitions, the disputed frontier area between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the territory of the lord of Kerak an-Nasir Da'ud was the territory around the Holy City itself. In December of 1239, an-Nasir succeeded in capturing Jerusalem, managing to hold it for several months — only to relinquish it in July of 1240, when the lord of Kerak surrendered Jerusalem to Theobald of Champagne. For the following years 1241 and 1242, it is difficult to say who was in possession of the city at which time. In any event, the Franks finally got hold of Jerusalem in 1243, joining at this time ranks with an-Nasir against the sultan of Egypt and his allies, the Khwarizmians. The entire city including the Temple Mount was surrendered to the Franks, and the Muslim population was forced to leave Jerusalem [6]. However, this situation did not last for long, and in 1244, the Khwarizmians marched into Jerusalem, plundering and ravaging the Christian shrines. Once again, the Franks had not been able to conclusively take advantage of the disagreement between Muslim rulers [7].

Sir Steven Runciman and Bernhard Hamilton have postulated that it is a matter of conjecture what happened to the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem during this period of instability [8]. Rather on the contrary, however, I would

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4. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, Variorum Publications Ltd., 1980, p. 258-261.

5. D.P. Little, « Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks 1187-1516 », in K.J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, Buckhurst Hill, Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1989, p. 183-186.

6. P Jackson, « The crusades of 1239-41 and their aftermath », *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 50 (1987), p. 39-42, 47-49 and 55.

7 Jackson, « The Crusades of 1239-41 », *op. cit.*, p. 55-60.

8. St Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, reprint of the 1st edition 1956, p. 98-99 ; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 98-99.

say that the Orthodox patriarch Athanasios II, who died in 1244, is one of the Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem in office during the crusaders' rule in Outremer about whom we know most. According to the diptychs of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem, Athanasios originally came from the West, meaning Europe [9]. It is not quite clear at which time Athanasios assumed office. The only clue we have lies in the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai : the tombstone of Euthymios, Athanasios' predecessor as patriarch of Jerusalem. Uspensky was the first to date Euthymios' death, and was later corrected by Venance Grumel, who emended the tombstone's inscription to read December 13th, 1230 [10].

In the Orthodox Church, it was customary that a newly elected patriarch send the other patriarchs an inaugural letter, adding his personal creed. The inaugural letter of Athanasios has not come upon us, but, according to Jean Darrouzès, an answer to it has. Darrouzès attributed a letter written in answer to the inaugural letter of an unknown patriarch of Jerusalem, authored by an equally unknown patriarch of Constantinople, to Germanos II, a contemporary of Athanasios [11]. Vitalien Laurent later questioned this attribution, arguing that the letter better fits the situation in the 1270s, when the plans of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos for a Church union gave rise to controversy within the Orthodox Church [12].

The content of the letter is as follows : After putting down his own creed, the patriarch of Constantinople dismisses the use of the azymes by the Latins and urges the patriarch of Jerusalem to refrain from celebrating mass using azymes [13]. It can thus be assumed that the new patriarch of Jerusalem had asked the patriarch of Constantinople for advice concerning the stance to take on the Latins' practice of using azymes.

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9. The diptychs have been published in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analecta hierosolymitikes stachyologias*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 133.

10. *Vtoroe puteshestvie archimandrita Porfirija Uspenskago v Sinaijskij monastyr v 1850 godu*, St. Petersburg, 1856, p. 248 ; V. Grumel, « La chronologie des patriarches grecs de Jérusalem au XIIIe siècle », *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 20 (1962), p. 198.

11. J. Darrouzès, « Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine », *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 23 (1965), p. 43-51.

12. V. Laurent, *Les regestes de 1208 à 1309*, Paris, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1971 (Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, vol. 1, fasc. 4), p. 109.

13. S.A. Pavlov, *Kritichskie opyty po istorii drevnieeichei grecko-russkoi polemiki protiv latinjan*, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 158-163 ; a French translation of parts of the letter has been published by V. Grumel, « Jérusalem entre Rome et Byzance : Une lettre inconnue du patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III à son collègue de Jèrusalem (vers 1089) », *Échos d'Orient*, 38 (1939), p. 105-117, who falsely attributed this letter to the XIth-century patriarch ; as is also done by A. Michel, « Die byzantinische und römische Werbung um Symeon II. von Jerusalem (1085/86) », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 62 (1943/44), p. 164-177.

The second part of the letter deals with a papal note sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem which he passed on to the patriarch of Constantinople as an annex to his inaugural letter. In his answer, the patriarch of Constantinople refutes the papal claim of primacy made in the note. The arguments made in favor of papal primacy closely resemble those of a letter by Pope Gregory IX written to Germanos II, and it is this similarity which is used as main evidence for attributing the letter in question to Germanos [14]. It is possible to assume that Gregory IX had tried to convince the newly elected Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem to admit papal authority as his predecessors had done with the Orthodox hierarchy in Greece and Cyprus [15]. This unusual appeal by a pope to the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem may be accounted for by the fact that the Franks had only recently regained Jerusalem — an assumption which is supported by Georgios Metochites' *historia dogmatica*. In it, Athanasios is described as someone who went to great lengths in order to achieve agreement with the papal legate [16]. It is safe to assume that the Latin presence in Jerusalem had increased after the treaty of 1229 and that as a result, Athanasios was willing to tolerate the Latins' practice of using azymes.

In closing, the patriarch of Constantinople emphazises that never would Rome be able to get what it desires by force. He states that those who joined the Latins for material motives or even for fear of their lives should be excommunicated. The Orthodox, he writes, must keep their faith even if they can expect to have to die for it. This last paragraph seems to refer to the execution of thirteen Orthodox monks on Cyprus in 1231 who were killed because they refused to accept the authority of the Latin Church [17]. This reference is the basis for my assumption that this letter was written after these events, and would furthermore correspond with the probable accession to the patriarchate by Athanasios in 1231.

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14. Pavlov, *Kritichskie opyty, op.cit.*, p. 163-167 ; Darrouzès, « Les documents byzantins », *op. cit.*, p. 50 ; the letter of Gregor IX. is printed in *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. A.L. Tàutu, Città del Vaticano, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1950 (Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, series 3, vol. 3), no. 179, p. 235-239.

15. J. Richard, « The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204-1227) », in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, D. Jacoby (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, London, Frank Cass, 1989, p. 48-49 ; M. Angold, « Greeks and Latins after 1204 : The Perspective of Exile », in *Latins and Greeks*, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67 and 72-75

16 Georgios Metochites, « Historia dogmatica », in *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae*, ed. A. Mai, vol. 8 part 2, Rome, 1871 p. 33.

17. Pavlov, *Kritichskie opyty*, *op. cit.*, p. 167-168 ; for the execution of the thirteen monks cf. J. Gill, « The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus, 1196-c.1280 », *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 5 (1977), p. 79-80 ; Angold, « Greeks and Latins after 1204 », *op. cit.*, p. 73-74 ; P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 67.

St. Sava's of Serbia Vita is one of the most important sources not only concerning that saint's life, but also as far as Athanasios and the Orthodox community in Palestine are concerned. In it, it is reported that Sava met Athanasios, who is refered as patriarch, on the first of his two journeys to the Holy Land. This trip is generally regarded to have been taken between mid-1229 and the early spring of 1230 [18]. Of course, this date is not consistent with the date found on the tombstone of Euthymios, Athanasios' predecessor, and it seems to me that the dating of this trip should therefore be reconsidered. Sava's Vita itself gives no clear indication of the time during which the trip was taken.

During both of his stays in Jerusalem, Sava spent much time with Athanasios. They joined in celebrating the divine liturgy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre several times and discussed liturgical questions. As a result of these conversations, St. Sava integrated a number of the Jerusalem rites into the ritual of the Serbian Church upon returning home [19]. According to his Vita, he visited many of the holy shrines in Jerusalem and its surroundings, donating large amounts of gold to the priests and monks serving in the shrine churches and instructing them to commemorate his parents, his brother (the former ruler of Serbia, Stefan Nemanja) and himself [20].

The Vita's author, Domentijan, does not mention whether the clerics named therein were Orthodox or Latins. Clearly, the persons in Palestine to whom Sava had the most contact were definitely Orthodox clerics like the patriarch Athanasios, the monks of the Great Laura of Mar Saba and the Georgian monks in the monastery of the Holy Cross [21]. Domentijan's attitude towards the Latins is best illustrated by his statement that before the monastery of St. George in Acre was bought by Sava, it had been « enslaved » by the Latins [22]. Another example is furnished by Sava's visit to Nazareth. Domentijan describes his visit to the cathedral of the Latin bishop in Nazareth without mentioning any clerics serving there. Afterwards, Sava went to the church located at the well where the angel had announced to

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18. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine portraits*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 165, n. 198. The Vita is written by Domentijan, a pupil of St. Sava, and has been published by Dj. Danicic, *Zivot svetoga Simeuna i svetoga Save*, Belgrade 1865.

19. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine portraits*, *op. cit.*, p. 163-166. A discussion of « divine laws » between Sava and the patriarch Athansios is mentioned in Sava's Vita : Domentijan, *Zivot, op. cit.*, p. 310.

20. Cf. for example Sava's donation to the Church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem, Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

21. During his first journey to Jerusalem, he stayed at the monastery of the Holy Cross, cf. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 267 ; for Sava's relationship to the monastery of Mar Saba cf. *infra*.

22. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 302 ; cf. *infra*.

Mary that she would give birth to a son. This church was probably Orthodox, as it still is today. Sava stayed there for a while, celebrated mass and gave his usual gift of gold to the priests of this church [23]. Apparently, the Vita of St. Sava makes it a habit to mention priests and monks only if they are Greek Orthodox. I therefore regard the numerous other references to clerics in the Vita to be evidence of the considerable presence of the Orthodox Church in the Holy Land during the 1230s.

According to the Vita, the two highest-ranking Orthodox personages in Palestine were the patriarch of Jerusalem, Athanasios, and the Hegoumenos of Mar Saba, Nikolaos. Athanasios is called a close friend of the Serbian Saint, and the adoption of the liturgical usage prevalent in Jerusalem in Serbia certainly proves his influence on Sava. Sava also had close contacts to Nikolaos and the Great Laura of Mar Saba. He stayed there for some time, visiting the various congregations of the Laura which were grouped according to their nationality. A Georgian and a Russian community are explicitly mentioned in the Vita. St. Sava seems to have joined the community of the Great Laura, since he later called himself a brother of the monks of Mar Saba. A further indication of this is the fact that he subordinated the monasteries he had founded in Palestine to the authority of the Great Laura [24].

David Jacoby has voiced the opinion that Sava's purpose in Acre may have been to promote pilgrimage to the Holy Land from all Orthodox countries in order to enhance the presence of the Orthodox Church and that this could be the reason the monastery of St. George was founded in Acre [25]. The same might be true for the other foundation undertaken by Sava which is located in Jerusalem. The establishment of this monastery is described in the Vita as follows : Upon returning to Jerusalem from his visit to Mar Saba in the Judean Desert, Sava stayed in the Metochion of Mar Saba together with the Hegoumenos Nikolaos and asked him for a place to found a monastery. The patriarch Athanasios and Nikolaos gave him the Church of St. John the Evangelist on Mount Zion, near the house where St. John had lived together with Mary, the Mother of God. Sava consecrated it after having

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23. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 274-275 ; the relationship of Sava to Rome is discussed by Obolensky, *Six Byzantine portraits*, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149.

24. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 272-273 ; the subordination of Sava's foundations to the Laura of Mar Saba is mentioned in the commentary on the Serbian translation of the Vita, *Zivot svetoga Save i svetoga Simeuna*, tr. by L. Mirkovic, Belgrade 1988, p. 361, n. 42.

25. D. Jacoby, « Three notes on Crusader Acre », *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 109 (1993), p. 87 ; cf. *supra* n. 22.

established the rules of the new monastery together with Athanasios and Nikolaos [26].

The fact that St. Sava really intended to strengthen the position of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem is demonstrated by a sermon given by Athanasios when Sava visited Jerusalem for the second time in 1234/35. In it, Athanasios described Sava and his pupils as true labourers in Christ's vineyard by preaching the Gospel to the world [27]. At any rate, the foundation of a new Orthodox monastery in Jerusalem demonstrates the extent of the Greek Orthodox patriarch's influence in Jerusalem and the range of his authority. Apparently, Athanasios was in a position to take action without being hindered by the Latin authorities. Not even the promulgation of the Orthodox faith was supressed. Another indication of his power reported in the Vita can be seen in the fact that Athanasios regularly celebrated the liturgy in the Anastasis. Thus, the sermon mentioned above was preached in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the entire Orthodox community of Jerusalem. Since the Latin patriarch remained in Acre, the Holy Sepulchre continued as the main church of the Greek Orthodox patriarch just as it had been under Ayyubid rule before the treaty of 1229.

In St. Sava's Vita, Jerusalem is described as a timeless city inhabited exclusively by the Orthodox community under patriarch Athanasios [28]. No Latins or Muslims are mentioned at all. In spite of this rather partial view, I nonetheless believe the Vita of St. Sava deserves credit as a source for the situation of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem in the XIII[th] century. It clearly shows the concern the Orthodox world felt for the Holy Land. Inversely, Athanasios was interested in the affairs of the world outside Jerusalem as a conversation Sava had with him proves : Upon his second visit to Jerusalem, he met Athanasios in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the two friends sat down in the middle of the church to talk. Athanasios asked Sava about the political situation of the world, whether peace reigned, and what was currently happening in Serbia [29].

Athanasios always kept close contacts with the other parts of the Orthodox world, as is evidenced by the inaugural letter he presumably sent

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26. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 273 ; this church was consecrated in the name of St. John the Evangelist and was located on Mt. Zion. K. Bieberstein, H. Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1994 (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, no. 100/2), p. 119, mention a Church of St. John on Mt. Zion that was founded only in the late XV[th] century by the Franciscans.

27. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 303-304.

28. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine portraits*, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

29. Domentijan, *Zivot*, *op. cit.*, p. 302-303.

to the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople. The relationship with the head of the Orthodox Church continued, the patriarch of Jerusalem fulfilled his duties according to the Orthodox ecclesiology, and was responsible for all matters concerning the entire *oikoumene*. Thus, Athanasios played a role in 1235, when the Bulgarian Church was granted the status of an autocephalous patriarchate [30]. Obviously, Pope Gregory IX had failed in his intent to subordinate the Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem to papal primacy.

In the late 1230s, the situation of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem seems to have deteriorated. This is evidenced by two letters written by Athanasios and Georgios Bardanes, the metropolit of Corfu. They are preserved only in a Latin translation. In the first letter of this correspondence, the metropolit of Corfu thanks Athanasios for writing, and especially for honouring him by asking him some questions. Unfortunately, these questions and Georgios Bardanes' answers have not been transmitted. The answer of Athanasios is a sorrowful lament. The Orthodox patriarch writes that Jerusalem is now a deserted and devastated city. Georgios has reminded him of the misery he had to suffer at the hands of the *impiis hominibus* (meaning, most probably, the Latins) and of the *irreligiosis* (i.e. the Muslims). He reports that both of these denominations were trying to occupy unfortunate Zion and had exclusively material motives for their actions [31]. Clearly, Athanasios had given up his conciliatory attitude towards the Latins by this time.

The editors of Georgios Bardanes' letter date it around 1236 [32]. However, the answer by Athanasios seems to perfectly match the situation in Jerusalem as it existed during the two or three years after the conquest of the city by an-Nasir Da'ud in the winter of 1239/1240. The political instability during these years must have caused an increasing feeling of insecurity and might have been the reason that a considerable part of the population left the city. Georgios Bardanes is presumed to have died around 1240 [33], which year serves us as *terminus ante quem*. Since Athanasios' answer was probably not written before Theobald of Champagne regained Jerusalem in July of 1240, I prefer to date Georgios' letter at 1239 or even 1240.

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30. Laurent, *Les regestes, op. cit.*, no. 1282, p. 88-89.

31. These letters have been edited by J.M. Hoeck and R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole*, Ettal, Buch-Kunstverlag, 1965, p. 221-223.

32. Hoeck-Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

33. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München, C.H. Beck Verlag (Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaften 12, part 2, vol. 1), p. 669.

However, there was no turn for the better, much as Athanasios may have hoped for it. In 1244, the Khwarizmians occupied Jerusalem and ravaged the city. Although Christians, Latins and Orthodox alike sought refuge in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Khwarizmians had no regard for this sanctuary and killed all Christians, among them the Orthodox patriarch Athanasios. This is the reason Athanasios is commemorated as a martyr in the diptychs of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem [34].

A collection of still unpublished Arabic sermons remains to be mentioned. The title of the manuscripts attribute them to a certain Athanasios, patriarch of Jerusalem. According to Joseph Nasrallah, Athanasios IV (who lived around 1460) is the author of these sermons. However, this attribution is not beyond doubt [35]. The sermons seem to have been translated from Greek into Arabic, as is evidenced by the transcription of Greek words in Arabic letters. The sermons are written in the typical style of Byzantine homiletics. In addition to references to the Bible, the author relates anecdotes of the early Byzantine emperors [36].

A typical example is the sixth sermon to be found in a Berlin manuscript. In it, the curative effects of the water from the pool of Bethesda (John, 5,2) are compared with baptism in close analogy to a sermon by John Chrysostomos. In a continuation of the motive of repentance and the redemption following it, the story of Emperor Maurikios' dream is related [37]. Unfortunately, no reference is made to any current events in any of the sermons. It is, however, questionable whether an Orthodox patriarch in Jerusalem wrote sermons in Greek for his congregation in the mid-XVth century, when the larger part of it spoke Arabic. The manuscript tradition of the Arabic translation begins only as late as in the XVIth century [38]. It is thus possible that

34. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analecta*, *op. cit.*, p. 133. ; Grumel, « La chronologie », *op. cit.*, p. 198-199. For the Khwarizmians cf. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, *op. cit*, p. 273-275 ; Jackson, « The crusades of 1239-41 », *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.

35. J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, vol. 3, t. 2 (1250-1516), Louvain, Editions Peeters, 1981, p. 52, n. 76, quotes the still unpublished *Kitab an-nahla* of Macarius az-Za'im (XVIIIth c.) who merely states that an Athanasios is the author.

36. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlich arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947, p. 86-87.

37. Ms. Berolinensis arab. Mf 971, fol. 23v.-31r. ; cf. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften*, Berlin, 1897 (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 21) no. 10194, p. 599-561 ; Joannes Chrysostomos, in *Joannem homiliae*, n° 36, J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae*, vol. 59, Paris, 1862, p. 203-208.

38. The Arabic manuscript no. 35 of St. Anne's Convent, Jerusalem consists of two different parts. The first part has probably been written in the XVIIth century as it is indicated in the unpublished *Preliminary Inventory of St. Anne's Convent* compounded by the Brigham Young

Athanasios IV is responsible only for the translation into Arabic. In any case, this translation really does seem to stand in close connection with Jerusalem : three of the seven manuscripts still located in the Orient are kept in this city [39]. On the other hand, the late attribution of the sermons to Athanasios IV may be the result of an error in so far as he was confused with one of his predecessors. We do know for certain, at least, that Athanasios II wrote in Greek and is furthermore represented in Sava's of Serbia Vita as a preacher.

To conclude : It seems that the treaty of 1229 did not bring about any essential changes concerning the situation of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem. Since they no longer had the power to treat the Orthodox patriarch and his clerics as they had done in the XII[th] century, the Franks did not expel the Greek clerics from the numerous churches which had belonged to the Latins in the XII[th] century and which had been conceded to the Greeks by Saladin after 1187. As a result, they were forced to share most of the shrine churches with the Greeks [40]. The situation of the Greek Orthodox Church of Jerusalem began to deteriorate only in 1239, with the onset of a period of political instability which culminated in the plundering of the city by the Khwarizmians in 1244.

University, Provo, Utah. The second part written by another hand can possibly be dated to the XVI[th] or even the XV[th] century. The Jerusalem manuscript Holy Sepulchre arab. no. 221 has probably been written in the XVI[th] century. Graf, *Geschichte der christlich arabischen Literatur, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 88 n. 3, gives no dating of this manuscript.

39. Graf, *Geschichte der christlich arabischen Literatur*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 88, lists altogether 13 manuscripts.

40. This is evidenced by the Vita of St. Sava : apparently Greek Orthodox clerics are mentioned in nearly every major church he visited.

Nicholas COUREAS

THE ORTHODOX MONASTERY OF MT. SINAI AND PAPAL PROTECTION OF ITS CRETAN AND CYPRIOT PROPERTIES

The Orthodox Monastery of Mt. Sinai during the period of the crusades presents us with something of a paradox. It was a Greek monastery, located in territories which remained well outside Latin control following the success of the First Crusade in 1099 and the establishment of Latin states in Syria and Palestine. It never came under Latin control throughout the two centuries, from 1099 to 1291, during which Latins controlled parts of Syria and Palestine, but was visited by the Crusaders and took care to be on good terms with them. From the surviving examples of papal correspondence of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries it is manifest that the monastery also cultivated good relations with the papacy, recognising its jurisdiction despite its location in Muslim territory well outside Latin control.

The explanation for this can be attributed to the fact that many of its properties were located in lands which came successively under the overlordship of the Latins as a result of Latin expansion into the East Mediterranean in the course of the First, Third and particularly the Fourth Crusade. From a confirmatory *bulla* of Pope Honorius dated 6 August 1217 to the abbot of Mt. Sinai, containing a detailed list of the monastery's properties, it materialises that in addition to holdings in the Sinai peninsula and Egypt itself, Mt. Sinai owned properties located in Acre, Latakia and Antioch, all of which were under Latin rule. It also possessed two confraternities in the Orthodox monastery of Mangana in Constantinople, under Latin occupation since the

Fourth Crusade of 1204, and enjoyed the right to collect one gold pound annually from the revenues of the city's market taxes [1]. The greatest number of Mt. Sinai's properties, however, were situated on Crete, which from 1206 onwards was a Venetian colony, and was to remain so until falling to the Ottoman Turks in 1668.

According to the *bulla* of Pope Honorius, Mt.Sinai's Cretan properties consisted of « the churches of the Holy Saviour, St. George and St. Symeon...with all pertaining to them...lands, houses and vines in...Sclave Vafe and a mill at Macrinchicon (Μακρύντειχον), vines, lands and a mill at Ayios Nikolaos, and the monastery of St. John Chrysostom at the place called Rucanum, together with the mountain, casalia, serfs, mills and things pertaining to it. [Also] vines in the places called Cunavo, Pezia, Gaetania and Paraskeve, the church of St. Nicholas and St. Barbara in the city of Candia with its houses and appurtenances, and the house of Strategos, and freedom [from tolls] on both land and sea » [2].

It is clear from the above list that the properties of Mt. Sinai on Crete were considerable, and consisted mainly of rural properties, although it also had possessions in the capital of Crete, Candia. As regards Cyprus, the monastery's holdings appear to have been more limited, consisting of « houses and one gold pound from the incomes of market taxes » [3]. What Honorius III's letter does not unfortunately tell us is whether Mt.Sinai's properties on Crete and Cyprus, or even in Latin Syria, were acquired before or after these areas came under Latin control, but in either case all of them were subject to direct Latin control in the XIIIth century. Under the Latins, however, the monastery of Mt. Sinai apparently acquired new properties, on both Crete and Cyprus. A bull of Pope Honorius III dated 20 January 1226 together with a virtually identical one promulgated by his successor, Pope Gregory IX, in or sometime after 1227, list the various properties of Mt. Sinai in similar detail, but among the places where the monastery owned vines list the additional locality of Steriarion. Concerning Cyprus the two bulls of 1226 and 1227, like that of 1217, do not unfortunately mention specific localities in which Mt. Sinai owned property, but whereas the bull of 1217 simply mentioned houses and the annual income of one gold pound derived from market taxes, those of 1226 and of Gregory IX mention « meadows, lands, vines, woodland expanses, rights of usage and pasturelands in copses and plains, water rights and mills, (rights of usage) on roads and pathways... » [4]. From the

1. *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, ed. A. L. Tautu, Rome, 1950, (PCRCICO, iii), p. 35-36.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 195-197 ; J. B. Chabot, « Mélanges », *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1900, p. 495-498.

content of these subsequent bulls it would seem that on Crete, and even more so on Cyprus, the monastery of Mt. Sinai had acquired additional rural properties by purchase or by donation, and this was almost certainly done to assure the monks in the Sinai desert a regular supply of victuals, and perhaps a regular income as well. Following the establishment of Latin rule on Cyprus in 1191 and on Crete in 1206, donations or regular patronage towards the monastery by the local Byzantine archons would have ceased, while under the Latins both the properties of the monastery and its freedom to export produce to Sinai from its rural estates on these two islands were by no means assured, as we shall see below.

The monastery of Mt.Sinai moreover was not alone in investing in landed property following the conquest of Crete and Cyprus by the Latins. Shortly after the capture of Cyprus by forces of the Third Crusade, St.Neophytos, the abbot of the Engleistra monastery in the hills behind Paphos, consented to the monks' purchase of « some arable land and a moderate amount of pastureland », as well as a vineyard and some livestock [5]. With the abrupt cessation of the patronage provided by Byzantine lords Orthodox monasteries felt impelled to invest in land and livestock so as to ensure their food supply and enjoy an assured income in uncertain times. The monastery of Mt. Sinai was no exception.

The Cretan and Cypriot properties of Mt. Sinai certainly needed safeguarding. As early as 1212, shortly after Venice acquired Crete, the monks of Mt.Sinai took the precaution of obtaining confirmation of their title to various properties there from Pietro Ziani, the doge of Venice, and the Council of Ten. This confirmation was granted to Symeon, who, like all the abbots of Mt. Sinai, was also the bishop of the diocese with that name, to whom the bull of Honorius III of 1217 listing and confirming the monastery's properties was addressed. Symeon was clearly active in pursuing and safeguarding his monastery's rights over property by presenting petitions to Latin authorities both lay and secular. The confirmatory letter he obtained is significant in that it granted the monks :

> « The right of exporting from this island without (the payment of) duties, both for your own use and for that of your church, cheeses, cassocks, incense, olive oil and whatever might derive from the aforementioned estates » [6].

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5. B. Englezakis, « St. Neophytos and Cyprus during the Crusades », *EKEE,* 10 (1980), p. 61 ; C. Mango, *Byzantium, The Empire of New Rome,* London, 1980, p. 122.

6. Π. Γρηγοριάδης, *Η Ιερά Μονή του Σινά κατά την γεωγραφικήν, ιστορικήν και διοικητικήν αυτής άποψιν*, Ιεροσόλυμα, 1875, p. 91-92.

The document forbade Venetian subjects to adulterate or annul these privileges, but it was precisely such attempts, on the part of Venetians and others, which impelled the abbots of Mt. Sinai to appeal continually to the papacy for protection and the redress of grievances.

And grievances there certainly were. Shortly before confirming the properties of Mt. Sinai in August 1217, Honorius had directed two letters of the preceding July to the nobles of Crete and to the recently established Latin archbishop, Giacomo Madro. In his first letter to the nobles the pope complained that the « sons of Belial » had preyed upon and damaged the monks' properties, and the nobles were urged to force the malefactors to restore stolen goods and offer compensation for the damage inflicted, as well as refraining from such actions in future. Meanwhile the archbishop had been severely reprimanded for having allowed his soldiers and retainers to destroy a daughter house belonging to the monastery and rifle its goods, for it had provided means of support for the abbot and monks of Mt. Sinai. The archbishop had furthermore used force to extort tithes from the monks of the destroyed house, which they had been compelled to pay out of alms received from the Cretan populace. Giacomo Madro was told firmly to desist from such actions on pain of ecclesiastical censure by Gervasius, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople [7].

The issue of tithes payable to Rome by members of the Greek church was a highly contentious one. Under Pope Innocent III, who had introduced this ecclesiastical tax to the Greek lands conquered by the Latins in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, the payment of tithes was initially declared to be voluntary, and was not linked to any particular churches [8]. But from 1206 onwards, and especially after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, it was decreed that the Greek clergy, like their Latin counterparts, should pay tithes on a compulsory basis [9]. Nonetheless certain exemptions were made concerning Orthodox monastic establishments, which were to pay tithes only on properties acquired after 1215. In a letter of December 1223 confirming the properties of Mt. Sinai, placing both them and the monks under papal protection, Honorius III informed the abbot and the monks that it was forbidden for anyone to exact tithes on properties owned by the monastery prior

7. G. Hofman, « Lettere pontifice edite et inedite », *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 17 (1951), p. 298-299.

8. *Acta Innocentii III*, ed. T. Haluskynskyj and M. Wojnar, Rome, 1962, (PCRCICO, iv, pt i), p. 462-465 ; *Patrologiae cursus completus : Patrologia Latina*, Paris, J.P. Migne, 1841-1864, vol. 215, cols. 1434-1435 ; vol. 216, col. 163.

9. J. Richard, « The Latin Church in Constantinople », in D. Jacoby, B. Arbel, B. Hamilton (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, London, 1989, p. 56-57.

to the Fourth Lateran Council, irrespective of whether they utilised hired labour or cultivated such lands with their own hands. As regarded properties acquired after the date of the council, exemption from the payment of tithes was limited to those which the monks cultivated themselves, in addition to pasturelands, cattle feed, shrubs or fishponds. The letter also confirmed the monks' various immunities and liberties, which had been granted at different points in time by other lay or ecclesiastical authorities. Those of 1212 granted by Doge Pietro Zianni must have been included here. One should note that similar exemptions regarding tithes were granted to other Orthodox monasteries, such as St.Margaret of Agros on Cyprus and its grange of St. Maria of Stilo, both of which were in the Latin diocese of Limassol [10].

The grant and confirmation of such immunities did not, however, alter the cavalier attitude of the archbishop and nobility of Crete towards the monks. Honorius III had to write once again to the Latin archbishop in May 1224, and again rebuked him for presuming to exact tithes from the monks of Mt. Sinai, their labour and their properties in violation of the conditions agreed at the Fourth Lateran Council. On this occasion the archbishop had acted in collaboration with the Latin bishops of Hierapetra and Chironeia, who had been appointed to their sees by Honorius himself and had wrongfully excommunicated the monks in question. The pope made it clear to the archbishop that his actions and those of his subordinates had not gone unnoticed, and instructed him to make amends [11].

That the Latin archbishop had little inclination to do so, however, is suggested in a subsequent letter of Honorius dated 25 April 1225. It was addressed to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the Latin bishops of Arios and Mylopotamos, both localities on Crete. Through it the pope instructed the three clerics to punish certain persons who had wronged the monks and wreaked damages on their Cretan properties, to force them to restore things stolen from the monks, and to offer restitution for the damages and injuries committed. The above clerics were also commanded to have brought before them those who persisted in causing harm to the monks. The omission of the Latin archbishop from this business strongly suggests that Pope Honorius no longer trusted him to redress the wrongs committed against the monks of Mt.Sinai based on Crete [12].

The wrongdoers in question were specifically mentioned in a subsequent letter of Honorius dated 25 December 1225 and addressed to the bishop and

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10. *Acta Hon.III et Greg.IX, op. cit.*, p. 165 ; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous les princes de la maison de Lusignan*, Paris, 1852-1861, vol. III, p. 643-644.

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

12. Hofman, « Lettere Pontifice », *op. cit.*, p. 300.

chapter of Mt. Sinai, that is to the abbot and monks of the monastery. Honorius informed them that he had confirmed the sentence imposed by the bishops of Arios and Mylopotamos on the archbishop and chapter of Troyes and other persons of that diocese over their misappropriation of tithes, houses and other possessions of Mt.Sinai on Crete, properties which the clergy of Troyes had obtained in the course of their various crusading expeditions to the Latin East [13]. Honorius III also appealed to the Venetian authorities on Crete in his attempts to protect the monks of Mt.Sinai from the depredations of both Latin clergy and lay persons. In July 1226 he wrote to the Duke of Candia, the Cretan title borne by the Doge of Venice, and urged him to prevent anyone from molesting the persons and properties of the monks of Mt. Sinai established on Crete .[14].

Nevertheless, clerical intrigues against the monks of Mt.Sinai persisted. In January 1226 Honorius told the Latin bishop of Hierapetra, possibly the same one who had been rebuked in 1224 for excommunicating the monks, to thwart the chapter of the archbishopric of Crete in their attempts to suppress the decision taken in the monks' favour by the bishops of Arios and Mylopotamos over certain properties belonging to Mt.Sinai. The chapter of Crete had forwarded letters written by the bishop of Reggio, who was the papal legate for Romania, to the Latin bishop of Sitia, in which place the properties in question were probably located. These letters had been detrimental to the monks of Mt.Sinai and had failed to mention the decision taken in their favour, which the legate had probably been unaware of, but which the chapter of Crete must have known about [15].

It was probably in the light of such developments that Pope Honorius, having promulgated an initial bull placing the monks of Mt.Sinai and their properties under papal protection in July 1217, promulgated the subsequent one of 20 January 1226, which his successor Pope Gregory IX renewed in 1227. Shortly after the Council of Lyons of 1274, Pope Gregory X and his cardinals similarly confirmed the privileges which had been initially granted to the monastery by Honorius [16]. The written sources are silent regarding the fortunes of Mt.Sinai between 1227 and 1274, but it would be dangerous to assume from this that this period was free from troubles. Troubles may have occured which went unrecorded, or written records of them may have failed to survive.

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13 *Acta. Hon. III, op. cit.*, p. 193-194.

14. Hofman, « Lettere Pontifice », *op. cit.*, p. 301.

15. *Acta. Hon. III, op. cit.*, p. 194-195.

16. Hofman, « Lettere Pontifice », *op. cit.*, p. 302-303 ; *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV et Gregorii X*, ed. A.L.Tautu, Rome, 1953 (PCRCICO, v, pt i), p. 142.

Mt. Sinai in the XIVh Century

The early part of the XIVth century, and in particular the period covered by the pontificate of John XXII, furnishes us with considerable evidence regarding both the tribulations of Mt.Sinai and the above pope's interest in resolving the monks' difficulties. Most of John's letters to them are dated 26 May 1328, and concern a variety of issues. As in the early part of the XIIIth century, the monks of Mt.Sinai resident on Crete encountered the animosity of the island's Latin archbishop, a certain Alexander. In May 1328 Pope John XXII told the Latin bishop of Arkadi, the prior of St.Mary Major and the dean of St.Mark of Candia to have the Latin archbishop summoned and to dispense justice. Archbishop Alexander had allowed priests subject to him to deprive the monks of Mt.Sinai of money and candles customarily distributed at the funerals of the deceased who had chosen to be buried at the cemetery of the church of St.Catherine in Candia, which belonged to the monastery. According to the pope's letter the above violation had been unprecedented, causing the abbot of Mt.Sinai to forward a complaint to the pope [17]. But the above dispute is perfectly understandable when one considers that cemeteries were normally the preserve of the secular church, and the possession of cemeteries by the regular clergy ocassioned disputes even within the Latin church, as happened on Cyprus sometime before 1255 between the Hospitallers and the Latin archbishop of Nicosia [18].

Archbishop Alexander's predecessor Nicholas, who had also been the titular patriarch of Constantinople, had also crossed swords with the monks of Mt.Sinai. A second letter of John XXII, of the same date and addressed to the same persons as the previous one, alluded to how Archbishop Nicholas had violently occupied a church belonging to Mt.Sinai located at Quique Buctae (Πέντε Πηγάδια), together with its lands, expelling the brothers in the process. Archbishop Nicholas then proceeded to plant vines on these lands and Alexander his successor continued to occupy them illegally along with the church. As in the foregoing instance John XXII ordered the bishop of Arkadi, the prior of St.Mary and the dean of St.Mark to summon the archbishop and dispense justice [19]. In a third letter of the same date, but this time addressed to Archbishop Alexander himself, John told him to reimburse the monks of Mt.Sinai with 150 *hyperpera*, which he had exacted from them unlawfully through his procurators. This was in violation of privileges conferred upon the monks of Mt.Sinai by Pope Gregory IX in around 1227,

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17. *Acta Iohannis XXII*, ed. A.L. Tautu, Rome, 1952 (PCRCICO, vii, pt. 2), p. 190-191.

18. J. Delaville le Roulx (ed), *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1300)*, Paris, 1894-1906, vol. II, n° 2762 ; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St.John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, London,1967, p. 417-418.

19. *Acta. Ioh. XXII*, *op. cit.*, p. 191-192.

and his predecessor Honorius III in 1216 and 1226, whereby the monastery had acquired immunity from paying dues for their properties and goods in fulfilment of exactions levied by the papacy or its legatine representatives, or even by the local Latin archbishop and his suffragans. Archbishop Alexander was also ordered to restore to the monks of Mt.Sinai on Crete any other sums that he had wrongfully exacted from them [20].

As pointed out earlier, the monks of Mt.Sinai living on Crete had secured the right to export agricultural and other produce on their estates there without paying tolls to the monks on Mt.Sinai itself from the Venetian doge Pietro Zianni. In this as in other areas, however, problems arose. In May 1328 Pope John XXII told Betrand Rotundus, his *nuncio* in Venice, to have a merchant named Nicholas Lion absolved from a sentence of excommunication promulgated against him by Latin bishops on Crete for transporting produce to Alexandria in defiance of the papal prohibition on trade with Muslim lands in force at the time. This merchant, originally from Acre, had been transporting supplies sent by the monks of Mt.Sinai resident on Crete, their ultimate destination being the main monastic house in the Sinai desert [21]. In another letter of the same date John XXII told the archbishop of Capua to administer justice regarding the depredations of John Saut, a Latin freebooter who with certain galleys under his command had robbed provisions that were being transported from Crete to Mt.Sinai [22]. In a third letter of May 1328 addressed to the bishop of Arkadi, the prior of St.Mary of Candia and the dean of St.Mark in Candia, the pope instructed them to proceed against those who were wrongfully detaining Cretan properties of Mt.Sinai, together with any incomes accruing from them [23].

During the early XIV[th] century the Cypriot properties of the monastery of Mt.Sinai also came into prominence. In May 1328 Pope John XXII wrote to King Hugh IV of Cyprus and asked him to repeal an ordnance whereby the various possessions of the monastery, including bequests, had to be registered in the names of secular persons as opposed to that of the monastery, the monks' rights being limited to the collection of the revenues from such properties. In the course of time the lay persons in whose names the bequests had been registered had allowed their heirs to arrogate the collection of such incomes, to the monks' detriment. King Hugh was asked to moderate the provisions of the above ordnance correspondingly, so that the monks could

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 192-193.

21. *Les registres de Jean XXII, lettres communes*, ed. G. Mollat, Paris, 1904-1947 (BEFAR, 3[rd] s.), n° 41385.

22. *Op. cit.*, n° 41386.

23 *Op. cit.*, n° 41387.

freely enjoy the properties they owned and the bequests made out in their favour, but the final outcome of the matter is not known [24].

In another letter of the same date John XXII instructed his papal *nuncios* on Cyprus, both Dominicans, to examine a request submitted by the abbot and monks of Mt.Sinai, in which they asked for the church of St.Mary of Lacava near Famagusta to be granted to them. The monks already occupied the said church in practice and wished to construct a monastery alongside it, and use the church for the celebration of the divine offices. The letter moreover imparts the interesting information that monks of Mt.Sinai living on Cyprus had established oratories in deserted areas of the island. The two *nuncios* were told to discover the values of the incomes pertaining to the church, who collected and disposed of such incomes and whether the concerned parties assented to the donation of the church to the monks. The *nuncios* were also instructed to have anyone occupying the church unlawfully removed, which suggests that it may have been a proprietary church, a phenomenon common in Western Europe until the XIII[th] century and introduced by the Latin nobles to Cyprus as well [25]. The letter is important inasmuch as it provides the first reference to monks of Mt.Sinai on Cyprus residing in a specific locality. Like other Greek churches, and the Greek quarter of Famagusta itself, St.Mary of Lacava was probably located to the south of the city [26].

The connection of the monks of Mt.Sinai with Famagusta is again referred to in a second letter of Pope John XXII to King Hugh, in which he asked the king to have restored to them the annual income of one pound of gold *hyperpera*, which they had traditionally received from the city but which had been severed ever since the fall of Acre to the Muslims in 1291. The letter presents certain paradoxes. Famagusta as a port was insignificant in the XIII[th] century, and its fortunes rose only after the fall of Acre, which it replaced as a commercial hub of East-West trade [27]. It is inexplicable that the monks should have received one gold pound annually from an insignificant port and then have had the income cut off at the very point in time when the town's commercial fortunes began rising dramatically. The letter moreover

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24. *Acta Ioh. XXII*, *op. cit.*, p. 193-194.

25. Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 618.

26. For bequests made to this church see « Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto », ed. C. Desimoni, *AOL*, 2 (1884), Documents, n° 189 ; V. Polonio (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare : Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300-3 Agosto 1301)*, Genoa, 1982 (CSFS, 31), n° 165 ; see also J. Richard, « Les comptes du collecteur de la chambre apostolique dans le Royaume de Chypre (1357-1363) », *EKEE*, 13-14 (1984-1987), p. 47, note 92.

27. D. Jacoby, « Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century », dans *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα*, Nicosia, 1984, vol. I, p. 147 and notes 9 and 10.

states that these incomes had been confirmed initially « by the late Pope Gregory our predecessor ». It is unclear whether this refers to Gregory IX or Gregory X, for both had confirmed Mt.Sinai's properties, but the bulls of Honorius III and Gregory IX of 1226 and 1227 or after both state explicitly that the income of one pound in gold *hyperpera* was drawn « from the incomes of market taxes ». There is no mention of these taxes being linked to a particular town in the papal bulls, and given Famagusta's commercial insignificance in the early XIII[th] century it is likelier that Mt.Sinai received its gold pound from the incomes deriving from the market taxes of all the towns on Cyprus. It is also strange that complaints about an income withheld since 1291 should have only come to light in 1328, but this may be due to the loss of earlier correspondence regarding the matter [28].

From a letter of September 1334 which Pope John XXII wrote to the abbot and monks of Mt. Sinai it materialises that they had property within the actual town of Famagusta. This was the church of St.Symeon, which they had constructed canonically on the basis of a privilege conferred upon them by Honorius III, probably his bull of 1217 enumerating and confirming the monastery's properties. The monks in 1334 asked the pope to grant St.Symeon its own cemetery, but without prejudice to any parochial rights exercised by the Latin secular church of Famagusta or any other party. The bishop of Famagusta, who happened to be the Dominican brother Mark, was expressly forbidden to obstruct them regarding the grant of a cemetery or to implement any unjust new measures to the detriment of St.Symeon, its persons or properties. This provision must have been made out of an awareness of the strong resentment felt by Latin secular clergy towards the grant of cemeteries to regular clergy, Greek or Latin [29].

In conclusion one observes that the monks of Mt.Sinai appear to have been richly rewarded for having formally accepted the jurisdiction of the Roman church. The monastery's possessions outside the Sinai peninsula and in lands under Latin rule received papal confirmation and protection during the XIII[th] and XIV[th] centuries. On both Cyprus and Crete, under Latin rule since 1191 and 1206 respectively, the papacy, and particularly Honorius III and John XXII, upheld its properties, together with produce and revenues derived from them against the encroachment and depredations of Latin lords, Latin secular clergy and the crown of Cyprus. In return the Greek monastery of Mt.Sinai acknowledged a jurisdiction which must have been purely formal, since its desert location in Muslim-controlled territory guaranteed its geographical and political inaccessibility to effective papal supervision.

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28. *Acta. Ioh. XXII, op. cit.*, p. 195-196 ; *Acta. Hon. III, op. cit.*, p. 195-197 ; Chabot, « Mélanges », *op. cit.*, p. 495-498.

29. *Acta. Ioh. XXII, op. cit.*, p. 267-268.

L'APPORT DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE

Brigitte PORËE

LA CONTRIBUTION DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE À LA CONNAISSANCE DU MONDE DES CROISADES (XII[e]-XIII[e] siècle) : l'exemple du Royaume de Jérusalem *

« ... C'est...en archéologie, que de toute évidence les progrès durant ces vingt dernières années se montrent les plus spectaculaires. Je parle d'une archéologie de la vie quotidienne, où les découvertes sont parfois si bouleversantes qu'elles obligent à reconsidérer des hypothèses et des modèles construits à partir des seuls documents écrits » [1].

Introduction

Dresser un inventaire de l'apport de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde des Croisades depuis un siècle et plus de recherches en tous genres (études architecturales [2], relevés cartographiques, prospections et fouilles archéologiques, étude des objets de la culture matérielle) tout autour du bassin méditerranéen est une tâche difficile et enrichissante à la fois. Elle est difficile parce que les différentes recherches engagées autour des principaux

* Pour des raisons pratiques, seules seront données, dans les notes bibliographiques, les publications de prospections, fouilles ou d'études de matériel postérieures à 1985.

1. G. Duby, « Préface », dans M. Balard (éd.), *L'histoire médiévale en France, Bilan et Perspectives*, Paris, Editions du Seuil (Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur), 1991, p. 9.

2. S. Langé, *Archittetura delle Crociate in Palestina*, Como, 1965.

thèmes ont des buts, des méthodes et des moyens différents selon les pays ; mais elle est aussi enrichissante parce que les résultats sont de plus en plus abondants dans tous les pays orientaux étudiant l'occupation occidentale médiévale sur leur propre sol.

Ce sont les problématiques, les méthodes de travail, leurs évolutions respectives et les résultats de l'archéologie des Croisades qu'il nous a semblé intéressant de présenter et d'analyser pour la recherche archéologique médiévale en cours à l'intérieur des limites de l'ancien royaume de Jérusalem (Israël/Palestine).

Cette recherche a été bien entendue influencée par plusieurs facteurs scientifiques depuis sa naissance dans les années 1870-1880. Il faut tout d'abord savoir, que jusqu'à une vingtaine d'années, en Terre Sainte, si l'importance de l'archéologie et de la culture matérielle des Croisades a été mise en valeur, il s'agissait surtout de fournir des descriptions générales susceptible d'accompagner des études surtout historiques. Notre connaissance de la vie quotidienne et des objets à laquelle ils appartenaient pouvait apparaître, par comparaison, lacunaire et partielle et s'arrêtait bien souvent aux périodes précédentes, byzantine et omeyyade. Les études et recherches portant sur les périodes dites bibliques semblaient avoir, par exemple, concentré l'attention et l'intérêt des chercheurs et des archéologues. Il faut aussi savoir, que depuis le début du siècle, l'archéologie des Croisades était du ressort des étudiants des différentes institutions chrétiennes de Jérusalem comme l'Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française, ce qui a forcément influencé la recherche, et que, dans le même temps, le Département des Antiquités pendant le Mandat Britannique, avec des étudiants comme C.N. Johns ou R.W. Hamilton, fournissait des publications sur les Croisades plus ou moins scientifiques, soit comme une subdivision d'un programme archéologique beaucoup plus riche : études architecturales de la partie croisée de la mosquée al-Aqsa, de la partie croisée de l'Eglise de la Nativité de Bethlehem ou du Saint-Sépulcre à Jérusalem [3] ; soit comme partie intégrante d'études plus particulières sur certains sites typiquement croisés. Ces premières études n'étaient pas nombreuses mais intéressantes car réalisées sur des sites importants pour cette période médiévale. Il faut enfin savoir que les fouilles du Château Pélerin ('Athlit), et la mission archéologique du Metropolitan Museum de New York qui fouilla en partie le château de Montfort ne suscitèrent pas de grandes vocations pour cette période et ne furent pas connues du

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3. Cf. M. Baud, « Naissance de l'archéologie scientifique », *Autrement*, 55 (1991), p. 457-466, 3 ill. (Série Monde, Hors-Série, Cités Disparues).

grand public bien qu'elles aient été les premières fouilles scientifiques de sites des Croisades en Terre Sainte [4].

Objet et limites de l'étude

Actuellement la recherche archéologique sur les Croisades est en pleine croissance dans cette région du Proche-Orient [5] et, une dizaine d'années seulement après les articles récapitulatifs de Prawer [6], nous voudrions faire état des nouvelles connaissances acquises, des nouveaux et différents sujets et objets d'étude, et discuter des principaux résultats de l'archéologie militaire (structures de défense du territoire), de l'archéologie religieuse (unités funéraires, édifices religieux), de l'archéologie urbaine (urbanisme et habitat, matériaux et construction), ainsi que des connaissances provenant de l'étude des objets de la culture matérielle (céramique, verre, métaux entre autres). Cette présentation ordonnée archéologique des sites et des publications se fera en fonction des différents travaux archéologiques entrepris : documentations cartographiques et photographiques, prospections et fouilles de terrain. Nous voudrions enfin terminer ce bilan des travaux par un survol des orientations nouvelles d'étude et par les perspectives de recherche de cette archéologie des Croisades dans le royaume de Jérusalem.

L'archéologie militaire des Croisades : résultats et limites

L'étude des fortifications des Croisades au Levant peut se faire à travers la lecture de plusieurs ouvrages importants [7]. Les premiers datent des années

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4. B. Dean, « A Crusader Fortress in Palestine : a Report of Explorations made by the Museum in 1926 », *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 22-2 (1927), p. 34-36.

5. Nous passons d'une vingtaine de sites en 1970 (source : J. Prawer, M. Benvenisti, *Palestine under the Crusaders. Atlas of Israel*, Jérusalem, The Survey of Israel/ The Ministry of Labour, 1970, sheet IX/10) à une centaine de sites en 1995.

6. J. Prawer, « Archaeological Research in the Crusader Period », dans H. Shanks (éd.), *Land of Israel*, Washington, 1984, p. 115-129 ; Id., *The Archaeological Research of the Crusader Period*, in *Thirty Years of Archaeology in Israel, 1948-1978*, Jérusalem, 1981, p. 117-128.

7. E.G. Rey, *Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, Paris, 1871, (CD Inédits, 1ère série, Histoire politique) ; P. Deschamps, *Les châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, 1, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, 2, *La défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, 3, *La défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche*, Paris, 1934, 1939 et 1947, (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 19, 34, 90) ; T.E. Lawrence, *Crusader castles*, London, 1936 ; R.C. Smail, « Crusaders' Castles of the Twelfth Century », *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1950-1952), p. 133-149 ; R. Fedden, J. Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, 2nd ed., London, 1957 ; W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Cru-*

1870-75, preuve que l'art et l'architecture militaire ont depuis longtemps attiré les chercheurs d'études plus ou moins spécialisées.

Plus récemment, les bâtiments militaires des Croisés en Terre Sainte ont fait l'objet de quelques *prospections* qui peuvent apporter des connaissances soit générales sur l'architecture des constructions militaires de la période, soit très ponctuelles sur la région comprise entre Jérusalem et Jéricho et contrôlée par l'Ordre militaire des Templiers [8].

Les *fouilles* des forteresses sont beaucoup plus importantes si l'on considère le nombre d'études réalisées ou en voie d'achèvement. Elles ont contribué à l'examen de nombreux bâtiments militaires de plus ou moins grande taille, situés en milieux différents urbain, rural, côtier et ainsi de mieux définir leur carte de répartition et leur rôle dans la défense à la fois du territoire qu'ils gouvernaient et du royaume en général. L'étude de ces forteresses a permis également de mieux connaître les générations et les phases de construction des châteaux des Croisades si différents, par exemple, dans leur taille, leur organisation spatiale, leurs éléments architecturaux et leurs fonctions aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Les recherches archéologiques sur les forteresses ont été dominées dans les années 1925-30 puis dans les années 1940-50 par l'étude des châteaux respectivement de Montfort et d'Athlit, puis se sont étendues à une trentaine de sites situés aussi bien en Galilée centrale que sur les hauteurs du Golan ou encore dans les plaines côtières au nord de Jaffa ou aux abords du désert du Negev [9]. Ces fouilles de qualité inégale ont produit cependant des publications permettant une meilleure compréhension des relations entre les forteresses et l'arrière-pays, et le passage progressif de ces

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saders, tr. J. Maxwell Brownjohn, London, 1966 ; T.S.R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom*, London-New York, 1967 ; Id., « Military Architecture in the Crusader States », dans *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4, 1977, p. 140-164 ; cf. aussi l'analyse réalisée sur l'oeuvre de T.E. Lawrence par M. Larès, *Lawrence d'Arabie et les châteaux des Croisés*, 1980 (Publications de l'Association des médiévistes anglicistes de l'enseignement supérieur, 6) ; H.-P. Eydoux, *Les châteaux du Soleil : forteresses et guerres des Croisés*, Paris, 1982 ; R.D. Pringle, « Crusader Castles : The First Generation », *Fortress*, 1 (1989), p. 14-25 ; T.E. Lawrence, *I Castelli dei Crociati*, éd. R.D. Pringle, Venice, Arsenale Editrice, 1990 (La Via Lattea, 5) ; H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994 ; R.D. Pringle, « Towers in Crusader Palestine », *Château-Gaillard* (1994).

8. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusader Fortresses in the State of Israel. Their Description and History*, Jerusalem, 1955 ; R.D. Pringle, « Templar Castles on the Road to Jordan », dans M. Barber (éd.), *The Military Orders : Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, London, Variorum, 1994, p. 148-166, 14 figs.

9. Pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site d'Athlit, cf. C.N. Johns, « Atlit », dans E. Stern (éd.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 1, Jérusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1993, p. 112-117, ill. Le site regroupe à la fois une église, la ville, le port, la forteresse, des bâtiments domestiques, un cimetière, des maisons et des bains. Pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de Tel Keisan, cf. J.-B. Humbert, « Tell Keisan », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 862-867, ill.

sites de particuliers aux Ordres militaires tout au long des deux siècles d'occupation [10]. La construction de certains des châteaux des Croisés fut ingénieuse et les bâtisseurs tirèrent souvent profit du relief accidenté des régions traversées. Les fouilles permettent justement de bien montrer le bon agencement intérieur des différentes unités à l'intérieur des châteaux [11].

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10. B. Porëe, *Guerre, fortification et habitat rural dans le royaume croisé de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècles) : l'exemple du Territoire d'Acre*, dans *Actes du 119e Congrès du CTHS*, Amiens, octobre 1994, à paraître.

11. C'est le cas par exemple, du nord au sud du pays, pour Montfort, Safed, Achzib, Le Chastellet, Tel Sumeiriya, Acre, 'En Sheva, Hattin, Tibériade, Tel Keisan, Tel Hanaton, Belvoir, Afula, Jezréel, Beth-Shean, Dor, al-Burj al-Ahmar, Netanya, Tel Mikhmoret, Tel Qasile, Gezer, Latroun, Khan el-Ahmar, Belmont, Beth-Guvrin et Afeq. Pour la bibliographie, voir les publications suivantes : Montfort : R. Frankel, N. Gatzov, « The History and Plan of Montfort Castle », *Qadmoniot*, 19 (1986), p. 52-57 ; R.D. Pringle, « A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Galilee », *The Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), p. 52-81 ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente, cf. R. Frankel, « Montfort », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1070-1073, ill. ; Safed : R.D. Pringle, « Reconstructing the Castle of Safad », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117 (1985), p. 139-149 ; E. Damati, « Safed », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 4 (1985), p. 98 ; Id., « Safed Citadel », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-1989), p. 159-160 ; Id., « Safed Citadel », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 13 ; Achzib (Casel Imbert) : pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site d'Achzib, cf. M. W. Prausnitz, « Achzib », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 32-35, ill. ; Le Chastellet (Metzad Ateret) : Y. Roman, « Chastellet », *Eretz-Magazine*, 32 (1993), p. 40-41 ; Tel Sumeiriya (Solemaria) : O. Yogev, A. Rochman, « Tel Sumeiriya », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 4 (1985), p. 103-104 ; Acre : M. Dothan, « Akko. Interim Report, First Season, 1974/75 », *Bulletin of the American Schoolsof Oriental Research*, 224 (1976), p. 1-48 ; 'En Sheva : cf. A. Negev, « Heptapegon ('En Sheva' ; Et-Tabgha) », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 614-616, ill. ; Hattin : Z. Gal, « Saladin's Dome of Victory at the Horns of Hattin », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *The Horns of Hattin*, Jérusalem, Ben-Zvi Institute, 1992, p. 213-215, 2 figs. ; Tibériade : Z. Razi, E. Braun, « The Lost Crusader Castle of Tiberias », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 216-227 ; H. Dudman, *Tiberias*, Jérusalem, 1988 ; Tel Keisan : *op. cit.* note 9 ; Tel Hanaton : R. Gertwagen, « The Crusader Site of Hanaton. Report of the First Session », *Center of Maritime Studies, University of Haifa*, 15 (1988) ; Ead., « Tel Hannaton, 1987 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-1989), p. 71-72, 3 figs ; Ead., « Tel-Hanaton. Report of two seasons of excavations, 1987-1988 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-1989), p. 72 ; Ead., « Tel Hanaton. Beginning of a new touristic archaeological site », *Baekem, Emek Israel Municipality Bulletin*, Sept. 1993 ; Belvoir : D. Minnis, Y. Bader, « A comparative analysis of Belvoir (Kawkab al-Hawa) and Qal'at al-Rabad ('Ajlun Castle) », *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 32 (1988), p. 255-264 ; T. Biller, « Die Johanniterburg Belvoir am Jordan : zum frühen Burgenbau der Ritterorden im Heiligen Land », *Architectura : Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst/Journal of the History of Architecture*, 1989, p. 105-136 ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de Belvoir, cf. M. Ben-Dov, « Belvoir (Kokhav Ha-Yarden) », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 182-186, ill. ; Afula : B.Z. Kedar, R.D. Pringle, « La Fève : A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 35 (1985), p. 164-179 ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site d'Afula, cf. M. Dothan, « Afula », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 37-39, 2 ill. ; Jezréel : D. Ussishkin, J. Woodhead, « Excavations at Tel Jezréel 1990-1991 : preliminary report », *Tel-Aviv*, 19 (1992), p. 3-56 ; Id., « Excavations at Tel Jezreel 1992-1993 : second preliminary report », *Levant*, 26 (1994), p. 1-48 ; Beth-Shean : A.J. Boas, « Bet

L'archéologie militaire des Croisades est donc un sujet relativement bien développé et anciennement étudié de manière plus ou moins scientifique : les comparaisons des plans et des matériaux d'information sur les forteresses aboutissent à la compréhension de certaines similitudes architecturales. Parallèlement pourtant peu de synthèses ou d'inventaires sont réellement entre-

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Shean, Crusader Fortress, Area Z », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 110 ; R. Gertwagen, « The Fortress », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 11 (1992) [The Beth She'an Excavation Project (1989-1991)], p. 56-59, ill. ; Ead., « Archaeological Excavations of Medieval Beth-Shean. The Medieval Castle. Preliminary Report of 1980-1992 Seasons », *Hadashot Archaeologiot*, 98 (1992) ; J. Seligman, « Excavations in the Crusader Fortress at Beth-Shean », *Qadmoniot*, 27 / 3-4 (1994), p. 138-1417 figs. ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente des fouilles à Beth-Shean (tell et cimetière), cf. G. Foerster, Y. Tsafrir, « Beth Shean, City Center (North), Excavations of the Hebrew University Expedition, The Valley Street », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 11 (1992) [The Beth She'an Excavation Project (1989-1991)], p. 24, ill. ; cf. aussi A. Mazar, « Beth-Shean », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 214-223, ill. ; Dor : pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de Dor, cf. E. Stern, « Dor », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 357-368, ill. ; al-Burj al-Ahmar : R.D. Pringle *et al.*, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar), Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks AD 1099-1516*, London, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1986, (Monographs Series 1) ; Netanya : Y. Porath, « Netanya, Umm Khale », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 5 (1986), p. 85-86, 1 fig. ; Id., « Nethanya (Umm Khalid) », *Hadashot Arkhiologiot*, 88 (1986), p. 14-15 ; Id., « Umm Khalid, Netanya, 1985-1986 », *Israel Exploration Society*, 37 (1987), p. 57-59 ; R. Reich, « Archaeological sites in the area of Nathanya », dans A. Shmu'eli, M. Brawer (eds.), *Sepher Nethania*, Tel-Aviv/Nathanya, 19.., p. 101-114 ; Tel Mikhmoret : cf. Y. Porath *et al.*, « Tel Mikhmoret », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1043-1046, ill. ; Tel Qasile : A. Mazar, « The Excavations at Tell Qasile during 1983-1984 », *Israel. People and Land, Haaretz Museum Yearbook*, 2-3 (1985-1986), p. 9-20 ; Id., « Excavations at Tell Qasile, 1982-1984 : Preliminary Report », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 36 (1986), p. 1-15 ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de Tel Qasile, cf. A. Mazar, « Tell Qasile », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 1204-1212, ill. ; Gezer : cf. W.G. Dever, « Gezer », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 496-506, ill. ; Latroun : pour une étude récente du site de Latroun, cf. M. Ben-Dov, « Latrun », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 911-913, ill. ; le Khan el-Ahmar : R. Birger, I. Hirschfeld, « Khan el-Ahmar, 1987, (Monastery of Saint-Euthymius) », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-1989), p. 110 ; Belmont : R. Harper, « Belmont Castle (Suba), 1987 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-1989), p. 13-14, 1 fig. ; Id., « Belmont Castle (Suba), 1988 », *Hadashot Arkheologiot*, 94 (1989), p. 48-49, 1 fig. ; Id., « Belmont Castle (Suba), 1988 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 57-58 ; R.D. Pringle, R.P. Harper, « Belmont (Suba), 1986 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 5 (1986), p. 12-13, 1 fig. ; Id., « Scavi al Castello di Belmont (Suba), Israele, 1986 », *Notiziario di Archeologia Medievale*, 45 (1987), p. 6 ; Id., « Belmont (Suba) », *Revue Biblique*, 95 (1988), p. 277-279 ; Id., « Belmont Castle : a historical notice and preliminary report of excavations in 1986 », *Levant*, 20 (1988), p. 101-118 ; Id., « Belmont Castle, 1987 : Second Preliminary Report of Excavations », *Levant*, 21 (1989), p. 47-61 ; Beth-Guvrin : A. Kloner, « Crusader Bet Govrin. An Archaeological Survey », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *The Crusaders in their Kingdom, 1099-1291*, Jérusalem, 1987, p. 132-147 ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de Beth-Guvrin, cf. A. Kloner, « Beth Guvrin », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 195-201, ill. ; Afeq : pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site d'Afeq, cf. A. Eitan *et al.*, « Aphek (in Sharon) », dans E. Stern (éd.), vol. 1, Jérusalem, p. 62-72, ill.

pris à partir des données des fouilles réalisées. L'importance de l'archéologie pour ce champ d'étude a surtout permis aussi de révéler des sites qui n'étaient pas forcément connus des sources historiques ou bien de révéler telle partie ou tel élément d'architecture d'un site donné. Enfin l'archéologie militaire a permis de bien préciser le rôle qu'eurent les Croisades sur cette architecture particulière si différente et si influente sur les architectures militaires postérieures (forteresses Ayyoubides et Mameloukes).

L'archéologie religieuse des Croisades : résultats et limites

Les *prospections* archéologiques et les *inventaires* de sites religieux ont eux aussi commencé précocement. Les études ont été réalisées le plus souvent avec des méthodes de prospection classique sur les établissements religieux médiévaux de Palestine et ont permis de donner des renseignements par exemple sur le nombre de ces établissements (200 environ) [12], sur l'importance des fondations soit des églises rurales ou urbaines, soit des édifices beaucoup plus importants, sur les différences dans les types de bâtiments construits et pour les modes de construction de ces bâtiments, pour les comparaisons par rapport aux bâtiments des époques précédentes : différences de taille, fonctions de ces bâtiments (églises séculières, bâtiments monastiques réguliers, bâtiments des divers ordres militaires religieux), sur l'architecture et l'art religieux, la liturgie, la tradltion, l'épigraphie, la vie matérielle, politique, sociale, économique des populations et communautés chrétiennes et sur les échanges/mélanges dans ces différents domaines [13]. Le XIIe siècle apparaît ainsi comme le siècle des bâtisseurs d'églises et d'édifices religieux, tout imprégné du style romanesque des écoles de Provence, de Bourgogne, d'Aquitaine et de Toscane [14]. Ces bâtiments portent aussi directement la trace d'ouvrages orientaux (exemple : les marques de maçons grecs, arméniens, syriens que l'on y retrouve) [15].

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12. R.D. Pringle, « The planning of some pilgrimage churches in Crusader Palestine », *World Archaeology*, 18 (1987), p. 341-362 ; Id., « Churches in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1291) », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *Ancient Churches Revealed*, Jérusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1993, p. 28-39.

13. Y. Tsafrir, « The Development of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Palestine », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 1-16, 21 figs., 1 carte.

14. R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.*, dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 28-39 ; A. Ovadiah, « A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 136-139, 3 figs. Deux travaux universitaires en histoire de l'art, pour la période des Croisades, sont à signaler : l'un soutenu à l'Université de Paris I-Sorbonne par E. Grabiner sur la colonnette coudée ; l'autre est préparé au CESCM de Poitiers par L. Alon sur les façades d'église à Jérusalem.

15. Cf. G. Kühnel, « The Twelfth-Century Decoration of the Church of the Nativity : Eastern and Western Concord », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 197-203, 1 fig.

Des ouvrages très généraux ont été publiés sur l'architecture religieuse croisée pour l'ensemble du royaume [16]. L'introduction à l'archéologie religieuse des Croisades se fait d'abord avec l'appui d'ouvrages anciens comme l'étude réalisée par le comte de Vogüé sur les églises de Terre Sainte [17].

Un siècle plus tard, dans les années 1980-1985 commencait une prospection des églises construites en Terre Sainte, prospection faite à la manière des orientalistes d'un autre temps, mais qui s'enrichissait également des apports archéologiques à partir des fouilles réalisées sur ces sites. Cependant cette prospection a comporté beaucoup plus que le recensement des seuls bâtiments écclésiastiques [18]. La liste et la séquence de la recherche publiée ont donné naissance à un des inventaires/catalogues importants pour travailler sur l'archéologie religieuse des Croisades [19]. Les travaux plus détaillés s'attachant à des sites particuliers concernent une dizaine de lieux et s'attachent à décrire aussi bien des bâtiments d'églises-cathédrales (Hébron) que des couvents (par exemple le couvent des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint-Jean d'Acre) ou des églises (église d'Emmaüs à el-Qubeibeh, église Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem) ou des sites à caractère religieux (des sanctuaires comme le site du Golgotha au Saint-Sépulcre, le sanctuaire de l'Ascension sur le mont des Oliviers à Jérusalem) ou bien encore des abbayes (abbaye de Sainte-Marie dans la vallée de Jehoshaphat à Jérusalem, abbaye de Deir el-Asad en Galilée) [20]. En ce qui concerne la Ville Sainte, les prospections des églises

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16. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem : Architecture religieuse et civile*, Paris, Haute-Commission de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, 1925 et 1928, vols. 7-8.

17. C.J. Melchior de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1866 ; Id., *ibid.* [photo album], rééd. J. Prawer, S. Schein, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1973 ; J. Prawer, « Preface : Bibliographical Sketch of Comte Melchior de Vogüé », in the photographic reproduction of M. de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de Terre Sainte*, Jerusalem, 1973.

18. Comme aimait à le souligner J. Prawer en 1984, *op. cit.*, note 6.

19. R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.*, dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*. Un premier volume du Corpus des Eglises du Royaume Croisé de Jérusalem est paru classant 134 sites religieux de Palestine. Ce livre est le premier d'une série de trois volumes sur ces monuments religieux de rite occidental ou oriental, construits, reconstruits ou simplement en usage pendant la période des Croisades. Des revues de ce Corpus peuvent aussi être trouvées récemment : cf. R.D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem : A Corpus*, vol. 1, *A-K* [excluding Acre and Jerusalem], Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993 ; J. Johns, « Review of R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.*, 1993 », *Antiquity*, 67-256 (1993), p. 691-692. P. Edbury « Review of R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.* », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly Journal*, Jan.-June 1994, p. 85-86 ; un travail universitaire de prospection a également été réalisé sur l'architecture religieuse des Croisés au Levant et pour le Royaume de Jérusalem : cf. L. Shalal, *Crusader Church Architecture in the Levant : Entity and Transition*, M.Sc. Thesis, Haifa, University of Haifa, 1984.

20. Pour Hébron : L.H. Vincent *et al.*, *Hebron : le Haram el-Khalîl, sépulture des Patriarches*, Paris, 1923 ; D. Chen, « Measuring the Cave of Abraham in Hebron », *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*, 37 (1987), p. 291-294, 2 pls. ; pour Acre : F.M. Abel, « Le

permettent de mieux connaître la topographie religieuse de la ville et la place et l'importance de la réutilisation ou bien de la nouvelle construction de bâtiments religieux, une fois la conquête de la cité achevée. Certaines des églises de Jérusalem n'ont été retrouvées que très récemment [21].

Toutes ces études de *prospection* archéologique ont surtout montré que les bâtiments des Croisades bâtis, réutilisés ou reconstruits au XIIIe siècle sont peu importants par rapport aux bâtiments du siècle précédent. Elles ont aussi démontré l'influence de l'art religieux des Occidentaux en Terre Sainte et ont permis d'insister sur la variété considérable des types des bâtiments religieux selon les différentes situations topographiques, la nature et la fonction des sites, les structures précédentes, d'où une diversité des solutions apportées par les constructeurs. Ce mélange ne permet pas en fait de montrer un véritable modèle d'implantation religieuse à la différence de l'Occident [22]. Alors que les églises croisées d'Acre et de Jérusalem étaient le plus souvent restées des églises de référence pour l'étude archéologique et architecturale religieuse jusque très récemment, les nouvelles découvertes offrent d'autres exemples d'étude et des modèles. Ces nouveautés permettent aussi de réaliser des études de zones de peuplement et des études de leur signification sociale vis-à-vis des populations et communautés rurales religieuses par exemple.

Couvent des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint-Jean d'Acre », *Revue Biblique*, 43 (1934), p. 265-284 ; pour el-Qoubeibeh : B. Bagatti, *I Monumenti di Emmaus (el-Qubeibeh) e dei dintorni : risultato degli scavi e sopralluoghi negli anni 1873, 1887-90, 1900-02, 1940-44*, Jérusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1947, (Collectio, 4) ; pour Jérusalem : W. Harvey, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre : Structural Survey, Final Report*, London, 1935 ; N. van der Vliet, *« Sainte-Marie où elle est née » et la piscine probatique*, Paris, 1938 ; C.N. Johns, « The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem », *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 8 (1939), p. 117-136 ; L.H. Vincent, « L'Eléona, sanctuaire primitif de l'Ascension », *Revue Biblique*, 64 (1957), p. 48-71 ; B. Bagatti, E Testa, *Il Golgota e la croce : ricerche storico-archeologiche*, Jérusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1978, (Collectio Minor, 21) ; B. Kochnal, « On the dating of the Crusader Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *Chapters in the History of Medieval Jerusalem*, Jérusalem, 1979, p. 327-337 ; pour Bethlehem : L.H. Vincent, F.M. Abel, *Bethléem : le sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914 ; R.W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem : a Guide*, 2nd éd., Jérusalem, 1947, repr. 1968 ; pour Deir el-Asad : R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.*, note 19, p. 81-92, 14 ph., 5 dessins.

21. Cf. L.H. Vincent, F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle, Jérusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1 et 2, *Aelia Capitolina, le Saint-Sépulcre et le Mont des Oliviers*, 3, *La Sainte-Sion et les Sanctuaires de second ordre*, 4, *Sainte-Anne et les sanctuaires hors de la ville. Histoire monumentale de Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris, Gabalda, 1914, 1922 et 1926 ; J.-D. Purvis, *Jerusalem, The Holy City, a Bibliography*, Metuchen and London, The American Theological Library Association and the Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2 vol., 1988-1991 (Atla Bibliography Series, 20) ; D. Bahat, « Recently-Discovered Crusader Churches in Jerusalem », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 123-127, 6 figs.

22. R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.*, note 12.

L'introduction à l'*archéologie* religieuse se fait d'abord par les fouilles de sites de plus ou moins grande importance dans Jérusalem (église du Saint-Sépulcre, tombe de la Vierge dans la vallée de Josaphat, dite tombe de Mélissande, église de Saint-Julien, église Sainte-Marie-Madeleine, église Sainte-Marie-du-Mont Sion, église de Gethsémani) [23], fouilles dans la Ville Sainte dont une synthèse a été faite récemment [24]. La plus importante découverte fut celle, à l'intérieur des murs de la cité, du site de l'église de Sainte-Marie de l'Ordre Teutonique découverte dans le nouveau quartier juif de la Vieille Ville [25]. C'est une petite structure bâtie en style roman dont l'église et l'hospice voisin datent du milieu du XIIe siècle (avec peut-être des constructions prolongées au XIIIe siècle). Ces bâtiments furent donnés à l'ordre Teutonique au début du XIIIe siècle, probablement pendant le règne de Frédéric II après 1229. C'est le seul complexe étendu des ordres militaires croisés dans Jérusalem, qui témoigne de la grandeur de ces ordres, bien que différentes parties des bâtiments eussent été complétement ou partiellement détruits ou incorporés à d'autres constructions plus modernes. C'est, par exemple, ce qui advint aux quartiers que les Croisés possédaient sur l'esplanade de la mosquée Al-Aqsa, quartiers qui furent détruits au début du XXe siècle.

L'*archéologie* religieuse des Croisades est aussi importante pour le reste du royaume : une vingtaine de sites d'églises (par exemple : Sainte-Anne de Sepphoris, église des Croisés à Tibériade, église d'Horvat Erav en Galilée, église de Caymont, église d'Amwâs, église de l'Annonciation à Nazareth, église de Ramla, église de Capharnaüm, église de Beth Loya dans les colli-

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23. A.W. Clapham, « The Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem », *Antiquaries Journal*, 1 (1921), p. 3-18 ; G. Orfali, *Gethsémani, ou Notice sur l'église de l'Agonie ou de la Prière, d'après les fouilles récentes accomplies par la Custodie Franciscaine de Terre Sainte (1909 et 1920)*, Paris, 1924 ; E.T. Richmond, « Church of the Holy Sepulchre : Note on a recent discovery », *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 1 (1931-1932), p. 2 ; K.J. Conant, « The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem », *Speculum*, 31 (1956), p. 1-48 ; A. Ovadia, « A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem », *Eretz-Israel*, 11 (1973) [I. Dunayevsky Memorial Volume], p. 208-212, p.*29 ; C. Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy), 1972, trad. J.P., C. Ross, London, 1974 ; V.C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, Jérusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1981-1982, (Collectio Maior, 29) ; E. Eisenberg, « Jerusalem, Church of the Dormition », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 3 (1984), p. 47 ; D. Bahat, « The Church of Mary Magdalene and its Quarter », *Eretz-Israel*, 18 (1985), p. 5-8 ; D. Bahat, R. Reich, « Une église médiévale dans le quartier juif de Jérusalem », *Revue Biblique*, 93 (1986), p. 111-114 ; A. Ovadia, « A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 136-139.

24. D. Bahat, *op. cit.*, dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 123-127, pl. IV.

25. M. Ben-Dov, « The restoration of St. Mary's Church of the German Knights in Jerusalem », dans Y. Tsafrir (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 140-142.

nes de Judée, église de la Trinité à Mamre entre Jérusalem et Hébron, église du Khan el-Ahmar), de bâtiments ecclésiastiques (à Ain Karem et à Béthanie), de basiliques (Bethlehem), de cathédrales (Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Sébaste en Samarie, église-cathédrale de Saint-Jean-Baptiste à Gaza, église-cathédrale d'Hébron) [26].

L'*archéologie* religieuse des Croisades peut aussi se faire par la fouille des cimetières et des sépultures, et nous pouvons enfin mentionner, dans cet état de la recherche, les études réalisées sur les cimetières, les tombeaux et les sépultures des Croisés. Les plus remarquables furent retrouvés pendant les fouilles du complexe Hospitalier de Saint-Jean d'Acre [27]. L'une de ces sépultures est celle du maître de l'ordre des Hospitaliers et est datée de 1244. Une autre sépulture est datée de 1290 et est celle du dernier évêque de Nazareth qui résida à Acre, un an avant la perte définitive des possessions croisées devant les Musulmans. D'autres fouilles ont été conduites dans d'autres régions du royaume mais ont apporté peu d'informations pour l'archéo-

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26. Pour Sepphoris : E.M. Meyers *et al.*, « Sippori (Sepphoris), 1986 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 95-97 ; J. Folda, « The Church of St. Anne (Sepphoris) », *Biblical Archaeologist*, 54 (1991), p. 88-96 ; pour une bibliographie du site, cf. Z. Weiss, « Sepphoris », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 4 ; pour Ain Karem cf. : B. Bagatti, E. Alliata, « Nuovi elementi per la storia della chiesa di San Giovanni ad 'Ain Karem », *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*, 36 (1986), p. 277-296, 20 pl. ; pour Tibériade cf. : A. Harif, « A Crusader Church in Tiberias », *Palestine Exploration Quaterly*, 116 (1984), p. 103-109 ; Z. Ilan, « Horvat 'Erav », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 53-54, 1 fig. ; pour Caymont cf. : A. Zarzecki, M. Avissar, « Yoqne'am and its villages, 1984-1987, 1987 Season, Area E », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 106, 1 ph. ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de Caymont, cf. A. Ben-Tor, « Jokneam », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 805-811, ill. ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site de la Nativité à Bethlehem, cf. V. Tzaferis, « Bethlehem, The Crusader Period », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 208-209, ill. ; pour le site de Béthanie : G. Orfali, *op. cit.*, note 23 ; S. J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany, 1949-1953*, Jérusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1957, (Collectio, 12) ; pour une bibliographie du site d'Emmaüs (Amwâs) : M. Avi-Yonah, « Emmaus, The Church », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 385-387, ill. ; pour Samaria-Sébaste : N. Kenaan-Kedar, « The Cathedral of Sebaste : its western donors and models », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 99-120, 14 figs ; pour Nazareth : B. Bagatti, *Gli scavi di Nazaret, II : Dal secolo XII ad oggi*, Jérusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem, 1984, (Collectio Maior, 17) ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site, cf. B. Bagatti, V. Tzaferis, « Nazareth », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1103-1105, ill. ; pour Ramla : M. Rosen-Ayalon, « Ramla », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 1267-1271, ill. ; pour une bibliographie récente du site de Capharnaüm, cf. V. Tzaferis, « Capernaum », dans E. Stern (éd.), vol. 1, p. 291-296, ill. ; pour les fouilles de l'église de Beth Loya : J. Patrich, Y. Tsafrir, « Horvat Beth Loya », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 210-213, ill. ; pour Gaza : A. Ovadiah, « Gaza », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 464-467, ill. ; pour Hébron : A. Ofer, « Hebron », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 606-609, ill.

27. J. Prawer, « A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre and the Last Archbishops of Nazareth », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 (1974) [Memorial M. Avi-Yonah], p. 241-251.

logie cémétérale [28]. Ce type d'archéologie permet surtout de fournir du matériel anthropologique dont on extrait des données par l'étude de la pathologie des populations occidentales et orientales à partir des squelettes en sépultures primaires ou secondaires, notamment en ce qui concerne certaines maladies comme la lèpre [29].

L'archéologie urbaine des Croisades : résultats et limites

Les *prospections cartographiques* sont importantes pour les villes de Jérusalem et de Saint-Jean d'Acre [30]. Elles offrent une base unique de données utiles à la reconstitution des cités des Croisés. Un autre outil cartographique est une étude historico-archéologique réalisée à partir de la carte de Marino Sanudo au XIIIe siècle en Terre Sainte [31].

Des synthèses récentes des travaux sur la topographie et l'iconographie de Jérusalem au XIIe siècle font suite aux travaux pionniers du début du siècle [32] et démontrent que les diverses études de prospection et de cartogra-

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28. B. Bagatti, M. Picirillo, A. Prodromo, *New Discoveries at the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, Jérusalem, 1975 ; Z. Jacoby, « The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185-1186) and the Workshop of the Temple Area », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 189-205 ; Id., « The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem and the Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth century », *Gesta*, 18-2 (1979), p. 3-13 ; J. Prawer, « An anonymous Crusader tomb inscription », dans E. Schiller (éd.), *The Book of Zeev Vilany*, Jérusalem, 1984, p. 286-288 ; K. Raveh, « Dor, Burial Cave », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 118 ; L. Gershuny, « Lod », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 10 (1991), p. 20, ill.

29. P.D. Mitchell, « Leprosy and the case of King Balwin IV of Jerusalem : Mycobacterial Disease in the Crusader States of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries », *The International Journal of Leprosy*, 61 (1993), p. 283-291 ; *id.*, « Pathology of the Crusader Period : human skeletal remains from Tel Jezreel », *Levant*, 26 (1994), p. 67-71.

30. A. Kesten, *Acre, The Old City. Survey and Planning*, Acre, 1962 ; Id., *The Old City of Acre, Re-Examination Report 1993*, Acre, The Old Acre Development Company/The Survey of Israel, 1993 ; D. Bahat, *Carta's Historical Atlas of Jerusalem*, 3rd éd., Jérusalem, 1983 ; J. Prawer, « The Jerusalem the Crusaders captured : A Contribution to the Medieval Topography of the City », dans P.W. Edbury (éd.), *Crusade and Settlement : Papers read at the First Conference of the Society of the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Cardiff, 1985, p. 1-14, 3 figs ; D. Bahat, « Topography and Archaeology (of Jerusalem), Crusader Period, Ayyubid Period », dans J. Prawer, H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *The History of Jerusalem (1099-1250)*, Jérusalem, 1991, p. 68-120, 120-134 ; R.D. Pringle, « Crusader Jerusalem », *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, (1991), p. 105-113.

31. D. Bahat, « Sanuto's map and the walls of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century », *Eretz-Israel*, 19 (1987), p. 295-298, *82.

32. M. Lindner, « Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 81-98, 1 fig ; M. Levy, « Jerusalem in Medieval Cartography », dans J. Prawer (éd.), *History of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, Jérusalem, 1982.

phie ont bien mis en valeur l'existence d'un certain plan d'urbanisme des Croisés et ont ainsi permis de relier les sources historiques importantes pour la connaissance des cités médiévales et les trouvailles archéologiques. L'urbanisme des Croisades ne se contente pas seulement de reprendre à son compte l'étude de la cité médiévale et de son plan, existant précédemment à la conquête de 1099, mais également apportent de vrais éléments à la connaissance de la vie urbaine. Une étude générale sur les villes des Croisés avait été réalisée par J. Prawer en 1987 et avait repris en partie les diverses études antérieures particulières réalisées sur la topographie de la ville de Jérusalem [33]. Ces études particulières et générales insistaient bien sur le fait que les fortifications médiévales et que les aspects topographiques de la ville pouvaient être reconstruits en utilisant les sources contemporaines des Croisades (telles que la carte de Cambrai) ainsi que l'évidence archéologique. Deux études de prospection des murailles de la citadelle de Jérusalem éclairent le problème de leur construction et de leur usage pendant le XIIe siècle (défenses, murs extérieurs,...), et le problème de la liaison des murailles avec les différents sites de cette période situés à l'intérieur des murs de Jérusalem (églises, quartier de la Juiverie, citadelle, murailles,...). Ces études ont montré que la Citadelle n'était pas de fondation croisée mais bien antérieure à la période médiévale, et que les Croisés n'avaient pas réellement pris la peine de reconstruire les murailles de la ville après leur destruction par les troupes musulmanes pendant la conquête de 1099. Les troupes occidentales avaient partiellement fortifié ou re-fortifié certains des endroits sensibles des fortifications de la ville [34].

La prospection archéologique réalisée dans les années 1960-1962 à Saint-Jean d'Acre a contribué grandement aux études topographiques et archéologiques de la période croisée concernant cette ville et sa région. Le quartier de Montmusard a été particulièrement bien étudié. Cette prospection, menée par des architectes et des archéologues, a permis de révéler que, malgré un certain désordre urbain, la discipline de l'urbanisme règne effectivement avec un style et une hauteur uniformes des bâtiments, et que ces bâtiments publics étaient situés dans la ville de façon très raisonnée, de même que la

33. J. Prawer, « Crusader cities », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 11-29 ; Id., « A contribution to the medieval topography of Jerusalem. The Crusader Conquest of 1099 », *Eretz-Israel*, 17 (1984), p. 312-324 ; S. Schein, « The future Regnum Hierusalem. A chapter in medieval state planning », *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), p. 95-105. J. Prawer, « The Jerusalem the Crusaders captured : a contribution to the medieval topography of the city », dans P.W. Edbury (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 30, p. 1-16.

34. H. Geva, « Excavations in the Citadel of Jerusalem, 1979-1980 : preliminary report », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 33 (1983), p. 55-71, 5 pl. ; Cf. aussi A. Maier, « Jerusalem, Mamilla (2) », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 12 (1993), p. 61-63, ill. ; R. Ellenblum, A. Ramon, *The Walls of Jerusalem, A Guide to the Ramparts Walking Tour*, Jérusalem, Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1995.

largeur des rues médiévales. Cette étude est également un complément d'une étude semblable réalisée vingt années plus tôt [35].

D'autres études semblables ont été faites sur d'autres sites urbains du pays, par exemple sur les fortifications de la ville d'Ascalon pour les ouvrages militaires urbains réalisés par Richard 1er en 1192 après la destruction de la ville par Saladin. L'étude a montré une ville relativement peuplée et riche avant la conquête des Croisés en 1153, et l'archéologie a permis de mieux connaître la méthode de destruction des murailles de la ville employée par les armées des Croisés et des Musulmans aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, ainsi que les diverses caractéristiques de la reconstruction (maçonnerie employée, réutilisation de colonnes antiques...), et enfin de préciser la position de la citadelle du XIIIe siècle à l'intérieur des murailles de la cité croisée [36].

Les études sur les villes nouvelles (Neuville, Villeneuve) des Croisades ont révélé un mode de peuplement original avec ses codes, ses contraintes et ses différences régionales, s'alignant le plus souvent sur le mode occidental, et dont les exemples les mieux connus sont ceux des environs de Caiphas (Haïfa) [37] et de Jérusalem.

Il faut enfin signaler les prospections archéologiques et architecturales entreprises par des universitaires palestiniens pour les soûqs des principales villes palestiniennes afin d'établir un corpus des bâtiments historiques construits depuis les Croisades, dont certains n'ont été que très récemment reconvertis en bâtiments aux autres fonctions : nous pensons par exemple aux bâtiments croisés de la vieille ville de Naplouse reconvertis en mosquées elles-mêmes réutilisées en magasins, confiseries ou savonneries. Ce travail

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35. Cf. l'article de A. Rabinovich, « The Last Crusade, from beneath the gray visage of Acre, a lost world is being retrieved », *The Jerusalem Post Magazine*, June 30 1995, p. 9 ; cf. de même C. Ben-David, « Christendom's Capital », *The Jerusalem Report*, 30 Nov. 1995, p. 48. Un colloque a été organisé par B.Z. Kedar et l'Old Acre Development Company au printemps 1995 à Acre sur la période des Croisades dans la ville et dans la région ; cf. également pour les problèmes d'urbanisme et de circulation des biens et des personnes : B.Z. Kedar, E. Stern, « A Vaulted East-West Street in Acre's Genoese Quarter ? », *Atiqot*, 26 (1995), p. 105-111, 2 plans, 13 figs.

36. J. Prawer, « Ashkelon and the Ashkelon strip in the Crusader Period », *Eretz-Israel*, 4 (1967), p. 231-248 ; R.D. Pringle, « King Richard I and the walls of Ascalon », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 116 (1984), p. 133-147, 8 figs. ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site, cf. L.E. Stager, « Askhelon », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 103-112, ill.

37. R.D. Pringle, « Magna Mahumeria (al-Bira) : the archaeology of a Frankish new town in Palestine », dans P.W. Edbury (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 30, p. 147-168.

se fait pour les villes de Gaza, Hébron, Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Beit Jala, Naplouse, Jifna [38].

Si l'on se tourne maintenant vers les *fouilles archéologiques* des grands centres urbains, les fouilles de la ville de Saint-Jean d'Acre, notamment celles menées dans la crypte du vieil-Acre, ont mis au jour une grande partie de l'ensemble des bâtiments connus sous le nom de Hall croisé. C'est l'un des ensembles les plus impressionnants de la région avec la fouille du réfectoire des chevaliers de l'ordre de Saint-Jean. Ces fouilles continuent et ne cessent de révéler des structures toujours plus importantes et imposantes, comme des tunnels de secours reliant le port de la ville à la mer. Les études archéologiques d'Acre sont également toujours en cours, notamment en ce qui concerne les murailles de la ville, le port et le centre urbain médiéval [39].

En ce qui concerne les fouilles menées à Jérusalem, on peut mentionner les fouilles du mur ouest depuis la porte de Jaffa jusqu'au Mont Sion et le long du mur sud depuis ce même mont jusqu'à la porte des Lions. La partie du mur autour de la porte de Damas fit l'objet d'investigations : des restes de construction de la période ayyoubide, aussi bien que des inscriptions attestent que presque seule cette section des remparts fut reconstruite aussitôt après avoir été détruite au XIIIe siècle en pleine période croisée. Ceci confirme ce qui était déjà connu des sources narratives. Plus à l'est, les fouilles conduites entre la porte des Lions et l'esplanade du Dôme du Rocher, montrèrent que le mur reliant la mosquée d'al-Aqsa à la cité de Jérusalem était en fait d'origine récente et non associé à une structure ou un mur croisé, comme le pensaient beaucoup de chercheurs enclins à croire à des changements significatifs dans le plan de la ville aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. La synthèse des récentes découvertes de la période qui nous intéresse a été réalisée, parfois en relation avec l'iconographie connue sur Jérusalem au XIIe siècle [40].

Pour le reste du royaume, la fouille de villes fortifiées a attiré depuis longtemps la curiosité des chercheurs et fouilleurs. C'est le cas par exemple

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38. Cf. les activités des ateliers d'architecture du RIWAQ, Centre d'Architecture Civile et domestique, implanté à al-Birah/Ramallah en Palestine, route de Naplouse.

39. A. Druks, « Akko, Fortifications », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 3 (1984), p. 2-4 ; R. Frankel, « The north-west corner of Crusader Acre », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 37 (1987), p. 256-261, 2 pls. ; pour une bibliographie récente sur la ville, cf. M. Dothan, Z. Goldmann, « Acco, identification and history », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 16-17, 3 ill. ; cf. M. Dothan, « Tel Acco, Excavations Results, and Excavations in the Modern City », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 17-24, ill. ; cf. aussi Z. Goldmann, « The Refectory of the Order of Saint-John (The "Crypt of Saint-John") », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 25-27, ill. ; D. Jacoby, « Three notes on Crusader Acre », *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 109 (1993), p. 83-96.

40. Cf. note 32.

pour le cité de Banias dans le Golan, qui fut aux mains des Croisés pour une assez courte période au XIIe siècle. Depuis la fin du XIXe siècle, on pensait que Qal'at Nimrud, la forteresse de Nimrod ou de son premier nom Subeiba, était le Castellum Paneas ou la citadelle de la ville de Banias : elle est en effet citée comme telle dans les documents du Caire du XIIe siècle. Une prospection intensive puis une fouille du site ont permis de mieux déterminer le Banias médiéval situé plus au sud de Subeiba. Cette forteresse, refuge stratégique en temps de guerre, est toujours en cours d'investigation [41]. Dans la partie sud du royaume, les efforts archéologiques ont porté sur les cités maritimes fortifiées du pays, par exemple à Césarée, où les équipes sont de plus en plus nombreuses à travailler sur ce site, et dont les rapports de fouille ont permis de résoudre un problème majeur en recherche urbaine, à savoir qu'une des composantes de base des fortifications des villes par les Croisés se retrouve à Césarée : la continuité des constructions urbaines en Terre Sainte s'adaptant à un environnement bien particulier et à un peuplement continu de communautés anciennes bien assimilées et intégrées [42]. On peut mentionner aussi les fouilles d'Arsuf, port et cité fortifiés dont les fouilles apportent de nouvelles connaissances sur la population urbaine croisée, population essentiellement composée de chevaliers et de bourgeois, société bien distincte sans vraie relation avec les populations croisées locales des campagnes environnantes. D'autres sites urbains, en cours d'étude ou de

41. A. Graboïs, « La Cité de Baniyas et le château de Subeibeh pendant les Croisades », *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 13 (1970), p. 43-62 ; M. Hartal *et al.*, « Banias », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 4 (1985), p. 7-9 ; V. Tsaferis, « Banias, salvage excavations, 1985 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 4 (1985), p. 8-9 ; Id., « Banias, 1986 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 2-3 ; Z. Ma'oz, « Qal'at Nimrod (Subeiba) », *Ariel*, 50-51 (1987), p. 139-140 ; R. Ellenblum, « Who built Qal'at al-Subayba ? », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43 (1989), p. 103-112 ; A. Graboïs, « The city of Baniyas and the Castle of Subeibeh », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 148-167 ; G. Solar, « Nimrod Fortress », dans E. Stem (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1152-1154, ill. ; A. Graboïs, « Qalath Namrud and the Crusader Fortification System in the Golan Heights and the Hermon », *Tel-Aviv*, (1993), p. 393-402 ; pour une bibliographie du site, cf. Z. U. Ma'oz, « Banias », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 136-143, ill. ; cf. aussi V. Tzaferis, S. Israeli, « Banias, 1991 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 12 (1993), p. 1-3, ill.

42. A. Reifenberg, « Caesarea : a study in the decline of a town », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1 (1950-1951), p. 20-32, 9 pl. ; L.I.Levine, E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 1976, 1979. Final Report*, Jérusalem, 1986 (Qedem, 21) ; Y. Porath *et al.*, « Caesarea », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 132-134 ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site, cf. K.G. Holum *et al.*, « Caesarea », dans E. Stem (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 270-286, ill. ; cf. le rapport de fouilles présenté par le Museum of London Archaeology Service : B. Yule, P. Rowsome, *Caesarea Maritima, Area I14 Excavations, The 1993 Season, Interim report on the excavation of a sondage through sediments filling the Herodian Inner Harbour, and an overlying Arab and Crusader sequence*, Museum of London, CIHE, 1994 ; cf. récemment, *Caesarea, a Mercantile City by the Sea*, Haïfa, Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, 1995.

publication, ont juste permis de mettre au jour et de clarifier certaines stratigraphies des Croisades par rapport à la période mamelouke [43].

Archéologie et étude des objets de la culture matérielle des Croisades : résultats et limites

Le premier, par importance en nombre, des objets exhumés est *la céramique*. Il pourrait paraître superflu d'appréhender de nouveau la céramique des Croisades parce qu'elle a fait l'objet de certaines études générales ou particulières, liées à tel ou tel site, qu'elle occupe une place relative dans les musées, et qu'elle demeure pour l'archéologie des Croisades, un jalon chronologique fiable. Utilisée par les chercheurs et les archéologues médiévistes, il semble toutefois que ses ressources n'aient été que très inégalement exploitées. Nous voudrions rappeler ici son rôle de fossile chronologique mais également les autres directions de recherche appliquées à ce matériel. En ce qui concerne son rôle chronologique, nous nous limiterons à citer en note les principales recherches effectuées sur les lots céramiques des principaux sites croisés prospectés et fouillés jusqu'à maintenant [44]. Des ouvrages de synthèse combinant à la fois état des recherches et analyses de la chaîne opératoire des poteries des Croisés ont été publiés ou seront publiés prochainement afin de bien souligner cet aspect de la vie matérielle des Croisades et le rôle de ces témoins de la culture quotidienne [45]. Un travail universitaire fut, par

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43. Y. Porath, « Arsuf Castle », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-1989), p. 198 ; I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon. A Model of a Coastal City and its Hinterland*, Tel-Aviv, 1989 ; I. Roll, « Apollonia », *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1 (1992), p. 298-299 ; I. Roll and E. Ayalon, « Apollonia-Arsuf », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 72-75 ; pour Beth-Shean voir : G. Foerster, Y. Tsafrir, « The Beth Shean Project. The Earthquake and the Middle Ages », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 43 ; et J. Seligman, *op. cit.*, note 11.

44. R.D. Pringle, « Some more Proto-Maiolica from 'Athlit (Pilgrim's Castle) and a Discussion of its Distribution in the Levant », *Levant*, 14 (1982), p. 104-117, 3 pl. ; Id., « Thirteenth-Century Pottery from the Monastery of Sainte-Mary of Carmel », *Levant*, 16 (1984), p. 91-111, 9 figs. ; Id., « Medieval Pottery from Caesarea : the Crusader Period », *Levant*, 17 (1985), p. 171-202 ; R.D. Pringle *et al.*, *op. cit.*, note 11 ; A.J. Boas, « Islamic and Crusader Pottery from the Crusader City (Area TP/4) », dans R.L. Vann (éd.), *Caesarea Papers*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1992 (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, 5), p. 154-166 ; M. Avi-Yonah, « Abu Gosh, Later periods », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 5-7, 6 ill. ; A.D. Grey, « The pottery of the Later Periods from Tel Jezreel : an Interim Report », *Levant*, 26 (1994), p. 51-62.

45. R.D. Pringle, « The medieval pottery of Palestine and Transjordan (AD 636-1500) : an introduction, gazetteer and bibliography », *Medieval Ceramics*, 5 (1981), p. 45-60 ; Id., « Pottery as evidence for trade in the Crusader States », dans G. Airaldi, B.Z. Kedar (eds.), *I Comuni Italiani nel regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, Gênes, 1986, p. 449-475 ; Id., « Pottery as evidence for Trade in the Crusader States », dans B.Z. Kedar *et al.* (eds.), *Commerce in Palestine throughout the Ages*, Jérusalem, Ben-Zvi Institute, 1990, p. 239-259 ; B. Porëe,

exemple, engagé afin de corréler la distribution de l'habitat et les données de la culture matérielle, en l'occurence la poterie, à partir des prospections réalisées au nord de Jérusalem, en Samarie, pour la période médiévale [46]. Des études plus particulières visent à intégrer la céramique croisée produite, commercialisée et utilisée dans le royaume de Jérusalem, au sein de la production plus large de la poterie médiévale connue au Proche-Orient. Plusieurs publications permettent de souligner les nouvelles connaissances acquises sur les relations commerciales entre les différents Etats Croisés et entre les mondes occidental et proche-orientai [47]. On peut maintenant expliquer les différentes importations de céramiques occidentales dans le royaume de Jérusalem depuis Chypre par les résultats dues aux méthodes physico-chimiques employées (principalement l'analyse par neutro-activation). Ce type d'analyse sur les poteries des Croisades reste mal connu et cet article innovait en quelque sorte, car il ne faisait suite qu'à un seul article précédent écrit une trentaine d'années auparavant [48].

Un certain nombre de facteurs doit donc être pris en considération pour valider la valeur archéologique et historique des études et des trouvailles céramiques : fouilles non strictes du point de vue stratigraphique, choix dans les études et les présentations de poteries, intérêt des chercheurs influencé par des éléments extérieurs à l'archéologie (politique culturelle plus ou moins fluctuante privilégiant certaines périodes), documents relatifs aux fouilles disparus (par exemple pour le matériel de l'Isle du Pharaon). Il reste donc souvent difficile de déterminer le contexte exact dont les lots céramiques sont issus. La production locale est très peu étudiée : aucune recherche sur les matières premières, sur le façonnage ou sur les prospections d'ateliers, sur la composition de groupes d'artisans, n'a vraiment été développée et/ou entreprise. Plusieurs questions demeurent en suspens liées au commer-

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« Le Royaume de Jérusalem aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles : les céramiques croisées, témoins des échanges culturels et commerciaux », dans L. Pressouyre (éd.), *Pèlerinages et Croisades*, Paris, Ed. du CTHS, p. 333-351, 9 figs. ; cf. récemment, Y. Arnon, « The Commercial Activity of Caesarea during the early Islamic and Crusader Periods (640-1265) according to Ceramic Evidence », dans *Caesara...*, *op. cit.*, p. 26-29, 2 figs.

46. J. Cohen-Finkelstein, *Pottery Distribution, Settlement, Patterns and Demographic Oscillations in Southern Samaria in the Islamic Periods (From the Umayyad Period to the Early Ottoman Period)*, Jérusalem, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, M.A. Thesis, 1991.

47. B. Porëe, *Un aspect de la culture matérielle des Croisades : la céramique des XIe-XIIIe siècles dans le royaume croisé de Jérusalem*, Mémoire de DEA Archéologie Médiévale, Paris, Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1991 ; Ead., *La céramique médiévale du royaume croisé de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, à venir ; M. Avissar, A. Boas, E. Stern, *Corpus of Medieval Ceramics*, Jérusalem, Israel Antiquities Authority (internal use), 1995.

48. R.D. Frierman, « The Physical and Chemical Properties of Some Crusader Ceramics », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 17 (1967), p. 153-157, 2 tabl. ; A.J. Boas, « The Import of Western Ceramics to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 44 (1994), p. 102-122.

ce par exemple : nous pouvons nous interroger sur la nature des partenaires commerciaux [49] et sur la source des produits importés, sur les véritables destinations des poteries à l'intérieur du royaume de Jérusalem. Les sources historiques médiévales peuvent nous aider et compléter les études faites à partir de ces objets. Mais il nous semble aussi que les pots, les objets en eux-mêmes ont beaucoup à nous apprendre par une étude directe. La céramique reste en effet l'un des artefacts les plus nombreux trouvés en fouille, par rapport aux objets usuels en bois ou en tissu qui n'ont pas survécu à l'épreuve du temps et à l'enfouissement. Cette profusion est due au fait que l'argile n'est pas immédiatement destructible et que ces poteries étaient plutôt des instruments de base dans la vie quotidienne à chaque niveau de la société. R.D. Pringle a bien souligné tous ces problèmes sur les études de la poterie trouvée sur divers niveaux dans des sites religieux, défensifs, militaires, portuaires ou domestiques [50].

La culture matérielle, ce sont aussi les *éléments de construction*. L'intérêt de l'architecture, pour les types d'habitat et les matériaux de construction de cette période, est ancien. Mais de nouvelles étude privilégient certaines approches de la maçonnerie des Croisés en essayant de caractériser les différents aspects des bâtiments des Croisés et les connaissances que l'on possède maintenant sur le sujet [51]. Certaines analyses physico-chimiques ont donné des résultats sur les ciments employés pour la construction des murailles des Croisés [52].

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49. B. Lewis, *Comment l'Islam a découvert l'Europe*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988 (Collection Tel).

50. R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.*, note 45 ; cf. également J. Johns, « Rewiew of "R.D. Pringle *et al.*, 1986, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar) : settlement in the Plain Sharon at the Time of the Crusades and Mamluks (AD 1099-1516)*. London : BSAJ. (Monographs Series 1)" ». *Antiquity*, 62/234 (1988), p. 190-191.

51. C. Clermont-Ganneau, « Introductory Remarks on the Distinctive and Specific Character of Crusading Masonry. A. Mason's Marks », dans *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, London, 1896-1899, vol. 2, p. 1-38 ; R.D. Pringle, « Some approaches to the study of Crusader masonry marks in Palestine », *Levant*, 13 (1981), p. 173-199 ; R. Ellenblum, *Twelfth-Century Buildings in Palestine : A Study of the Crusader's Methods of Construction*, Jérusalem, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, M.A. Thesis, 1986 ; Id., « Construction Methods in Frankish Rural Settlements », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 168-189. Les carrières croisées sont rares mais le site de *Tarfile* près de Montfort, que nous avons relevé lors de nos prospections en Galilée, offre un merveilleux exemple des ressources offertes aux bâtisseurs médiévaux ; cf. la description de carrières médiévales utilisées pour les routes dans : A. Peled, Y. Friedman, « Did the Crusaders built Roads ? », *Qadmoniot*, 20/3-4[79-80] (1987), p. 119-123, 11 figs.

52. B.Z. Kedar, A. Kaufman, « Radiocarbon Measurements of Medieval Mortars : a Preliminary Report », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 35 (1975), p. 36-38 ; B.Z. Kedar, W.G. Mook, « Radiocarbon dating of mortar from the city-wall of Ascalon », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 28 (1978). et le nouveau *Atiqot*.

Dans le domaine de l'*alimentation*, il reste encore beaucoup à faire et les études sont très rares. Les quelques publications réalisées sur ce sujet proviennent de sites où des méthodes de fouille assez fines ont pu fournir des données détaillées qui, dans un proche avenir espérons-le, pourront être des données de comparaison [53].

Pour le *monnayage* des Croisés, le premier ouvrage important remonte à la fin du siècle dernier et les influences islamiques sur les monnaies ont souvent été étudiées d'après les trouvailles faites à Acre, à Jérusalem et sur les divers sites de Galilée. Les sceaux latins ont également attiré l'attention des chercheurs [54].

53. S. Dar, « Horvat Summaqa », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 98-99, 2 figs. ; L.K. Horwitz *et al.*, « Subsistence and environment on Mount Carmel in the Roman-Byzantine and Mediaeval Periods : the evidence from Kh. Sumaqa », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 40 (1990), p. 287-304 ; et J. Cartledge, « Faunal remains », dans R.D. Pringle *et al.*, *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 176-186 ; R.N.L.B. Hubbard, J. McKay, « Medieval Plants Remains », dans R.D. Pringle *et al.*, *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 187-191 ; pour le site de Césarée voir : V.D. Williamson, *Preliminary Sedimentological Assessment of Samples from the Inner Harbour at Caesarea Maritima and Recommendations for Future Work*, London, Institute of Archaeology, 1994 (Geo archaeological Service Faculty Technical Report, 94/05), et en particulier les paragraphes 7.4.3, 7.4.5 et 7.4.6 sur la faune et la flore.

54. P. Grierson, « A Rare Crusader Bezant with the Christus Vincit Legend », dans P. Grierson (éd.), *Later Medieval Numismatics (XIth-XVIth centuries), Selected Studies*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1979, p. 169-178, 1 pl. ; M.L. Bates, D.M. Metcalf, « Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions », dans H.W. Hazard, N.P. Zacour (eds.), *A History of the Crusades, The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, Madison, Wisconsin, vol. 6, 1990 ; le premier important ouvrage est celui de : G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1878, 19 pl., rééd. en 1954 par l'Akademische Druck, U. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du sujet, cf. : P.W. Edbury, D.M. Metcalf (eds.), *The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, Oxford, 1980 (British Archaeological Reports International Series, 77) ; cf. également M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, London, Royal Numismatic Society, 1983 (Special Publications, 15) ; et R. Pesant, « Comments on the Attribution of a Rare Coin of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem », *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 8 (1984-1985), p. 84, 1 pl.h.t. ; pour les trouvailles à Acre et sa région voir : L.Y. Rahmani and A. Spaer, « Stray Finds of Mediaeval Coins from Acre », *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 3 (1965-1966), p. 67-77, 3 pl.h.t. ; L.Y. Rahmani, « Two Hoards of 'Moneta Regis' Coins found in Northern Israel », *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 4 (1980), p. 72-76, 4 pl.h.t. ; Id., *addendum*, *ibid.*, 5 (1981), p. 89 ; M. Metcalf, « A Twelfth-Century Hoard from the Sea dated by coins of Raymond of Poitiers », *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 8 (1984-1985), p. 77-83, 2 pl.h.t. ; pour la région de Jérusalem voir : M.E. Stone, « A Rare Armenian Coin from Jerusalem », *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 4 (1980), p. 77-78, 1 pl.h.t. ; à signaler les très récentes études de matériel monétaire découvert à Jérusalem pendant les fouilles de 1968-1976 au pied du Haram al-Sharif : G. Glücksman, R. Kool, « Crusader Period Finds from the Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem », *Atiqot*, 26 (1995), p. 87-104, 10 figs., 1 catalogue, 2 plan, 1 table ; D. Jacoby, « Some Unpublished Seals from the Latin East », *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 5 (1981), p. 83-88, 2 pl.

Assez peu d'études ont été réalisées pour la *verrerie* des Croisés : quelques études générales sont parues sur l'industrie du verre en Syrie-Palestine à l'époque des Croisades, et des fabriques de verre ont également été fouillées en Galilée et à Acre. Du matériel a été retrouvé au château de Montfort et à Jérusalem [55].

Buts, résultats et limites des orientations nouvelles pour l'archéologie des Croisades

L'archéologie des Croisades évolue. Depuis quelques années, on s'intéresse de plus en plus à l'archéologie du monde rural. Cet intérêt se manifeste par le nombre relativement important de *prospections* menées depuis une trentaine d'années. M. Benvenisti commençait dans les années 1968-1970 ses recherches de prospection sur environ soixante sites croisés en Judée et en Samarie principalement, car ces sites, du fait de la situation politique, étaient moins connus que les sites d'autres régions comme la Galilée ou le littoral. Quelques-uns de ces sites étaient décrits dans les sources littéraires, mais ce travail préliminaire de terrain a produit une liste substantielle des vestiges médiévaux croisés. Cette liste, cependant, ne faisait pas état des descriptions d'ordre architectural, mais plus généralement des restes d'occupation médiévale comme les habitations, les fermes, les moulins,... Les résultats de ces prospections à caractère rural servirent à mettre à jour la carte de la Terre Sainte sous occupation croisée et permirent de fournir des informations plus complètes et plus denses pour la compréhension de l'implantation humaine médiévale [56]. Ce travail fut considérablement élargi par des

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55. A. Engle (éd.), *Some aspects of Trade with Syria in the Crusader Period, Readings in Glass History*, Jérusalem, Phoenix Publications 2, 1973, p. 36-47 ; E. Barker, E.H. Byrne, *ibid.* ; E.H. Byrne, « Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth-Century », dans A. Engle, *op. cit.*, p. 48-84 ; A. Engle, « Benjamin of Tudela and the Glassmakers. A New Perspective », *Readings in Glass History*, 4 (1974), p. 33-41 ; P. Joseph, *L'Orient chrétien et les reliquaires médiévaux en cristal de roche et en verre conservés en Belgique,* Liège, Musée du Verre ; A. Engle (éd.), *The Genoese Connection, Readings in Glass History*, Jérusalem, Phoenix Publications 12, 1981, p. 25-31 ; A. Engle, « Glass Finds at Acre throw new light on the "Syro-Frankish" group », *Readings in Glass History*, 13-14 (1982), p. 34-69 ; Id., « Glass and the Rule of The Templars », *ibid.*, p. 71-74 ; R. Hasson, « Islamic glass from Excavations in Jerusalem », *Journal of Glass Studies*, 25 (1983), p. 109-113 (particulièrement p. 111) ; G.D. Weinberg, « A glass factory of Crusader times in northern Israel (Preliminary report) », dans *Annales du 10e Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'histoire du verre*, Amsterdam, 1988, p. 305-317, 16 figs.

56. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jérusalem, 1970, New York, 1972 ; M. Benvenisti, « Bovaria-Babariyya : a Frankish residue on the map of Palestine », dans B.Z. Kedar *et al.* (eds.), *Outremer : Studies in the history of the crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jérusalem, Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982, p. 130-152. Pour la carte, cf. note 5.

travaux intensifs menés sur les villages et les bâtiments domestiques du nord de Jérusalem, dans la région de Ramallah, et en Galilée. D'autres travaux de prospection archéologique rurale furent entrepris autour de Caymont au sud-est de Haïfa. Enfin, certains travaux universitaires ont permis de mettre en valeur certains aspects de la vie rurale et domestique soit d'une façon générale pour l'ensemble du royaume, soit de façon plus singulière pour une région donnée, par exemple la Samarie méridionale, la Galilée, la plaine côtière ou encore les environs de Jérusalem afin d'en étudier cette fois un aspect particulier du peuplement rural élargi à toute la période médiévale, y compris la période croisée [57].

La prospection et l'archéologie des installations techniques constituent aussi une nouvelle orientation en archéologie médiévale. C'est ainsi que les citernes et les cuves destinées à recueillir l'eau des pluies et qui avaient été utilisées principalement pendant les Croisades firent l'objet d'une publication. Nous avons nous-mêmes entrepris, depuis 1993, une prospection de toutes les structures rurales et des installations techniques domestiques du territoire d'Acre, ainsi qu'une étude plus particulière sur les moulins et les fabriques à sucre des Croisades utilisées en Palestine. Ces structures techniques n'ont pas été suffisamment étudiées, alors qu'elles faisaient partie intégrante de la société et de l'économie de l'époque, et qu'elles constituaient tout un système cohérent de production (pressoirs, meules, moulins, fermes, citernes, réseaux hydrographiques,...) [58].

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57. Pour Aqua Bella : R.D. Pringle, « Cistercian Houses in the Kingdom of Jerusalem », dans M. Gervers (éd.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1992, p. 8-12 ; Id., « Aqua Bella : The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building », dans B. Z. Kedar, *op. cit.* note 11, p. 147-167 ; Id., « Crusader Settlement and the Landscape : Some reflections on methods in the light of recent archaeological work », dans B.Z. Kedar (éd.), *op. cit.*, note 11, p. 55-62 ; pour la région autour de Jérusalem : F.M. Abel, « Yazour et Beit Dedjan ou le Chastel des Plains et le Chastel de Maen », *Revue Biblique*, 36 (1927), p. 83-89 ; Id., « Notes sur les environs de Bir Zeit », *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 8 (1928), p. 49-55 ; Id., « Attarah et Nasbeh au Moyen Age », *ibid.*, 11 (1931), p. 141-143 ; Id., « Afrabala-Forbelet et l'Ophra de Gédéon », *ibid.*, 17 (1937), p. 31-44 ; Id., « Jaffa au Moyen Age », *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 20 (1946), p. 6-28 ; R.D. Pringle, P. Leach, « Two medieval villages north of Jerusalem : archaeological investigations in al-Jib and ar-Ram », *Levant*, 15 (1983), p. 141-177 ; pour les villages de Caymont : A. Ben-Tor, Y. Portugali, « Yoqne'am and its villages, 1984/1987 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 6 (1987-1988), p. 103-109, 12 figs., 1 ph. ; pour le site de La Meserephe, cf. : M. Tadmor, « Tel Rosh Ha-Niqra », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 1288-1289, ill. ; voir aussi la thèse de A. Boas sur les bâtiments domestiques et maisons médiévales principalement à Saint-Jean d'Acre et autour d'Acre soutenue fin 1995 à l'Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem.

58. C. Clermont-Ganneau, « Les berquilia des Croisés et la birké arabe », dans *Etudes d'archéologie orientale*, t. II, Paris, 1880-1897, p. 111-118 ; B. Porëe, « Les villages et unités rurales de Galilée à l'époque des Croisades », *Orient-Express*, déc. 1994 ; Ead., « Environnement et homme dans les sociétés médiévales : l'exemple des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe s.) », dans M. Colardelle (éd.), *Ve Congrès International*

La *fouille archéologique* de certains de ces sites domestiques et de certaines des installations techniques ont été menées sur une trentaine de sites, mais le nombre des publications apparaît par comparaison bien rare. Ces sites possédaient diverses fonctions aptes à exploiter la nature environnante. Les fouilles de village permettent le plus souvent de mettre au jour les ruines de villages prospères, parfois de souche beaucoup plus ancienne que les fondations croisées. Ces villages, dont les fouilles restent rares, constituent des modèles d'unité rurale pour cette période : le plus souvent, ces maisons sont alignées le long d'une rue et entourées par l'arrière de jardins. En ce qui concerne les installations techniques, les rares fouilles de quelques sites sucriers montrent une réutilisation de bâtiments plus anciens du site, assez importants en taille (synagogue ou églises,...). Ces bâtiments industriels croisés ont été réutilisés à la période mamelouke [59]. Certains bâtiments ruraux ont des fonctions dont l'usage reste inconnu (principalement domestique). Mais les sources littéraires ne mentionnent pas ces sites. La fouille et la prospection de certaines structures ont parfois permis d'en mieux définir la fonction : carrières, conduite et maîtrise de l'eau comme par exemple autour de Montfort (moulins, barrages, aqueducs...), étables et abattoirs, cuisines et réfectoires visibles sur les sites d'Acre et de Belvoir, bains, infirmeries rura-

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d'Archéologie Médiévale, Grenoble, 6-9 Octobre 1993, à paraître ; Ead., « Les moulins et fabriques à sucre de Palestine et de Chypre : histoire, géographie et technologie d'une production croisée et médiévale ». dans N. Coureas, J. Riley-Smith (éd.), *Cyprus and the Crusades*, Nicosie, Cyprus Research Centre, 1995, p. 377-510 ; Ead., « Guerre, fortification et habitat rural dans le Royaume Croisé de Jérusalem (XII[e]-XIII[e] siècles) : l'exemple du Territoire d'Acre », *119[e] Congrès du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, Amiens, octobre 1994, Publications du CTHS, à paraître.

59. R.D. Pringle, *op. cit.* note 57 ; M. Provera, « En Hemed ; Aqua Bella o Fonte Speciosa dei Crociati », *Terra Santa*, (1978), p. 27-31 ; V. Tsaferis *et al.*, « Kefar Nahum », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 1 (1982), p. 61-62 ; F.M. Abel, « Les Deux Mahomeries el Bireh et el Koubeibeh », *Revue Biblique*, 35 (1926), p. 272-283 ; L.H. Vincent, « Les monuments de Qoubeibeh », *Revue Biblique*, 40 (1941), p. 57-91 ; voir la communication de A.J. Boas pour ce colloque SSCLE, 1995, sur un village et un atelier de potiers du XII[e] siècle des périodes croisée et mamelouke à Ramot (Cisjordanie) ; Z. Zuck, « Ya'ar Qula, Winepresses », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 3 (1984), p. 107-108, 1 fig. ; I. Roll, E. Ayalon, « Two large wine presses in the red soils regions of Israel », *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 113 (1981), p. 111-125, 4 pl. ; A. Biran, « Yesud Hama'ala, Synagogue, 1983 Season », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 2 (1983), p. 111 ; Z. Ilan, E. Damati, « Khirbet Marus (Meroth) », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 4 (1985), p. 64-68, 1 fig. ; S. Dar, *op. cit.*, note 57 ; Y. Stephansky, « Archaeological Research in Tiberias in the Last Decade », *Mi-Tuv Tverya, Journal of the Center of research on Tiberias*, 3 (1986), p. 26 ; cf. aussi A. Onn, « Tiberias », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 10 (1991), p. 166-167 ; et : Y. Hirschfeld, G. Foerster, « Tiberias », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 1464-1473, ill. ; Z. Ilan, « Horvat 'Erav », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 422, 3 ill. ; D. Bahat, A. Maier, « City Hall Square », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 55-56.

les, entrepôts pour marchandises, manoirs ou maisons-fortes, pressoirs à vin et à huile surtout en Galilée occidentale, enfin citernes [60].

En ce qui concerne l'archéologie des *voies terrestres* empruntées par les Croisés à l'intérieur des limites du royaume, une cartographie et une étude de la Via Maris pendant toute la période médiévale a permis de montrer le rôle, la place et l'importance de cette voie dans le paysage, l'économie et les relations de l'époque [61]. Mais notre connaissance des voies médiévales est surtout faite de connaissances historiques (par exemple les récits de pèlerinages), et peu d'études topographiques et/ou archéologiques ont été réalisées jusqu'à nos jours sur ce sujet. Les structures en liaison avec le système routier sont encore plus mal connues et seule, à notre connaissance, une publication sur un pont de l'époque des Croisades a fait l'objet d'une étude autour du site de Banias [62].

L'*archéologie navale*, pourtant importante pour connaître et identifier les différents moyens de transport et les routes maritimes des Croisés, de leurs troupes et des pèlerins connaît encore moins de succès et n'est que très peu développée [63].

L'*archéologie sous-marine* pour la période connaît un réel engouement et permet de livrer des résultats qui remettent parfois en cause l'histoire de certains des sites maritimes et de retrouver de nombreux objets dont la valeur et l'importance ne cessent d'augmenter au fur et à mesure des découvertes côtières. Les fouilles de ce genre se déroulent bien entendu sur les plus grands sites comme les ports d'Acre, de Césarée, d'Athlit, d'Ashdod et de Dor. Mais

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60. R. Frankel, « Western Galilee, oil presses », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 4 (1985), p. 110-114, 5 figs. ; et surtout, Id., « Horvat Din'ila », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 5 (1986), p. 21-23, 4 figs. ; pour une étude de site sucrier cf. : A. Biran, « Yesud Ha-Ma'ala », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 1510-1511, ill. ; pour une liste des sites avec industrie à sucre, fouillés ou étudiés, cf. B. Porëe, *op. cit.*, note 58 ; M. Avi'am and E. Stern, « Tel 'Avdon », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1989-1990), p. 97.

61. B.J. Beitzel, « The Via Maris in literary and cartographic sources », *Biblical Archaeologist*, 53/2 (1991), p. 65-75.

62. A. Peled, Y. Friedman, *op. cit.* ; R. Ellenblum, « The Crusader Road from Lydda to Jerusalem », *Historical-Geographical Studies in the Settlement of Eretz-Israel*, 1988, p. 203-220.

63. J.H. Pryor, « The naval architecture of Crusader transport ships : a reconstruction of some archetypes for round-hulled sailing ships », *Mariner's Mirror*, 70 (1984), p. 171-219, 275-292 ; Id., « The naval architecture of Crusader transport-ships and horse transports revisited », *Mariner's Mirror*, 76 (1990), p. 255-273.

elles sont pratiquées aussi sur les sites de moindre taille et moins connus comme à Minet Rubin au sud de Jaffa[64].

Conclusion-Discussion

La recherche archéologique, sous toutes ses formes, est donc nécessaire et importante pour examiner la place et l'influence laissée dans le paysage par l'implantation croisée dont témoignent, en premier lieu, les nombreux sites dispersés dans le pays. D'importants bâtiments, des noyaux de cités ou de villages, maintenant intégrés et reconvertis dans le paysage rural ou urbain ou ecclésiastique datent des Croisades. La recherche archéologique permet aussi de combiner les études architecturales avec les études plus sociologiques en ce qui concerne la création et la fixation de populations orientales, jusqu'à nos jours, sur des sites croisés.

Les perspectives de recherche en archéologie sont les prospections et les fouilles engagées sur de nombreux sites et qui continueront pendant encore quelques saisons. Les prospections autour de Saint-Jean d'Acre sont en cours d'étude et/ou de publication. Les fouilles de sites ecclésiastiques et domestiques, ainsi que les fouilles en milieu urbain sont importantes pour approfondir notre connaissance de l'implantation humaine croisée en milieux différents, et le rôle de la ville sur le monde rural jusqu'à une date avancée du XIIIe siècle. Les prospections et fouilles archéologiques engagées dans les Territoires Autonomes Palestiniens sont prometteurs, notamment l'étude ar-

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64. Pour le site sous-marin d'Acre : R. Gertwagen, « A Rescue Underwater Excavation East of Akko Fishing Harbour », *Center of Maritime News*, 16 (1989) ; Ead., « A Rescue Excavation and Underwater Survey at the Southern Shore of Acre, with Pisan Harbour », *Center of Maritime News*, 16 (1989) ; Ead., « Underwater salvage excavation at the eastern flank of the harbour at Akko », *Center for Maritime Studies News*, 1989 ; Ead., « Land excavation and underwater survey at the southern shore of the Old City of Akko » ; A. Raban, « Maritime Acco », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 29-31, ill. ; pour 'Athlit : E. Galili, « Underwater Archaeology, Survey, 1986, 'Athlit », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 5 (1986), p. 109 ; Id., « Maritime 'Atlit », dans E. Stern, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 117-122, ill. ; pour Ashdod : A. Kloner, « History of Ashdod-Yam », *Israel Land and Nature*, 16 (1973-1974), p. 21-24 ; J. Kaplan, « Ashdod-Yam », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 102-103, 3 ill. ; pour Dor Maritime : K. Raveh *et al.*, « Maritime Dor », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 368-372, ill. ; pour le sud de Jaffa : J. Kaplan, « Yavneh-Yam », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.* vol. 4, p. 1504-1506, ill. ; pour une bibliographie exhaustive et récente du site sous-marin de Césarée, cf. A. Raban, « Maritime Caesarea », dans E. Stern (éd.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 286-291, ill. ; A. Raban *et al.*, « Caesarea and its harbor, 1987-1988 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988-89), p. 32-42, 10 figs. ; K. Holum *et al.*, *King Herod's Dream : Caesarea on the Sea*, New York-London, 1988 ; A. Raban, « The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima. Results of the Caesarea Ancient harbour Excavation Project, 1980-1985 », dans J.P. Oleson (éd.), *The Site and the Excavations*, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports International Series 491, vol. 1, 1989, (Center for Maritime Studies, University of Haifa, 3).

chitecturale et archéologique du bâtiment des Tawahin as-Sukkar (moulins à sucre) de la ville. La recherche universitaire est importante également en Israël et à l'étranger : la production locale des céramiques des XIIe-XIIIe siècles, l'industrie du sucre en Terre Sainte et dans les Etats croisés, le travail du métal pendant la période des Croisades, les bâtiments domestiques et l'architecture civile des croisés notamment à Acre sont autant de voies nouvelles d'études de l'importance de l'économie domestique du Royaume pendant ces deux siècles, souvent déniée par les historiens. Cette recherche est importante car elle permet souvent de montrer l'apport de l'archéologie à des types d'études dont on ne connaîtrait rien par la seule observation historique.

L'état des recherches en archéologie des Croisades qui précède, a donc pu permettre de mieux comprendre l'évolution des recherches sur les différents établissements croisés depuis la fin du siècle dernier jusqu'aux études très récentes. Ce état de la question doit aussi montrer les débuts prometteurs des recherches plus orientées vers les différents aspects de la culture matérielle des Croisades.

La carte de répartition des sites archéologiques montre, quant à elle, une distribution de la recherche autour de Jérusalem, le long de la côte, là où de nombreux sites urbains et portuaires furent détruits par les troupes musulmanes au XIVe siècle afin d'empêcher tout débarquement ultérieur de forces étrangères. Ces destructions aboutirent aussi à un isolement de la Terre Sainte dans les siècles suivants, à ce que l'on a appelé par la suite la politique de mise en place d'une province perdue de l'Empire ottoman- et en Galilée. Les études sont plus rares au sud de Jérusalem et en Cisjordanie. L'archéologie religieuse et urbaine reste vigoureuse mais l'engouement est encore fort pour l'archéologie des forteresses, symbole indétrônable, semble-t-il, des Croisades. Par contre, l'archéologie rurale, comme nous l'avons souligné plus haut, devient de plus en plus importante. En ce qui concerne les études de matériel, la priorité revient à l'étude céramologique, alors que se développe l'archéologie funéraire.

Annexe 1

Sites (par ordre de mention dans le texte), par type d'archéologie pratiquée (le nombre est celui porté sur la figure 1)

❑ **Archéologie Religieuse**	◆ **Militaire**	■ **Urbaine**	∇ **Rurale**	▼ **Sous-Marine**
Jérusalem (3)	Athlit (26)	Jérusalem (3)	Caymont (17)	Acre (2)
Bethlehem (6)	Montfort (1)	Acre (2)	Montfort (1)	Césarée (61)
Hébron (4)	Acre (2)	Haifa (31)	Acre (2)	Athlit (26)
Acre (2)	Tel Keisan (27)	Ascalon (7)	Belvoir (28)	Ashdod-Yam (83)
el-Qubeibeh (5)	Belvoir (28)	Naplouse (32)	Jéricho (36)	Dor (53)
Sepphoris (64)	Le Chastellet (29)	Gaza (73)	Aqua Bella (14)	Minet Rubin (85)
Tibériade (44)	Tel Hanaton (30)	Hébron (4)	al-Jib (15)	
Horvat Erav (66)	Tel Jezréel (40)	Bethlehem (6)	er-Ram (16)	
Caymont (17)	Belmont (88)	Beit Sahour (34)	Rosh Ha-Niqra (18)	
Amwâs (68)	Beth-Shean (41)	Beit Jala (33)	Yazour (19)	
Nazareth (11)	Safed (43)	Jifna (35)	Beit Dedjan (21)	
Ramla (70)	Tibériade (44)	Banias (60)	Bir Zeit (22)	
Capharnaum 71)	Nimrod (59)	Césarée (61)	Attarah (23)	
Beth Loya 72)	Tel Qasile (45)	Arsuf (62)	Nasbeh (24)	
Mamre (74)	Beth-Guvrin (46)	Appolonia (63)	el-Qubeibeh (5)	
Khan el-Ahmar (75)	Burj al-Ahmar (42)	al-Birah (8)	Kfar Nahum (77)	
Ain Karem (65)	Afula (47)	Jaffa (20)	al-Birah (8)	
Béthanie (69)	Achzib (48)		Ramot (37)	
Sébaste (10)	Solemana (12)		Ya'ar Qula (78)	
Gaza (73)	Netanya (49)		Yesud HaMa'ala (79)	
Beth-Guvrin (46)	Hattin (50)		Khirbat Marus (80)	
	Latroun (51)		Horvat Summaqa (81)	
	Aphek (52)		Horvat Din'ilia (38)	
	Gezer (54)		Tel Avdon (39)	
	En-Sheva (55)			
	Tel Mikhmoret (56)			
	Hunin (89)			
	Ile du Pharaon (58)			

Sites (par ordre de mention dans le texte), par type de matériel archéologique retrouvé et étudié

∇ **Archéologie Funéraire**	❑ **Matériel : Monnaies**	Δ **Verre**	❑ **Poterie**	▼ **Faune et flore**
Acre (2) Jérusalem (3) Tel Jezréel (40) Lod (82) Dor (53)	Acre (2) Jérusalem (3)	Acre (2) Montfort (1) Jérusalem (3)	Athlit (26) Abou Gosh (9) Béthanie (69) Haïfa (31) Burj al-Ahmar (42) Césarée (61) Tel Jezréel (40)	Horvat Summaqa (81 Burj al-Ahmar (42)

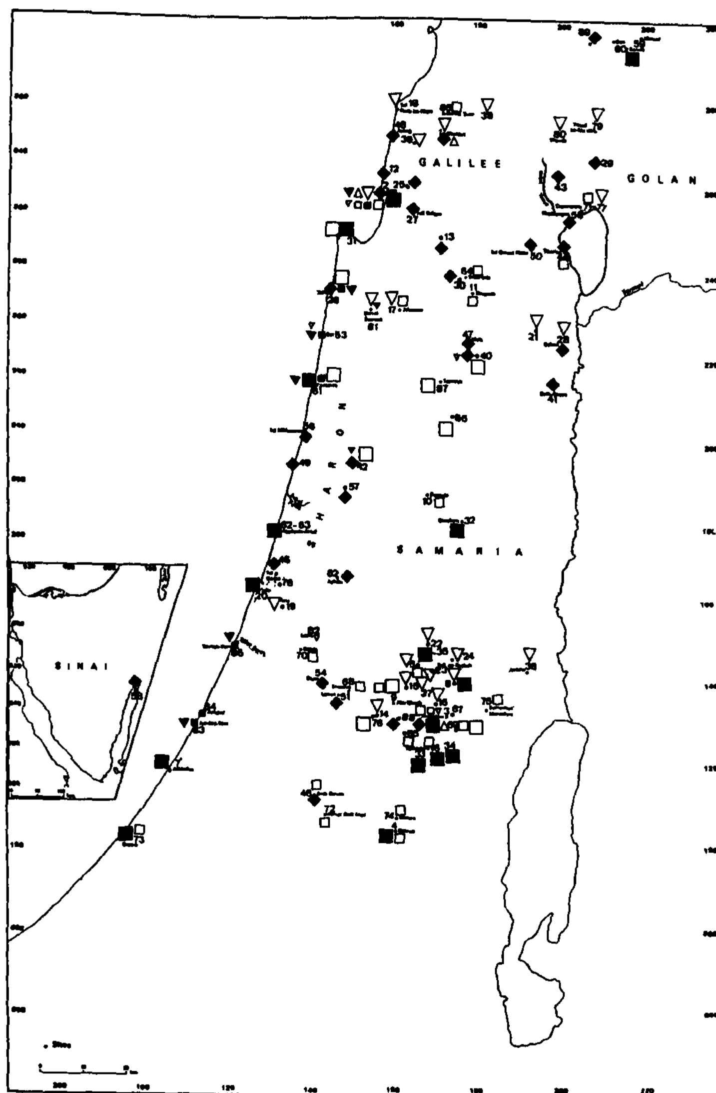


Figure 1 : Carte des types d'archéologie pratiqués et des matériaux archéologiques retrouvés pour les différents sites mentionnés dans le texte

Ronnie ELLENBLUM

THREE GENERATIONS OF FRANKISH CASTLE-BUILDING IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

Of all the physical remains which the Franks left behind in the Levant the « Crusader fortresses » have earned attention second only to Latin churches and cathedrals [1]. Military architecture became a symbol of the Frankish so-

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1. For some of the major works on the Crusader Castles of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem see : E. G. Rey, *Essai sur la domination française en Syrie durant le Moyen Age*, Paris, 1866 ; Id., *Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, Paris, 1871 ; Id., *Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient*, Paris, 1877 ; Id., *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siécles*, Paris, 1883 ; Id., « Notes relatives à la situation géographique de plusieurs châteaux élevés en Orient à l'époque des croisades », *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1893 ; H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883 ; C.R. Conder, « Mediaeval Topography of Palestine », in C.W. Wilson (ed.), *Survey of Western Paletine. Special Papers on Topography, Archaeology, Manners and Customs etc.*, London, 1881, p. 274-280 ; Ch. Clermont- Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873-1874*, Paris, 1899 ; T.R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom*, Oxford, 1967 ; P. Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte*, I, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*; II, *La défense du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1934-1939 ; Id., « Deux positions stratégiques des croisés à l'est du Jourdain: Ahamant et el Habis », *Revue Historique*, 1933, p. 42-57 ; C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile*, Paris, 1925-1928 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 7-8) ; C.N. Johns, *Palestine of the Crusaders : A Map of the Country on Scale 1:350,000 with Historical Introduction & Gazetteer, Survey of Palestine*, Jaffa, 1937 ; R. Fedden, *Crusader Castles. A Brief Study in the Military Architecture of the Crusades*, London, 1950 ; R.C. Smail, « Crusaders' Castles in the Twelfth Century », *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1951), p. 133-49 ; Id., *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193). A Contribution to Medieval Military History*, Cambridge, 1956 ; R. Fedden, J. Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, London, 1957 ; W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, London, 1966 ; W. Hubatsch, *Monfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen, 1966 ; T.S.R. Boase, « Military Architecture in the Crusader

ciety which was percieved as a militant and fighting one, which, because of the shortage of manpower and the permanent threat to its physical existence, was compelled to shut itself up behind the walls of the fortified cities and mighty fortresses.

These two emblematic concepts of « the Crusader city » and « the Crusader fortress » became symbolic of the nature of the Frankish settlement although neither ever earned an exact definition. There is no doubt, on an intuitive level, that places like Acre and Jerusalem were fortified cities in the XIIth century, even though almost nothing is known about their urban structure. There is no doubt also that sites like Crac des Chevaliers, Margat or Belvoir were castles. However, can we define the other « cities » and « castles » of the Latin Kingdom as such ? Can we define the economic and geographical functions of the « city » and distinguish it from the functions of a big « village » or a « castle » ? And what about the smaller sites which were labelled castles ? Is it enough to prove that a tower or a curtain wall existed in a certain place in order to assume that this site was indeed a castle ?

Despite the absence of any comprehensive definition of Crusader fortresses, there is a consensus among scholars concerning the inventory of fortresses in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This concensus, although vague and ambiguous, is depicted in maps nos. 1 and 2 and in table 1. Map n° 1 and table 1, describe the sites which were identified by various scholars as Frankish fortresses. The map is a compilation of several lists of castles and maps which were prepared by scholars such as Rey, Lawrence, Deschamps, Conder, Prawer & Benvenisti, Müller-Wienner, Boase, Smail, Eydoux, Pringle and Kennedy. There are sites which appear in all the lists and there are sites which appear only in the detailed lists and historical-geographical maps. Map n° 2 shows only the sites which were described as fortified cities or castles by all or most of the scholars and sites which were described as castles by contemporary Muslim and Latin authors. Muslim Chroniclers mention more than 60 castles among which are sites like

States », in H.W. Hazard (ed.), *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1977 (A History of the Crusades, 4), p. 140-164 ; H.P. Eydoux, *Les châteaux du Soleil: fortresses et guerres des croisés*, Paris, 1982 ; D. Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar) : Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks*, London, 1986 ; T.E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, ed. D. Pringle, Oxford, 1988 ; H.E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montreal [Sobak]*, Wiesbaden, 1990 ; D. Pringle, « Crusader Castles : The First Generation », *Fortress*, 1 (1989), p. 14-25 ; D. Pringle, « Survey of Castles in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1989 : Preliminary Report », *Levant*, 23 (1991), p. 87-91 ; R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1992 ; C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*, Cambridge, 1992 ; D. Pringle, « Towers in Crusader Palestine », *Château Gaillard*, 16 (1994), p. 335-350 ; H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994.

Sebaste, Sinjil, Dayr al Asad, Lajjun and Manueth[2] which do not appear as castles in any Frankish source. Latin written sources mention 78 castella, castra, praesidia and civitates some of which are not more than bigger villages, or fortified agricultural settlements like castellum Rogerii Longobardi, Castrum Feniculli, Castellum Emaüs and big monasteries such as Bethaniya and Mount Tabor. The total number of sites which are included in map n° 2 and in table n° 2 is 73 sites.

What can be gathered from a comparative study of these lists ?

a) According to map n° 1 [and the comprehensive table n° 1], the number of the sites which were identified as Frankish fortresses is 162. It can be established that most of the sites which were dated to the Frankish period until a decade ago were identified by one scholar or another as fortresses or towers. Most of the scholars ascribe only marginal importance to the possibility of the existence of Frankish manor houses or villages containing fortified components.

b) Most of the Frankish so-called cities appear also as castles in the lists and maps describing Frankish fortresses. In other words : The common interpretation of Frankish cities is another expression of the reduction of the whole settlement distribution to a chain of fortresses. The Frankish settlement is described as composed mainly of fortresses differing only in size, defensibility and ownership.

c) A comparison of the spatial distribution of the fortresses with a map of the Muslim incursions shows that the fortresses were not located along the borders of the Kingdom and that they did not face the regions exposed to Muslim attacks. If, in fact, the Franks erected their fortresses for strategic or tactical reasons then we could expect such connections. The following maps will show that if there was any connection between the spatial distribution of the fortresses and the external danger, then at least in the XII[th] century that connection was an inverse one. In other words, the number of so-called fortresses constructed in the comparatively safe areas was much greater than the number of fortresses constructed in areas exposed to continuous danger. More than half of the castles and fortified towers of the realm were built in lordships of Arsur, Caesarea and the royal domains of Acre and Jerusalem — regions which enjoyed comparative peace and quiet, at least from the 1120's until Salah al-Din's offensive in the 1170's. [To name only a few : The Red Tower, Caymont, Castellum Regis, Belmont and many more]. In the moun-

2. See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-fath al-qussi fi'l-fath al Qudsi*, ed. Landberg, Leiden, 1888, 111, 35 ; Abu-Shama, *Kitab al-Raudatayn fi Akhbar al-Daulatayn*, vol. 1.1-2, ed. M.H.M. Ahmad, M.M. Ziyada, Cairo, 1956, 1962, 87, I. 3-5.

tains of Nablus, a region which was attacked several times (in 1113, 1137 and apparently also in 1152) [3], there were practically no Frankish fortresses, save for a small castle in the city of Nablus itself.

The common theory, according to which there was a connection between the construction of castles and external danger, is generally based on the example of Ascalon, a region which was exposed more than the others to Muslim military incursions, and on quotations from William of Tyre who pointed out on many occasions, and very explicitly, that the fortresses erected in this area were intended to prevent incursions by the Ascalonites [4]. However, an examination of the history of military confrontations between the Latin Kingdom and its external enemies reveals difficulties even with respect to this commonly cited example.

The state of security of the Latin Kingdom can be divided, in accordance with the frequency and multiplicity of the hostilities which occurred in the territory of the Kingdom between the Franks and their external adversaries, into three main stages. In the first stage, between 1099 and the mid-twenties of the XII[th] century, the military confrontations were almost incessant. In the second period, which started apparently in the mid 1120's and continued until the end of the 1160's, there are only few mentions of major confrontations which deserved a general call to arms of the Frankish army.

Even at the earlier stage, in the first two decades of the twelfth century, the Franks were victorious in an appreciable number of battles, and even then they had succeeded, time and again, in damaging the rural infrastructure of Ascalon, and they even engaged in attacks on Damascus, the Gilead and Egypt. These attacks caused the governor of Ascalon to sign, already in 1111, a peace treaty with the Franks, despite the overt objections of the ru-

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3. For the raid of 1113 see : Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Ta'rikh Dimashq*, ed. A.F. Amedroz, Leiden, 1908, p. 186 ; Usama Ibn Munkidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munkidh*, trans. P.K. Hitti, New-York, 1930, p. 138-140 ; Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 565-572 ; William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63-63a), 11, 19, p. 523-5 ; Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana, RHC, Hist. occ.*, IV, XII, p. 9-10, 694-695. For the raid of 1137, see B.Z. Kedar, « The Frankish Period », in A.D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans*, Tübingen, 1989, p. 91-92. For the unsuccessful raid of 1152 see : William of Tyre, 17, 20, p. 787-789. Cf. R. Grousset, « Sur un passage obscur de Guillaume de Tyr », *Les Mélanges syriens, offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, p. 637-9.

4. William of Tyre, 14, 22, p. 659-660 ; 15, 21, p. 306-7 ; 15, 25, p. 707-708 ; 14, 8, p. 640.

lers in Egypt[5]. It would appear that Ascalon's last serious attack against Frankish territory occurred in 1124, and even then, according to William of Tyre, the Ascalonites dared to attack Jerusalem only because they discovered that the entire Frankish army was occupied with the siege of Tyre[6].

During the second period, the hostilities between Ascalon and the Kingdom of Jerusalem were of limited scope and hardly digressed beyond the vicinity of Ascalon. Both sides suffered losses of life and property, and the Ascalonites even dared to attack, as Usama Ibn Munkidh' tells us, the neighborhood of Bethgibelin. But it would appear that in the second period it was the people of Ascalon who were exposed to danger rather than their opponents..Even William of Tyre, who stressed again and again the danger from Ascalon, noted that already in 1137 only new recruits dared to attack the Franks, while the veteran soldiers who had already tasted the effects of combat with the Franks desisted from doing so[7]. During this period there was only one major Muslim attack on the heart of the Kingdom, in 1137, on the region of Nablus. The other attacks were very limited in space and in time. Nevertheless, many of the Frankish fortresses were erected in the very period which was more secure than the previous one..It is important to point out that even in the region of Ascalon, no fortresses were constructed during the first decades of the Frankish state. The first fortress — that of Bethgibelin — was built only in 1136-7. The written sources show explicitly that although the danger from Ascalon did not pass completely, it decreased to the extent that Frankish agricultural settlement near the newly built fortresses became possible in the late 1130's and the beginning of the 1140's[8].

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5. Already in 1102, Albert of Aix, in describing the Crusader attack on the agricultural surroundings of Ascalon, wrote that « they destroyed vineyards and crops and all the produce of that year », Albert of Aix, IX, 15, p. 599. He tells us also that in 1106 Baldwin's men « destroyed vineyards, fig trees and every other kind of tree », *Id.*, IX, 51, p. 624. For the peace agreement which the Governor of Ascalon sought to sign with the Crusaders in 1111, see Ibn al-Qalanisi, in E.A.R. Gibb (ed.), *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London, 1982, p. 108-9 ; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh*, ed. RHC, p. 277 ; Albert of Aachen, XI, 35-37, p. 680-681 ; cf. J. Prawer, « Ascalon and the Ascalon Strip in Crusader Politics », *Eretz-Israel*, 4 (1956), p. 231-240 [in Hebrew]. On the other hand, for the attack by Ascalon and the Fatimid army on the Christians near Ramla in 1107, in which 400 people were killed, see Albert of Aix, X, 8, p. 636-8 ; for the unsuccessful attack by Ascalon against the Mount Hebron area in 1109, which reached the gates of Jerusalem, see Albert of Aix, X, 33-35, p. 646-7 ; for another attack against the Franks on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road in 1109, which apparently originated from Ascalon, see Fulcher of Chartres, II, 37, p. 514-518.

6. For the last serious attack by Ascalon, carried out in 1124, which reached Bira, see Fulcher of Chartres, p. 731-2 ; William of Tyre relates that the people who remained in the city and its environs were fully capable of repulsing the attack, William of Tyre, 13, 8, p. 595.

7. William of Tyre, 14, 22, p. 659-660.

8. In their guerrilla attacks the Ascalonites took advantage of exceptional periods of weakness suffered by the Frankish army as, for example, in the attack on Teko'a in 1139,

Map n° 3 shows the castles and cities which were captured, built or first mentioned during the years 1099-1124. Map n° 4 shows the Muslim incursions into the heart of the Latin Kingdom in the same period.

Map n° 5 shows the castles and cities which were captured, built, underwent a major reconstruction or were first mentioned between 1125 and 1167. Map n° 6 shows the Muslim incursions into the Kingdom during the same period of time. It is evident that although the second period is twice as long, the number of Muslim incursions was 4 times smaller. It is also evident that the castles of the second generation were not built on the borders of the country but in the centres of agricultural production, regardless of any external border and danger. It would appear that, as in contemporary Europe, the improvement in the security situation preceded the construction of castles of the second generation and that these castles were used, as elsewhere in Europe, as settlement kernels, and their establishment testified to Frankish military supremacy and not to its weakness[9].

Many such castles should be considered simply as « Central Places » in the traditional geographic meaning of the word. A central place is a multifunctional entity which supplies services to its neighborhood. The bigger the neighborhood, the more complicated, specialized and expensive are the services the central place can supply. One of the most important services in the

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when the Frankish army was engaged in besieging the Cave Fortress in the Gilead. The attack ended with the approach of the Frankish army, William of Tyre, 15, 6, p. 682-3. For a similiar event see William of Tyre, 11, 20, p. 525. In 1141, William of Tyre still ascribed the construction of Ibelin to the need for defence against Ascalon, William of Tyre, 15, 24, p. 706-7. But even in his opinion the danger from Ascalon subsided during the course of the thirties and it was this lesser danger which led to the construction of an additional fortress of Blanche Garde in 1142, William of Tyre, 15, 25, p. 707-708. One can learn about the decreased danger in the forties from the fact that the Franks were able, in 1150, to construct a fortress and city in Gaza, between Ascalon and Egypt, without any real opposition, William of Tyre, 17, 12, p. 775-7. That the construction of fortifications did not completely eliminate the danger of guerrilla attacks can be learnt from the descriptions of Usama Ibn al Munkidh. He describes two attacks at the beginning of the 1150s: one against Betgibelin and one against Ibelin and its environs. In the first incursion the Ascalonites set fire to the granaries of Betgibelin and immediately retired, after the Franks stormed out of their fortifications « next to one another ». The attack against Ibelin ended with the death of 100 men of Ascalon and the capture of a similar number of prisoners, Usama, Trans. Hitti, p. 41-42.

9. « Avec une surprenante cohérence, les sources ecclésiastiques, chroniqueurs italiens et chartes languedociennes, évoquent la crainte des incursions sarrazines. On a déjà fait justice de cette interprétation : P. Toubert pour le Latium, J. P. Poly pour le littoral de la France méditerranéenne et E. Magnou-Nortier pour la Septimanie, ont montré là le topos, que dément un examen des faits. Ce ne sont pas des dangers extérieurs qui ont conduit à la prolifération des châteaux : l'incastellamento biterrois commence d'ailleurs au moment où disparait la Garde-Freinet », M. Bourin-Derruau, *Villages médiévaux en Bas Languedoc. Gènes d'une sociabilité : X^e-XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1987, I, p. 87.

middle ages was certainly the feeling of security. Some of these sites were built from the beginning as settlement kernels for future settlement.

The central places differ in levels. Each central place gave ecclesiastical, administrative and commercial services to smaller villages, hamlets and farm houses. The major central places are those which are usually labeled cities, namely Acre, Baniyas, Tiberias, Caesarea, Arsur, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Nablus, Karak and Tyre. The second level is the level of Frankish so-called castles such as Castellum Regis, Mirabel, Ibelin, Belmont and others. The lower level included about 540 smaller villages, farm houses and hamlets. If we accept this approach then the defensibilty of a certain site is not the only or the main criterion for the definition of a site as a central place. The difference between one such center and another emanates more from the radius of services, the geographical role and the geo-political and economic situation, than from its defensibility. That might be the reason why villages which were hardly fortified, such as Sebaste, Sinjil and so on, were labeled castles by the Muslim chroniclers and that is why the difference between cities and castles is not well defined.

Between the Muslim incursions of the first two decades of the XIIth century, and the second phase of Muslim incursions, which started at the end of the 1160's, there was a lapse of time of almost fifty years. In this span of time, during which the security and political structure of the Latin Kingdom was moulded, the country enjoyed comparative peace and quiet and this period of time was exactly the time when many of the so called castles were constructed.

The picture changed dramatically at the end of the 1160's. Then, with the offensives of Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din, started the « unremitting pressure » on some of the Frankish settlements [10]. We can see that the number of

10. Until the middle of the seventies Salah al-Din's and Nur al-Din's attacks were aimed at the periphery of the Kingdom. For the attack on Gaza and the south, see : Abu Shama, ed. RHC, *Le Livre des deux jardins*, trans. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1872-1906 (RHC, Hist. occ., 4-5), p. 489 ; William of Tyre, 20, 19, p. 936-9 ; for the conquest of 'Aqaba al-Maqrizi, M.M. Ziyada, A.'A. 'Ashur (eds.), *Kitab al-suluk li-ma'rifat duwal al-muluk*, Cairo, 1934-1973, 1, p. 185 ; Abu-Shama, ed. Ahmad, Ziyada, p. 489 ; al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-a'sha fi sina'at al-insha*, Cairo, 1332-1346 A. H, 7, p. 27 ; for the attack on Monreal in 1172, see William of Tyre, 20, 27, p. 950-951. For another attack on the southern part of the Kingdom in 1173, see William of Tyre, 20, 28, p. 951-2. The attacks on the heart of the Kingdom began before the battle of Gezer in 1177, and in the first of them Lydda and Ramle were destroyed and villages « of our people » were also harmed (William of Tyre, 21, 20 (21), p. 998-9, and 21, 23(24), p. 993. At the beginning of the eighties the intensive attacks against the Galilee commenced. In the middle of the eighties Salah al-Din's attacks reached central Samaria, see : M.C. Lyons, D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin:the Politics of the Holy War*. Cambridge, 1982, p. 201-241.

castles which were built, reconstructed or first mentioned in the second and safer period was much bigger than the number of castles which were built during the third period ; but we can also see that the spatial distribution was changed and that the castles of the third generation were built mostly on the borders of the Kingdom to the East, North-east and Southwest.

This third generation, which began at the end of the 1160's, and ended on the eve of the battle of Hattin, was never studied in detail. In the middle of the 1160's, after Amalric I concluded his last successful attack against Egypt, the attacks of Nur ad-Din began to bear fruit. In October 1164 he conquered Baniyas and in the summer of 1167 he destroyed the castle of Hunin and also captured the cave castles in the Gilead [11].

The Latin sources describe a series of building operations that began immediately after the failure of the military campaign in Egypt in 1168, and hence after the fall of Banias and Hunin. According to Jacques of Vitry, the fortresses of Safad, Belvoir, Montreal and Karak *were constructed* and massively fortified after the failure of the Egyptian campaign. He says that « after our men failed to conquer the Egyptian cities of Alexandria, Cairo, Damietta and other cities on the Mediterranean coast, they turned to the end of their own country in order to protect its borders and for that purpose constructed *castra munitissima et inexpugnabilia inter ipsos et hostes extruxerunt....* » [12].

Jacques of Vitry was apparently mistaken about the dating of the construction of the castles. Karak was built and fortified as the central Frankish stronghold in Transjordan already in 1142 [13], and Safad is mentioned already at the beginning of the century [14] and again by William of Tyre in

11. See : Beha al-Din, ed. *RHC, .Hist. or.*, III, 43 ; Abu Shama, ed. *RHC, Hist. or.*, IV, 111 ; Ibn al-Athir, RHC.Or., II a, 551 ; *Histoire d'Alep de Kamèladdin*, ed. E. Blochet, ROL, III, 543.

12. *Cum igitur civitates memoratas (Alexandria, Cayrum, Damiata) pluresque alias, maxime mediterraneas nostri subiugare non possent, in extremitatibus terrae suae ut fines suos defenderent, castra munitissima et inexpugnabilia inter ipsos et hostes extruxerunt ; scilicet Montem Regalem, et Petram deserti, cuius nomen modernum est Crac, ultra Iordanem ; Sapheth et Belvoir, cum multis aliis munitionibus, citra Iordane. Est autem Sapheth castrum munitissimum inter Accon et mare Galilae, non longe a montibus Gelboe situm, Belvoir vero, non longe a monte Thabor iuxta civitatem quondam egregiam et populosam Iezrael, inter Citopolim et Tyberiadem, situm est in loco sublimi*, Jacques of Vitry, *Historia Orientalis seu Hierosolymitana*, in J. Bongars (ed.), *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, Hanau, 1611, Cap. 48, p. 1074.

13. See William of Tyre, 15, 21, p. 703-4.

14. It would appear that Safad at the beginning of the XII[th] century was no more than a « tower » erected already in the early Muslim period. Ibn Shaddad writes : « It [Safad] was at the beginning a hill (tel) and on the hill was a flourishing village beneath Burj al-Yatim. It

1157 [15]. Montreal was also erected in the second decade of the XII[th] century [16]. The fact that some of the fortresses existed earlier then 1168 was undoubtedly known also to Jacques of Vitry since in other place in his book he expressly notes that Montreal was already in existence in 1118 [17]. And yet he writes that all these places were built in 1168, after Amalric's campaign in Egypt. How is it possible to explain this discrepancy ? Is it simply a mistake ? Fortunately enough, Jacques of Vitry is not the only source for this process of fortification. Teoderich, who was the first to mention the castle of Belvoir and La Féve as existing entities, describes Belvoir and Safad during his visit in 1172. Theoderich mentions Belvoir and Safad together although

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was in the hands of the Muslims until the Franks captured it after they occupied Syria, in the year 495\1101-2. The Templars built it ». He adds that « nothing is mentioned about it in the early Islamic history books », Ibn Shaddad al-Halabi, *Al-A'laq al-khatira : ta'rikh lubnan, al-urdunn wa-filastin*, ed. S. al-Dahhan, Damascus, 1963, p. 146 ; cf. Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk of Ibn al-Furat*, trans. U., M.C. Lyons; intr., notes J.S.C. Riley-Smith, Cambridge, 1971, I, p. 112 ; II, p. 88. VanBerchem was aware of the fact that the fortress could not have been in the hands of the Templars at the beginning of the XII[th] century. Ibn Shadad, he said, who wrote his book at the end of the eighties of the XIII[th] century and was still under the influence of the slaughter of the Templars, thought that the place had been erected by them already at the beginning of the XII[th] century. See : M. Van-Berchem, « Notes sur les Croisades », *Journal asiatique*, 1902, p. 413-415. The place is mensioned also in, Röhricht, Regesta, n° 39, 1103 as Turon Saphet and not as a fortress : *castrum cui Saphet nomen, quod in eodem monte situm*. See also William of Tyre, 18, 14, p. 830.

15. In the course of the XII[th] century a burgus was apparently established beneath the « tower », as William of Tyre calls the place « Castrum Saphet » or « Sephet » in 1157. William of Tyre, 18, 14, p. 830. In 1168 Amalric I bought the castrum of Safad from Fulco, the constable of Tiberias, and transferred it to the Templars, Röhricht, Regesta, n° 447, 1168 and during the same year the fortress of Safad, regarded as « the limit of the country », was reinforced, and was transferred to the Templars. The reinforcement resulted from the shaky security situation of the Kingdom, after the failure of the crusade to Egypt and the capture of Baniyas and Château Neuf by Nur al-Din. Jacques de Vitry tells of the refortification, Jacques de Vitry, ed. Bongars, 1074 (chapter 48). Cf. also Yakut, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1966-73, III, 399 ; al-'Umari, *Masalik al-absar*, ed. Sayyid, Cairo, 1985, p. 134 and al-'Uthmani, ed. B. Lewis, *BSOAS*, 15 [1954], p. 480 ; M-L. Favreau-Lilie, « Landesausbau und Burg während der Kreuzfahrerzeit : Safad in Obergalilaea », *ZDPV*, 96 (1980), p. 67-87.

16. See : H. E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montreal (Sobak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrjundert*, Wiesbaden, 1990 (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins, 14), p. 38-49.

17. Jacques of Vitry, cap. XXVIII, p. 1068 : *Cum autem rex* [Balduinus] *fines regni sui ex parte Occidentali praedicto modo dilatasset cupiens ad Orinentem trans Jordanem regnum Christianorum ampliare, in terra Arabia, quia Syria Sobol nuncupatur, in colle sublimi castrum fundavit munitissimum, cui nomen imposuit Mons Regalis eo quod Rege fundatum.* Marino Sanuto, who apparently copied from Jacques of Vitry, ascribes the construction of the fortresses to King Fulque of Anjou. Marino Sanuto, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, ed. J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Lib. III, pars VI, cap. XVIII, p. 166.

the two are not at all close to each other and he notes specifically that Belvoir was built for the purpose of defending the Kingdom against the assaults of Nur al-Din and that Safad was built against the incursions of the Turks [18].

Another independent source which bolsters Jacques of Vitry's claim, can be found in the fact that the King acquired Safad in 1168 and gave it to the Templars, while the Hospitallers acquired the region of Belvoir in 1168 and built the fortress there within no more than four years [19]. Jacques of Vitry combined together the construction of Belvoir and the substantive strengthening of Safad and claimed that both castles, together with the fortresses at Karak and Montreal were built anew. It is possible to assume that all of these castles underwent a thorough phase of refortification.

It would appear that other fortresses can be included in this phase of fortification or refortification. Several castles were mentioned for the first time at the beginning of the 1170's. Such were the castles of La Féve, the Templar castles of the Jordan river and Maldoim [Cisterna Rubea cum ecclesia] which were mentioned by Theoderich for the first time during these years [20]. A southern fortress on the way to Egypt, that of Dayr al-Balah, Daron, was also constructed anew at the end of the 1160's. During the first stage a small fortress was built, a stone's throw from one wall to the other. But later, apparently at the beginning of the 1170's, a proper fortress was constructed. During Richard the Lionhearted's crusade, at the beginning of the 90's, reference is made already to a fortress surrounded by 17 towers [21].

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18. *In cuius vicino* [Bethsan] *monte precelso hospitarii fortissimum et amplissimum castrum constituerunt, ut adversus Noradini Halapiensis tyranni insidias terram citra Jordanem sitam possint tueri. Est et ibi iuxta ad occidentem quoddam castrum Templariorum vocabulo Sapham, adversus Turcorum incursiones valde munitum*, *Peregrinatores Tres, Saewulf, Iohannes Wirziburgensis, Theodericus*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnholt, 1994 [Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 139], p. 189.

19. E. Strehlke (ed.), *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici*, Berlin, 1869, n° 4, April, 1168, p. 5. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, Paris, 1894-1906, n° 398, I, p. 271-2. In 1168 Amalric I bought the castrum of Safad from Fulco, the constable of Tiberias, and transferred it to the Templars, Röhricht, Regesta, n° 447, 1168. The fortress of Safad, regarded as « the limit of the country », was reinforced, and was transferred to the Templars. Cf. also Yakut, III, 399 ; al-'Umari, *Masalik al-absar*, ed. Sayyid, Cairo, 1985, p. 134 and al-'Uthmani, ed. B. Lewis, *BSOAS*, 15 [1954], p. 480, M-L. Favreau-Lilie, 1980.

20. Theoderich, [ed. Huygens, *Peregrinatores Tres*], p. 189 [lines, 1415-1419] ; p. 177 [lines, 1075-6] ; p. 175 [lines, 1001-1004 and 1019-1023].

21. Compare William of Tyre, 20, 19, p. 936-7 with *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, in Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aeui Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Rolls Series), XXXVIII.I., p. 280 and 318-319.

This phase of security oriented castles can also provide the explanation for the special military attention which these fortresses received from the beginning of the 1170's onward. In 1170 Nur ad-Din besieged Karak for four days and Salah al-Din besieged Darum and recaptured Gaza from the Latins [22]. In September 1171 Salah al-Din besieged Montreal and was even about to conquer it. At the beginning of the summer of 1173 Salah al-Din attacked Karak again. During the same period he also captured the fortress of Jazirat Far'un and probably also that of 'Aqaba and constructed a new fortres Qal'at al Jindi in Northern Sinai.

Ten years after the reconstruction of the fortresses of Belvoir, Safad, Karak and Montreal the Franks refortified Hunin [23], while at the same time they built the fortress of Chastelez at Jacob's fords. The construction of this fortress can serve as an example of the effort which the Franks put into fortifying the borders. There was a general mobilisation of the army of the Kingdom for the purpose of constructing the fortress. The King himself transferred his residence for several months to the construction site and finally the Franks apparently rejected an unprecedented offer from Salah al-Din to buy the skeleton of the building for an enormous price [24].

Connecting them together, as fortresses on the borders of the Kingdom, together with the reference by Teoderich to Nur al-Din, testifies to the fact that at the end of the 1160's, or more accurately in 1168, a new phase of castle building began in the Latin Kingdom, and military attention was directed from then on to fortresses on the borders of the Kingdom.

As mentioned before, both Theoderich and Jacques of Vitry say explicitly that the castles which were built after 1168 were built for the defence of the borders against its external enemies and the claim is strengthened by the map which shows the spatial distribution of the castles which were built, first mentioned or reconstructed between 1168 and 1178.

A similiar claim was put forward also by William of Tyre, concerning the castles around Ascalon. William of Tyre attributed the weakening of Ascalon to the construction of the fortresses. It seems that this phase is significantly different from that described by William of Tyre in the case of the fortresses around Ascalon. First, it is described in various sources that were

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22. William of Tyre, 20, 19, p. 936-7.

23. The reconstruction of Château Neuf commenced, most probably, in 1178 since in April 1179, after an unseccessful attack on Baniyas Humphrey of Toron was already brought *Ad Castellum Noum quod ipse adhuc construebat. . .* », William of Tyre, 21, 26 (27), p. 998-999.

24. William of Tyre, 21, 25 (26), p. 997-998 ; 21, 29 (30), p. 1003-1004.

contemporaneous with the period of construction and is not based on one source only. Secondly, there was a real threat here, as indicated by the fate of the important city of Baniyas ; and, thirdly, at least one fortress, Belvoir, and apparently also Safad, were not turned into proper agricultural settlements.

It should be remembered that William of Tyre wrote his books in the 1170's when the Kingdom was in real danger, and when huge castles were built to prevent Muslim attacks on the Kingdom. It would not be too risky to separate the facts produced by William of Tyre from his historical interpretations and to claim that William of Tyre attributed strategy and ideas which were current in his time to explain the erection of castles which were built 35 years earlier. His interpretation seems to be more appropriate in the 1170's and with respect to fortresses intended to protect the Kingdom against Nur al-Din, rather than to the chain of fortresses erected ostensibly in order to protect the state against Ascalon, at a time when it did not constitute a real threat to the borders of the state. This conclusion is consistent with that of Smail, according to whom « The castles of southern Palestine were not,...established for general purposes of frontier defence. During the period of their construction the political state of Egypt was such that there was no danger of the Fatimids renewing their earlier invasions »[25].

The fortresses in the south-west are not comparable to the new, huge castles of the east and north east, and they could hardly serve as real outposts for garrisons. The fortresses of the third generation were large and better fortified than was usual at the earlier stage. I have here, as a comparison, the plans of the fortress at Mi'ilya, which was mentioned for the first time in 1160, less than 10 years before the construction of Belvoir and Safad, and of the fortress at Mirabel, as well as a schematic plan of Bethgibelin. We can compare these castles with the plans of the castles of Karak, Belvoir and Chastellez which are depicted on the same scale. It is evident that the castles of Castellum Regis and Bethgibelin are four times smaller in size and much simpler than the castles of the later period.

The huge investment in the refortification of these fortresses of the third generation, paid for itself, at least partially, after the battle of Hattin. Belvoir, Safad, Hunin, Karak and Montreal survived for a long time after the battle and they were not swept away immediately by Salah al-Din, as were all the rest of the fortifications of the country. Some of them remained as isolated islands for almost one and half years. An exception was the castle of Chastellez, which never had the chance to prove the effectiveness of its fortifications, because, as can be seen from the excavations which Mr. Adrian Boaz

25. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, p. 211-213.

is conducting there together with me, the castle was destroyed before its construction was completed.

To sum up : I have tried in this paper, which constitutes only a small part of a much larger study of Frankish settlement and of the place of fortresses in Frankish historical-geography, to present a different approach to the periodisation and function of these fortresses. According to this approach the history of XII[th] century fortresses can be divided into three stages. During the first stage the Franks constructed their fortresses for the main part in central places which existed already before their conquest of Palestine, and did so because of the lack of security and because of their own obvious demographic inferiority.

During the second stage the Franks enjoyed superiority over their enemies from the south and the north, the imigration of new Latin settlers changed the demographic map and the new fortresses reflected both the improved state of security and the new geographic requirements of the Franks themselves and of their local Christian allies.

During the third stage the military superiority of the Franks ceased to exist, and immense forces began to threaten the existence of the Frankish state, mainly from the north and the east. The fortresses which were constructed during this period were capable of being defended for a longer time against enemy attacks, until reinforcements could arrive and the land onslaught begin. The place of fortresses during this third stage has earned very little attention till now, despite their importance, but it would appear that they justified their existence to a great extent even after the battle of Hattin, and also influenced the construction of Frankish fortresses during the XIII[th] century.

Appendix

Table 1 : sites which were identified as Frankish fortresses

	Name	G. R.	date of construction	date of conquest by the Franks	date when the site was first mentioned in a text	major reconstruction	date of destruction	total destruction
1.	Abu-Gosh Castellum Emaus *Emaus Fontenoid Terra Emaus*	160\134			1141	1187		
2.	Afeq *Recordane*	160\250	1154		1154			
3.	'Aizariya Bethania, *St. Lazarus*	174\131			1102	1143		
4.	Akhziv Az-Zib, Casale Imbert	159\272			1123	1154		
5.	'Akko	157\258		*1104*		*1110-1115* *1192* *1250*	*1187*	*1291*
6.	Al-'Al Prawer: in Qasr Bardawil	228\236	*1105*				*1106*	
7.	Kh. Aliya	174\269			13's c.			
8.	'Aqaba *Aila*	150\881		1115				
9.	'Ar'ara *Castrum planorum*	158\212?			13's c.			??
10.	'Ara *Castellum Arearum*	157\212			1182			
11.	Tell Arshaf Arsuf, *Arsur*	132\178		1101		1241	1187	
12.	Ashdod-Yam *Castellum Beroart*	114\132		1153	13's c.			

13.	Ashqelon *Ascalon*	177\180		1153		1192	1187	1192
14.	'Ateret *Le Chastelez*	209\267	1178					1179
15.	'Atlit *Castellum Peregrinorum*	144\234	1218					1291
16.	Azor Yazur, *Casel des Plains*	131\159				1191		
17.	Baniyas *Belinas*	215\294		1129 1139		1157	1132 1164	
18.	Bayt 'Itab *Bethaatap*	155\126			1161		1187	
19.	Bayt Jubr	191\139			1172			
20.	Bayt Kika	169\135						
21.	Bayt Nuba	153\140						
22.	Bayt Safafa *Bethafava*	169\128			1110		1187	
23.	Baytuniya *Beitiumen*	166\143		1099	1099		1187	
24.	Bayt 'ur al-Fauqa *Bethoron Superior*	160\143	12's c.					
25.	Beaufort	200\303	1139			1240 1260	1190	1268
26.	Beiruth *Baruth*	L130\217		1110		1197 1205	1187	1291
27.	Beit Dagan	??						
28.	Beit Guvrin Bayt Jibrin, *Bethgibelin*	140\112	1134					
29.	Beit Shean Beisan, *Bethsan*	197\211	?	1099	1183		1187	

30.	Belhacem	L120\181	1128					
31.	Bethphage	??						
32.	Bethlehem	169\123		1099				
33.	Bil'ama *Castellum Beleismum* Chastiau St. Job	177\205			1156			
34.	Al-Bira *Magna Mahomeria*	170\146	cir. 1124		1099		1187	
35.	Bir Zayt	169\153						
36.	Bombrac Bne Brac	133\160						
37.	Al-Burj *Castrum ficuum*	141\095			1187		1187	
38.	Al-Burj Burj al-Habis, Qal'at al-Tantura, G*ith*	152\145			1136			
39.	Al-Burj	169\148						
40.	Al-Burj	152\122						
41.	Al-Burj	167\136						
42.	Al-Burj al-Ahmar, *Le Tour rouge*	146\182	1123-1150					
43.	Burj Bardawil,	173\156						
44.	Burj Baytin, *Bethel*	172\148	1138-1159					
45.	Burj Bayt-Nasif *Bethenase*	151\110						
46.	Burj al-Far'ah,	183\188						
47.	Burj al-Kibli	172\295						
48.	Burj al-Lissana	174\156						

49.	Burj al-Malih,	193\193						
50.	Burj Ash-Shamali	172\296						
51.	Burj Sinjil,	174\161						
52.	Burj as-Sur *Bethsura*	159\110			1136			
53.	Caesaria *Cesaire*	140\212		1110		1228 1251	1187	1265
54.	*Castrum Feniculi*	Unlocated. Sharon			1228			
55.	Dabburiya *Buria*	185\233	<1182		1101			###1101 # <11182
56.	Da'uq *Casale Doc, Castiel Doc*	161\253	1191-1200					
57.	Dayr al-Asad *St. George de Lebaene*	175\259	1161-1179					
58.	Dayr Abu-Mash'al *Bellifortis?*	156\156			1161		1187	
59.	Dayr al-Balah *Darom*	088\092	cir. 1170			1170-1187	1187	1192
60.	Dayr Mar Saba	181\123						
61.	Dayr al-Quruntal *Quarantene*	190\142			1116			
62.	Dhahiriya,	148\092						
63.	Dor Tantura, *Merle*	142\224		12'th c.			1187	1192

64.	Gaza *Gadres*	199\101	1150			1170?	1187 1192	
65.	Gezer, Tell *Montgisard*	143\140			1155			
66.	al-Habis	162\130						
67.	Habis Jaldak	228\236	1109			1113 1118 1182	1109 1118 1182	1187
68.	Habonim Kafr-Lam, *Cafarlet*	144\227	8'th c.	1099	1201			
69.	Haifa *Caiphas*	150\246		1099		1252	1187	
70.	Tell Hanaton Tell al-Ibdawiya	174\243						
71.	Hebron *St. Abraham*	160\103	1099	1099			1187	
72.	Holy Cross Monastery		11'th c.	109				
73.	Hunin *Chastel Neuf*	201\291	1107-1115			1178	1167	12\1187
74.	I'blin,	168\247						
75.	Iehi'am Jidin, *Iudyn*	171\266	13 c.					1270?
76.	Jaba' *Gabaa*	174\140			1179			
77.	Jazirat Fara'un *Isle de Graye*	136\875	1116-7				1170	
78.	Jericho	193\140		1099	1112			1187
79.	Jerusalem	170\132		1099		1192 1239	1187	1244
80.	Jifna *Jafenia*	170\152			1182		1187	

81.	Jinin *Le Grand Gerin*	178\207			1182		1184 1187	
82.	Kafr Jinnis	141\156						
83.	Karak *Crac*	216\066	1142			1168		11\1188
84.	Karatiya Galatie, La	124\116						
85.	Karmil *Carmel*	162\092			1173		1187	
86.	Khan Khatrura *Maldoim, Maldouin, Castrum Dumi*	184\136	<1170's				1187	
87.	Kh. Khuljan	163\206						
88.	Kokav Hayarden *Belvoir, Coquet*	199\222	1168				1189	
89.	H. Kones *Capharnaum*	146\241						
90.	Lajjun *Legio*	??						
91.	Latrun *Le Toron des Chevaliers*	148\137	<1170					
92.	Lod *St. George de Lidde*	140\151		1099			1187	
93.	Ma'abarot Madd ad-Dayr, *Montdidier*	141\196			1158			
94.	H. Manot al-Manawat, *Manueth*	164\271	<1169					
95.	Marecalcie	???						??
96.	Kh. Maslakhit *Miscalim*	182\248						
97.	Mazra'a *Lemezera*	159\265			1220			
98.	Mazra'a *Le Meseraa*	143\222						

99.	Merhaviya *La Fève*	179\223			1170's			##1170's
100.	Mevaseret Zion al-Qastal, *Belveer?*	164\134			1168			
101.	Mezad Abirim Burj Misr	177\272						
102.	Mezad Rahav *Raheb?*	1180\275						
103.	H. Migdal Afeq Majdal Yaba, *Mirabel*	146\165			1122			
104.	Mi'ilya *Castellum Regis*	174\260			1166	1120's	1187	
105.	Mons Glavianus	L137\217	1125					
106.	*Montfort*	171\272	1227					
107.	An-Nabi-Samwil *Mons Gaudii*	157\137	1150's		1155 1157			
108.	Nablus *Naples*	175\181	1110-1118	1099			1187	
109.	Nahal Siah *St. Brocaardus*	147\245						
110.	Nairaba Munitio Malve?	159\191	1110-1118					
111.	Netaniya Umm Khalid, *Castellum Rogerii Longobardi*	137\193			1135			
112.	Petra	192\972						
113.	Qalansuwa *Calansue*	149\177	1120's		1128			
114.	Qal'at ad-Dubba	198\289						
115.	Qaqun *Caco*	149\196	1123				1187	1265

116.	Qarawat Bani Hasan Burj al-Yaqur	159\170						
117.	H. Qarhata	??						
118.	H. Qarta *Casale* *Destreiz*	145\234	1120's		1212			
119.	Qasr Ash-Shaikh Raba	180\199						
120.	Qidna	140\117						
121.	Al-Qubayba	162\138	1159					
122.	Qula *Cola*	146\160			1181		1187	
123.	Quruntal Templar Castle	191\143			1170's			
124.	Ar-Ram	172\140	1160				1187	
125.	Ramalla Ramelie	168\145						
126.	Ramla *Rames*	138\148	1099	1099		1101	1187	
127.	Regba As-Saumariya, *Somelaria*	159\264			13's c.			
128.	H. Rosh Mayim, *Rushmiya*	150\243	1165				1187	
129.	Rujm As-Syigh	195\169						
130.	Sabastiya *Sebaste*	168\186	1128-1145	1128				
131.	Safad *Saphet*	196\263	1101?			1168 1240	1188	1266
132.	Samu' *Samoe*	156\089						
133.	*Scandalion* Iskandaruna	165\284	1117			1148	1187	

134.	Shaubak *Montreal*	203\993	1115			1142	1188	
135.	Shefar'am Shafa-Amru, *Le Saffran*	166\245	12's c.				1187	1291
136.	Sidon *Saieta*	184\330		1110		1228 1253	1189	
137.	Sinjil *St. Egidius*	175\160	1150		1150		1187	
138.	St. John the Baptist	201\138						1170's
139.	Ti'innik *Taanoch*	??						
140.	At-Tabgha *Tabula Domini*	201\252						
141.	Tabor, Mt.	187\232	1106	1099		1120's	1187	
142.	At-Taiyba *Effraon, Castrum Sancti Helie*	178\151	<1156		1156		1187	
143.	At-Taiyba *Forbelet*	192\223			1182		1187	
144.	Tell Akko *Toron*	158\258						
145.	Tiberias	201\243	1099	1099		1241	1187	
146.	Tibnin Toron	188\289	1107					
147.	Kh. Tin'ama *Tymini*	146\247?						
148.	At-TiraSt. Iohan de Tire	148\241						
149.	Tsova Suba, *Belmont*	162\132	1150's		1169		1187	
150.	Kh. at-Tuqu' *Thecua*	170\115		1099			1187	
151.	Turris Salinarium?? Burj al-Malih	141\216			1168		1187	
152.	Tyre *Tyr*	168\297		1124		1212	1187	

153.	'Uaiyra *Li Vaux Moise*		1116				1144 1145	1188
154.	Yaffo Jaffa, *Japhe*	126\162	1099	1100		1191 1228 1253	1187	
155.	Yalu *Chastel Hernaut*	152\138	1132-3				1187	
156.	Yarkon *Molendina Trium Pontium*	143\167						
157.	Yavne *Ibelin*	126\141	1141				1187	
158.	Tell Yizre'el Zir'in, *Petit Gerin, Zarin*	181\218	??		1170's			1187
159.	Tell Yoqne'am *Caymont*	160\230	1110-1118				1187	
160.	Az-Zababida	180\199						
161.	Tell Zafit As-Safi, *Blanchegarde*	135\123	1142					#1142
162.	Zippon *Le Saforie*	176\239						

Table 2 : sites which were described as castles by contemporary Muslim and Latin authors or by all or most of the scholars, or by archaeological excavations

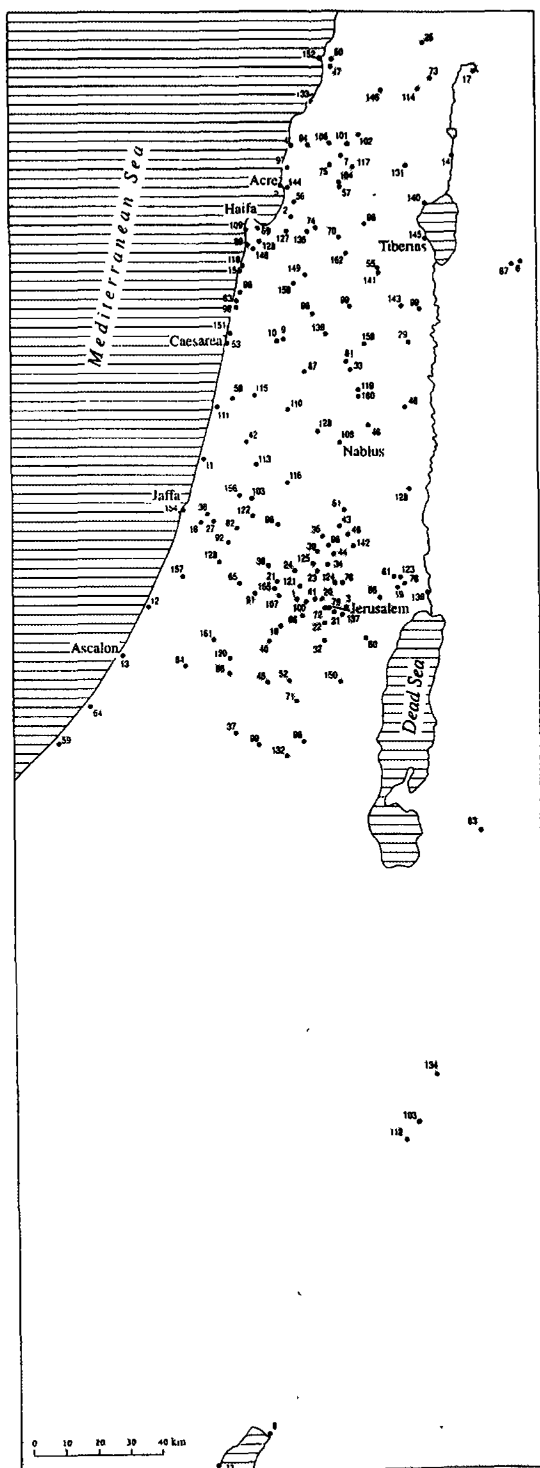
	Name	Prawer and Benvenisti	Deschamps	Pringle	Written Sources	Conder
1.	Abu-Gosh *Castellum Emaus Emaus Fontenoid Terra Emaus*	small castle	+		Latin	
2.	'Aizariya Bethania, *St. Lazarus*	small castle	+	tower	Latin Arabic	small castle
3.	Akhziv Az-Zib, *Casale Imbert*	small castle	+	tower	Latin Arabic	
4.	'Aqaba *Aila*	*small castle*	+		Latin Arabic	
5.	'Ara *Castellum Arearum*	small castle	+		Latin	small castle
6.	'Ateret *Le Chastelez*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
7.	'Atlit *Castellum Peregrinorum*	big castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	big castle
8.	Azor Yazur, *Casel des Plains*	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	small castle
9.	Beaufort	big castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	
10.	Beit Guvrin Bayt Jibrin, *Bethgibelin*	big castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	big castle
11.	Beit Shean Beisan, *Bethsan*	fortified town or small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	unfortified town- ship small castle
12.	Belhacem	??	+		Latin	
13.	Bil'ama *Castellum Beleismum* Chastiau St. Job	small castle	+	castle	Latin	small castle
14.	Al-Bira *Magna Mahomeria*	small castle		steward's curia	Latin Arabic	small castle
15.	Al-Burj *Castrum ficuum*		+	tower with outer enceinte	Latin	small castle

16.	Al-Burj Burj al-Habis, Qal'at al-Tantura, *Gith*	small castle	+ tower	tower	Latin	small castle
17.	Al-Burj al-Ahmar, *Le Tour rouge*	small castle	+	castle	Latin	small castle
18.	Burj al-Far'ah,			castle		
19.	Burj al-Malih,	small castle				small castle
20.	Burj Ash-Shamali *Le Tor de l'Opital?*			tower	Latin Arabic	small castle
21.	*Castrum Feniculi*	small castle			Latin	
22.	Dabburiya *Buria*	small castle		tower	Latin Arabic	small castle
23.	Da'uq *Casale Doc, Castiel Doc*	small castle		tower	Latin	
24.	Dayr al-Asad *St. George de Lebaene*				Arabic	
25.	Dayr al-Balah *Darom*	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	small castle
26.	Dor Tantura, *Merle*	small castle	+			small castle
27.	Gaza *Gadres*	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	fortified town
28.	Habis Jaldak	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	small castle
29.	Habonim Kafr-Lam, *Cafarlet*	small castle	+			small castle
30.	Hunin *Chastel Neuf*	small castle			Latin	big castle
31.	Iehi'am Jidin, *Iudyn*	small castle		castle	Latin	small castle
32.	Jericho	small castle	+	tower	Latin	small castle
33.	Jinin *Le Grand Gerin*	small castle	+		Latin	small castle
34.	Karmil *Carmel*	small castle	+	castle	Latin	small castle
35.	Khan Khatrura *Maldoim, Maldouin, Castrum Dumi, la Tour Rouge*	small castle	+	castle	Latin	small castle
36.	Kokav Hayarden *Belvoir, Coquet*	big castle	+		Latin Arabic	big castle

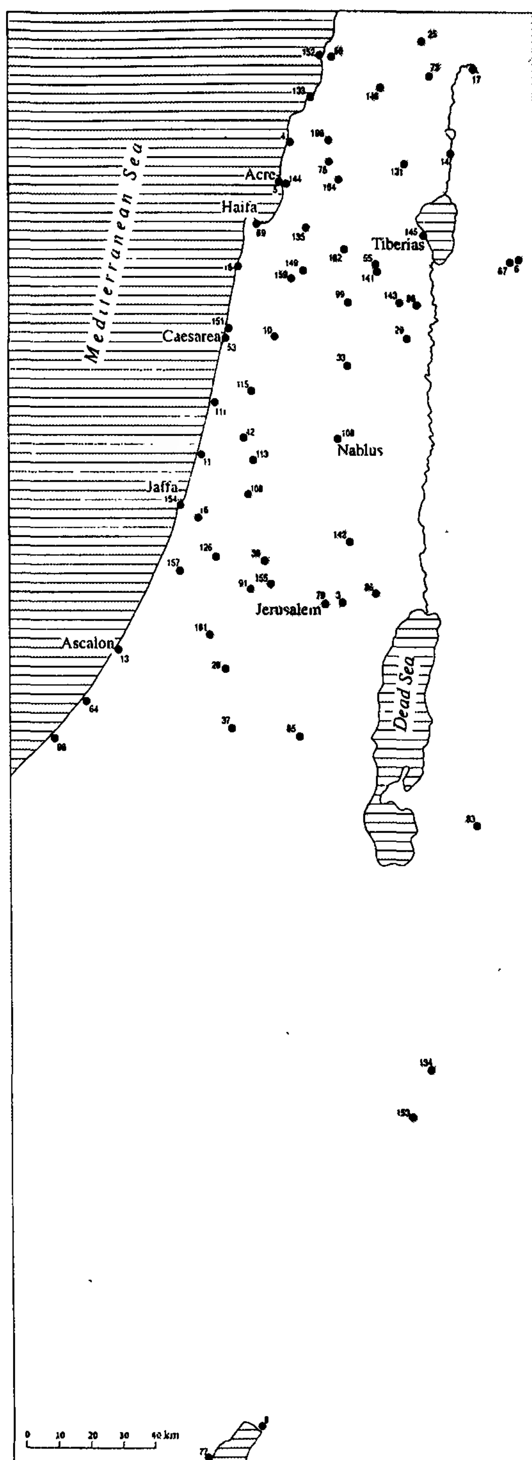
37.	Lajjun *Legio*				Arabic	small castle
38.	Latrun *Le Toron des Chevaliers*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
39.	Lod *St. George de Lidde*	unfortified township	+			unfortified township
40.	Ma'abarot Madd ad-Dayr, *Montdidier*			castle	Latin	
41.	H. Manot al-Manawat, *Manueth*	small castle			Arabic	small castle
42.	Merhaviya *La Fève*	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	small castle
43.	H. Migdal Afeq Majdal Yaba, *Mirabel*	big castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	big castle
44.	Mi'iliya *Castellum Regis*	small castle			Latin Arabic	small castle
45.	Mons Glavianus		+		Latin	
46.	Montfort *Montfort*	big castle	+	castle hall house	Latin Arabic	big castle
47.	An-Nabi-Samwil *Mons Gaudii*					
48.	Nairaba Munitio Malve?	small castle			Latin	
49.	Netaniya Umm Khalid, *Castellum Rogerii Longobardi*	small castle			Latin	small castle
50.	Petra [al-Habis]		+	castle		
51.	Qalansuwa *Calansue*	small castle	+	tower hall house		small castle
52.	Qal'at ad Dubba			castle		small castle
53.	Qaqun *Caco*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
54.	Quruntal Templar Castle		+		Latin	small castle
55.	Ramla *Rames*	fortified town	+	castle	Latin Arabic	fortified town
56.	Regba As-Saumariya, *Somelaria*				Latin	
57.	*Scandalion* Iskandaruna	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	small castle

58.	Shaubak *Montreal*		+		Latin Arabic	big castle
59.	Shefar'am Shafa-Amru, *Le Saffran*	small castle			Latin Arabic	small castle
60.	Sinjil *St. Egidius*		+ small castle	tower	Arabic	
61.	Tabor, Mt.	??	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
62.	At-Taiyba *Effraon, Castrum Sancti elie*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
63.	At-Taiyba *Forbelet*	small castle		castle	Arabic	small castle
64.	Tsova Suba, *Belmont*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
65.	Kh. at-Tuqu' *Thecua*	small castle	+			small castle
66.	Turris Salinarum		+	castle	Latin	small castle
67.	'Uaiyra *Li Vaux Moise*	??	+		Latin	small castle
68.	Yalu *Chastel Hernaut*	small castle	+		Latin Arabic	
69.	Yavne *Ibelin*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
70.	Tell Yizre'el Zir'in, *Petit Gerin, Zarin*				Arabic	
71.	Tell Yoqne'am *Caymont*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	small castle
72.	Tell Zafit As-Safi, *Blanchegarde*	small castle	+	castle	Latin Arabic	big castle
73.	Zippori *Le Saforie*	small castle unfortified township		tower	Latin Arabic	unfortified township

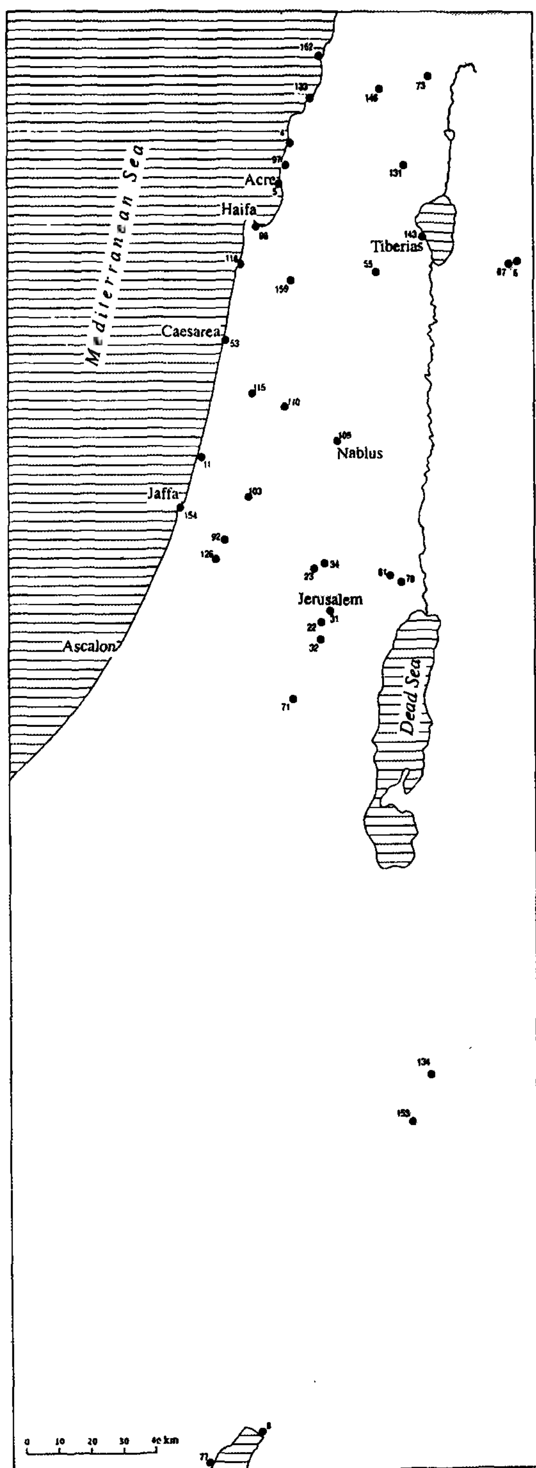
Map 1 : Frankish "castles" and towers in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem [see table 1]



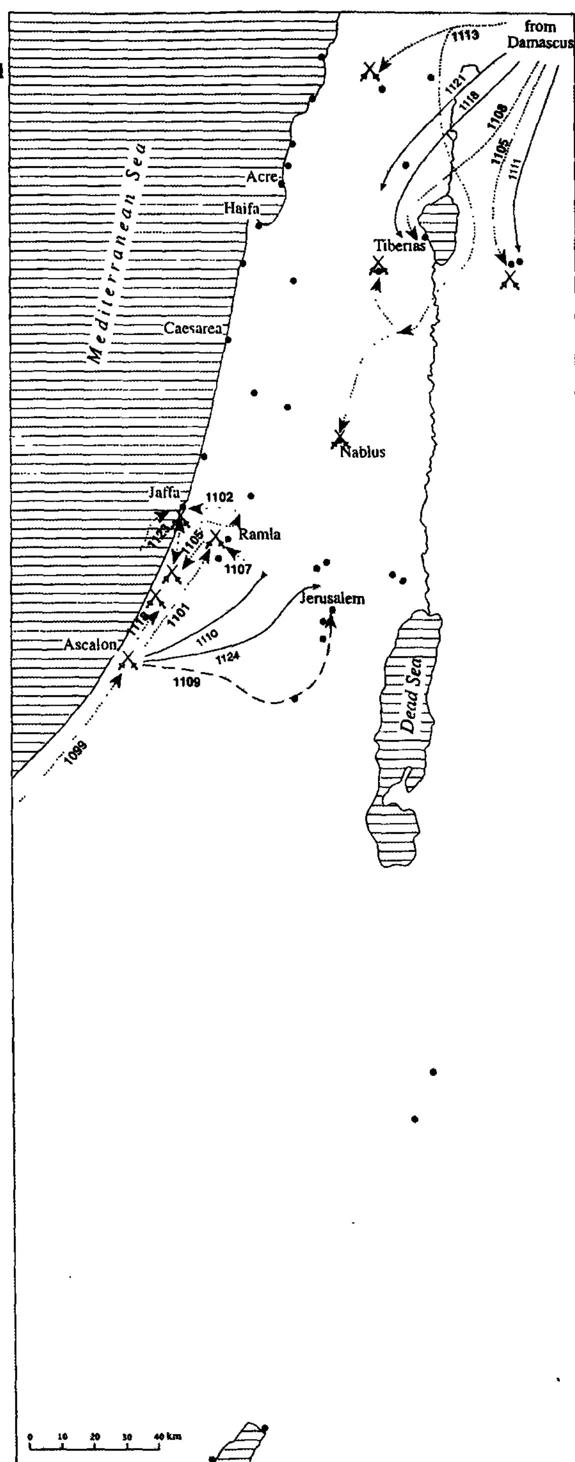
Map 2 : Frankish "castles" in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (A shorter list) [see table 2]



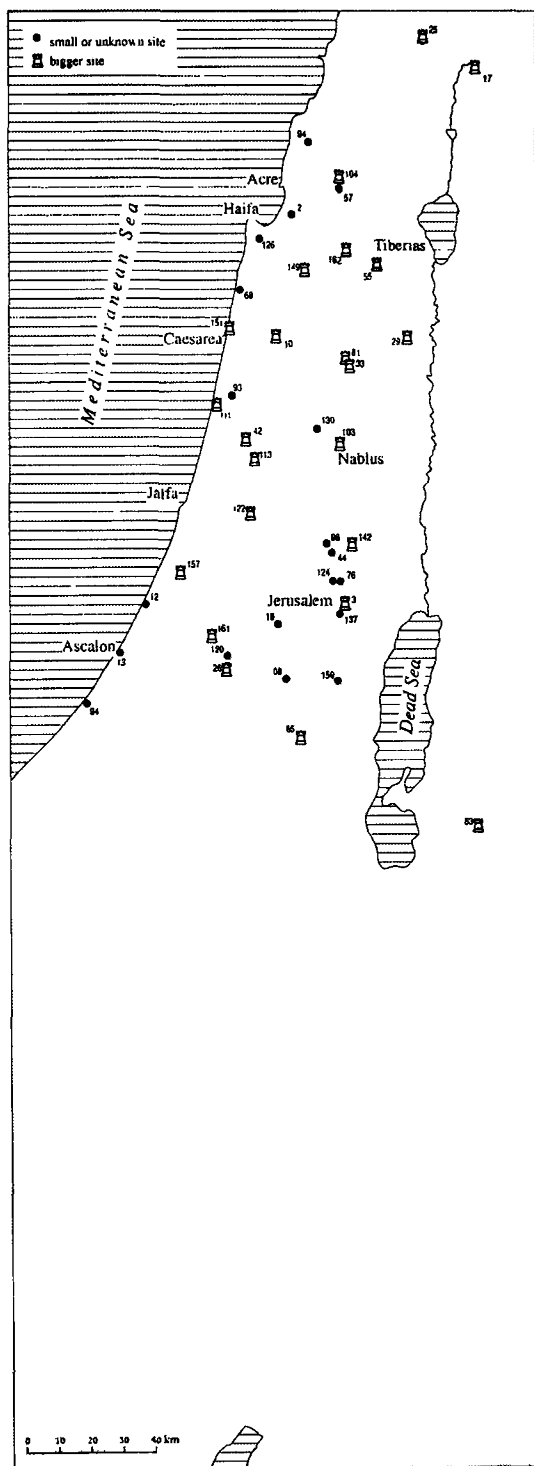
Map 3 : Frankish "castles"of the first generation (1099 - 1124)



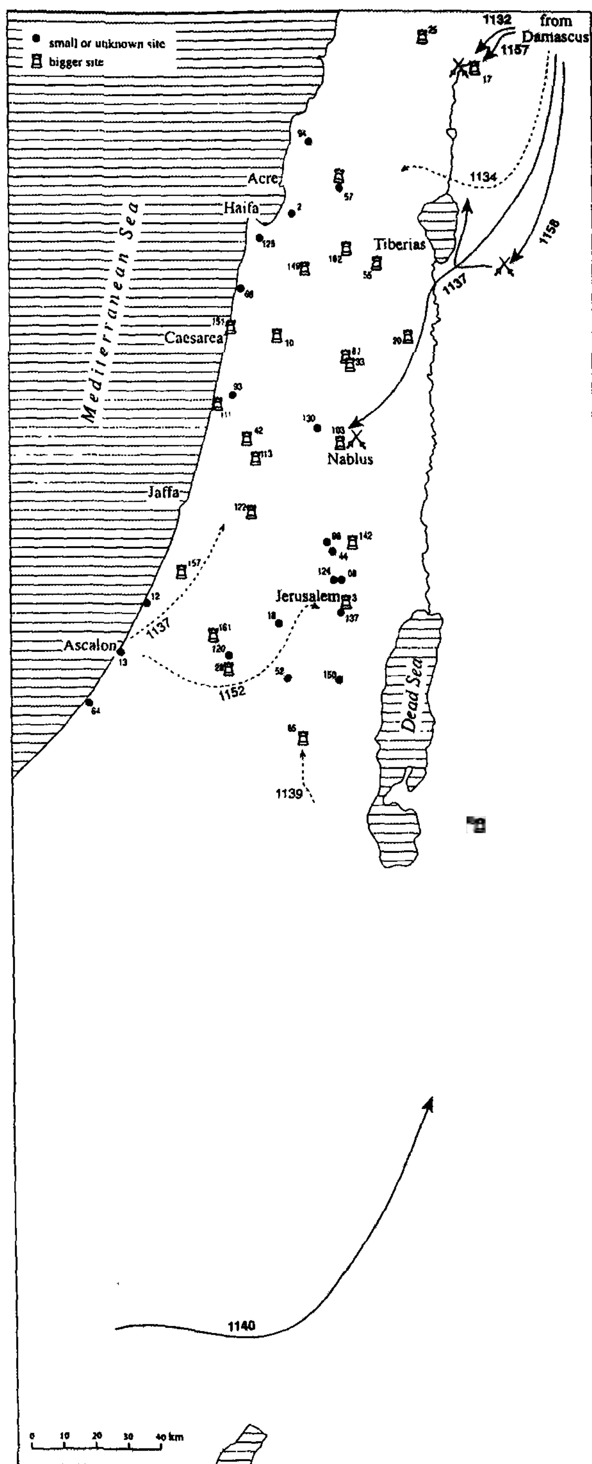
Map 4 : Muslim incursions during the first period (1099 - 1124)



Map 5 : Frankish castles of the second generation (1125 - 1167)

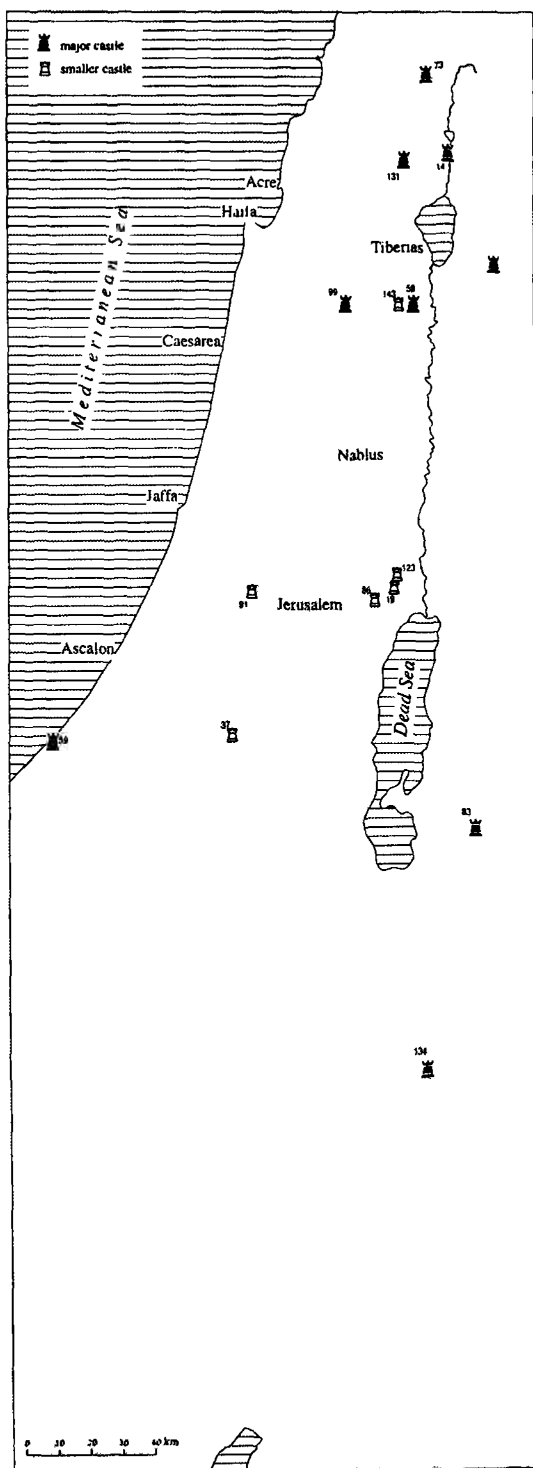


Map 6 : Muslim incursions during the second period (1125 - 1167)

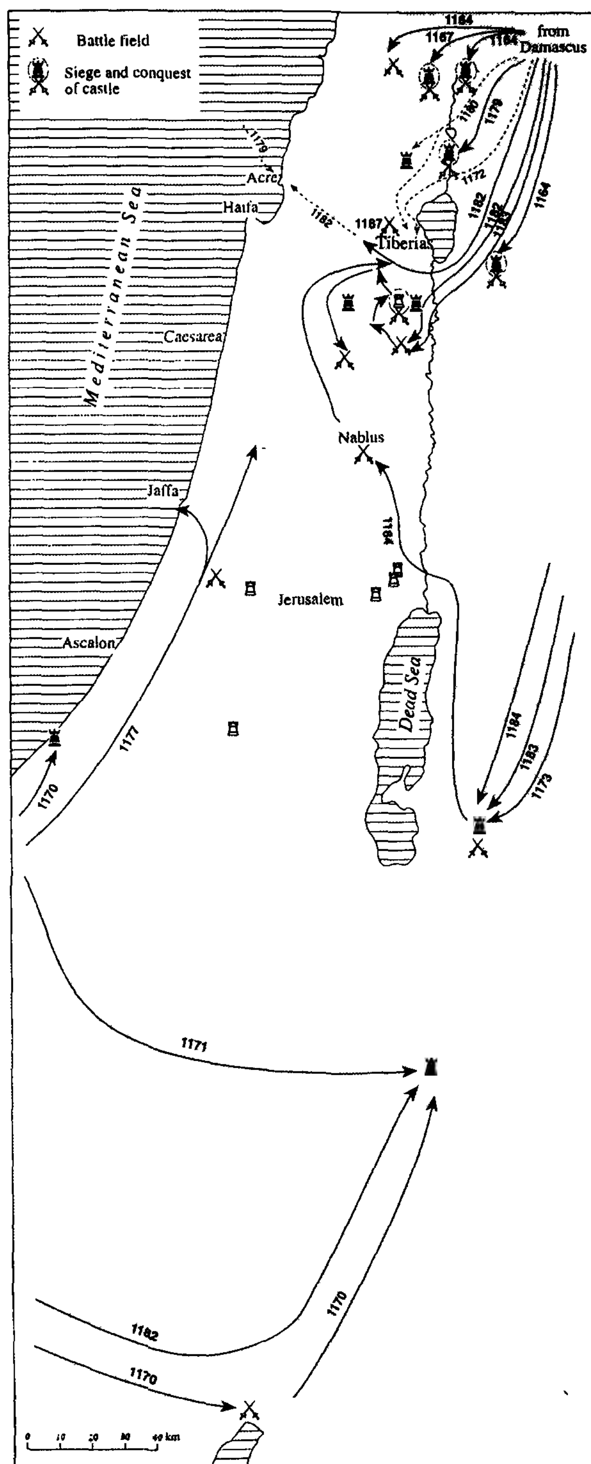


Map 7 : Frankish castles of the third generation (1168 - 1187)

new reconstructed sites



Map 8 : Muslim incursions during the third period (1168 - 1187)



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THE CRUSADER PORT OF ACRE : Layout and Problems of Maintenance

Situated along the northern Israeli coastline, Acre served as the main port town of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, since its foundation till its fall to the Mamluks in 1291 and as its capital during the XIIIth century. It is already in the XIIth century, that Acre is referred to as one of the main international commercial centers in the Levant. In this respect, the Moslem traveller, Ibn Jubair, after having visited Acre in 1184, even compared it to Constantinople [1].

The importance of Acre during the Crusader period stimulated the interest of geographers, historians and archaeologists, since the XIXth century till today. In contrast to the vast studies invested in the research of the town itself, the medieval port was hardly dealt with. Rey's studies in the XIXth century [2] turned to be the basis for future investigations concerning the layout of the port. The underwater excavations carried out during the 1960s and the 1970s, contributed to the exposure of part of the port's installations [3]. As we

1. Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Jubair, *Richlah*, Leiden, 1907, p 403-404., The french version : « Extraits du voyage d'Ibn Djobeïr », dans *RHC*, *Hist. or.* , Paris 1898, t. III, p. 450.

2. E. Rey, *Etudes sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, Paris, 1871, p. 171-172 [Fig. n° 4 is from this book] ; *Id.*, « Etude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre au XIIIe siècle », 1878 (La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 39), p. 151-153 ; *Id.*, « Supplément à l'étude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre », 1888 (*ibid.*, 49), p. 5-6.

3. E. Linder, A. Raban, « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) »; in *Western Galilee and the Coast of Galilee*, Jerusalem, 1965, p. 180-194. ; E. Linder, « Underwater Archaeology. A New Dimension in the Study of Antiquities in the Country », in *Qadmoniot*

shall see below, the misunderstanding of the historic documents caused the archaeologists to misinterpret and to identify wrongly the archaeological finds. The comprehensive study of Jacoby in 1979, in which he dealt with the reconstruction of the configuration of the port including problems of anchorage inside it, is the first multidisciplinarian study concerning the port [4]. Unfortunately, relying on the misinterpreted evidence supplied by the archaeologists, Jacoby was lead to wrong conclusions, discussed below.

Our article presents a new picture concerning the layout of the port, its installations and the problems concerning its maintenance. This is a multidisciplinarian research, based on re-examination of the historic documents, as well as new investigations on land and underwater, carried out by the present writer.

The port of Acre and its structures

Acre with its port lies in a natural bay, the bay of Acre, in the north of the gulf of Haifa. The present fishing and yacht port is located to the south east of the town. A modern fisher-wharf, bordering the port along its southern side, extends from a modern restaurant, in the south western end of the city, to the east and slightly to the south-east and turns to the north at its eastern tip [fig. 1, n° 3] [5]. On its western side, the present port of Acre is bordered by restuarants and on its north-western side by a sea wall, built by Jazar Pasha in 1800-1801. A sandy shore encircles the port on its northern and eastern sides. In the centre of Acre bay, there is the Tower of the Flies, situated north east to the eastern end of the southern fisher-wharf, [fig. 1, n° 7]. The modern port occupies the western section only of the medieval port.

While describing the maritime activity inside the port of Acre, the documents of the Crusader period do not refer to its layout. Idrisi indicated in the XII[th] century that « The port is safe and good » [6]. William of Tyre declared

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(Quaterly of Eretz-Israel and Bible Lands), 4 (1971), p. 44-54, esp. 49-52 ; A. Raban. « Acre. The Sea », in E. Stern (ed.), *The New Enciclopedeia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1992, vol. 3, p. 1237-1240 [all these studies are in Hebrew].

4. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century : Urban Layout », *Studi Medievali*, 3[e] s., 20/1 (1970), p. 1-45. ; *Id*., « Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre », *The Mariner's Mirror*, 7 (1985), p. 5-12.

5. The drawings for this article were made by Mrs, R. Polak from the Institute of Maritime Studies in Haifa University.

6. P.A. Jaubert, *La Géographie d'Idrisi*, Amsterdam, 1975, p. 34., It should be noted that Idrisi himself did not visit Acre, but relied on the testimonies of others. For the sources of Idrisi, cf. J. Drory, « A Muslim Savant Describes Frankish Palestine » in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Crusaders in their Kingdom 1099-1291*, Jerusalem, 1987, p. 120-131.

that « Acre has a port inside walls » [7], i.e., encircled by a mole and a quay, described below. In contrast to his detailed description of the commercial life inside the city and the dirt in its streets, Ibn Jubayr referred only shortly to the configuration of the port of Acre. As a matter of fact, he did it while describing in detail the outline of the northern port of Tyre. According to him, « The port of Acre resembles somehow the [northern] port of Tyre regarding its shape and entrance » [8].

The medieval documents as well as Pietro Vesconte's and Paolino Veneto's diversified versions of maps of the XIVth century [9], depicting the city of Acre and its port, prove that the Crusaders inherited the layout of the early Moslem port. According to the Arab historian and geographer alMuqaddasi (Xth century), after having seen Tyre and the fortifications of its port, Ibn Tulun (868-883) decided to endow Acre with a similar position of advantage [10]. There were several structures connected with the port and these are discussed below.

The Eastern Mole - The Construction Technique

This structure extended from the Tower of the Flies in the south to the eastern city wall in the north [fig. 1, n° 8]. On the maps of the XIVth century, the eastern mole, constructed in the IXth century, is wrongly depicted as joining the outer city wall, built in the XIIIth century [11].

Al-Muqaddasi reports the construction of this eastern mole by his grandfather Abu Bakr the architect. According to al-Muqaddasi's report, Ibn Tulun summoned all the carpenters and builders living along the coast, but they did not know how to build an underwater structure. One of them mentioned the name of Abu Bakr, the old architect from Jerusalem, who carried out the work. Abu Bakr ordered large beams of cycamore wood, which he tied together like a big raft : « These beams he then caused to be floated on the surface... and upon these beams he raised a structure with *stones and lime* (hijara washid). After every five courses he strengthened the same by setting in great columns [of marble or granit], until at length they became so weighted

7. *Willelmi Tyrensis Archieposcopi Chronicon*, in R.B.C. Huygengs (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum Mediaevalis*, LXIII, Turnhout, 1986, p. 485, lib. 10, cap. 25.

8. « Extrait du voyage d'Ibn Djobeïr », *op. cit*.

9. J. Prawer, « Historical Maps of Acre », *Eretz Israel*, 2 (1953), p.1 75-184 [Hebrew]., For the analizing of the maps regarding the reconstruction of the topography of the port of Acre, cf. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit*., p. 2-15.

10. Al Maqdasi-Shams ad Din Abu cAbd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakre, *Ahsan at Taqaasum fi Mac rifat al-Aqalim*, ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1906, p. 153.

11. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre », *op. cit*., p. 8 and figs. 1,2.

that they began to sink down, but this little by little, and finally he knew that they had rested on the sand. Then he ceased building for a whole year, that the construction might consolidate itself [as with concrete], after which, returning, he began again to build » [12]. This method of construction had two shortcomings, which eventually caused the collapse of this eastern mole.

Firstly, using lime for underwater foundations instead of hydraulic concrete based on lava ash or volcanic sand, generally known as *pozzolana*. High calcium limes produced from carboniferous and pure oolitic limestone and white chalk, is not hydraulic even when slaked by water. The fact that Abu Bakr was from Jerusalem suggests that he adapted the « dry concrete » or land technique to underwater construction. The archaeological excavations in the Temple area in Jerusalem exposed the foundations of the Omayyad palace (VIIIth century CE) built of unstable debris. The foundations were constructed from wooden caissons filled with cement, composed of rubble, lime and water. The caissons and the lime disintegrated and only the rubble remained [13].

The method of building underwater moles, based on *pozzolana*, which is described in detail by Vitruvius (25BCE), was first employed by the Romans on a large scale in the Herodian outer basin of the port of Caesarea Maritima (*circa* 22-15 BCE). The Roman engineers poured hydraulic concrete into wooden caissons. Their previous, although minor experience in constructing moles and breakwaters at Puteoli and Cosa, in western Italy in the late second century BCE, had taught them that the mixture of *pozzolana* with stones, lime and water produces a hard waterproof concrete. For the work in the port of Caesarea Maritima, Herod imported *pozzolana* from Italy, from the Vezuv zone, north-west of Napoli Bay [14].

The historic documents both with archaeological evidence show that the Bysantines did not use *pozzolana* for underwater constructions, because they were not acquainted with the hydraulic qualities of *pozzolana*. Instead, they used wooden caissons filled with rubble and stones without the addition of any kind of concrete [15].

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12. Al Maqdasi, *op. cit*.

13. M. Ben-Dov, *The Dig at the Temple Mount*, Jerusalem, 1982, p. 308 [Hebrew].

14. J.P. Oleson, G. Branton, « The Technology of King Herod's Harbour », *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5 (1992) [Supplementary Series, Caeasarea Papers, R.L. Vann (ed.)], p. 49-67 esp. p. 56-66.

15. R. Gertwagen, « The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299-1363) : Construction and Maintenance », in I. Malkin, R.L. Hohlfelder (eds.), *Mediterranean Cities, Historical Perspectives*, p. 141-158, esp. p. 149 and n. 36-37.

One could conclude that there was continuity in the technique of building structures underwater from the Byzantine period (VIh century CE) to the Muslim era — a technique which was no longer based on *pozzolana*. In other words, in the eastern Mediterranean, there was a recession from the Roman sophisticated, advanced engineering skills in the construction of underwater moles from the Byzantine era onwards [16]. When the lime in the eastern mole at Acre decomposed, the mole fell apart and formed a reef. In the XIIIth century CE, it was named *the reef of the Tower of the Flie* [17].

An additional shortcoming was the absence of rubble as a foundation for the mole and a means to strengthen and stabilize the sea-floor. This device should have been used to prevent the waves from sweeping away the sand under the mole, causing the collapse of the whole structure.

The remains of the eastern mole appear on an areal photograph [18] as a dark strip, extending from the vicinity of the Tower of the Flies in a north-north-east direction and reaches the shore between the Turkish wall and Yehoshafat street, close to Acre Nautical school [fig. 1, n° 8]. The underwater excavations exposed the artificial character of this strip in a depth of one or two meters below sea-level. The remains consisted of fragments of marble pillars and ashlar stones [19]. Not consulting properly Muqaddasi's report, the archaeologists reached a wrong conclusion regarding the construction technique of the mole and claimed that the remains found underwater were only the foundation for an ashlar structure, built on them. The ashlar stones of the superstructure were not found, as they had been dismantled by later builders, who used the stones for new buildings in Acre [20]. Mislead by this wrong information, Jacoby claimed that this dismantling operation was for the fortification of Acre by Dahr al-'Umar in 1750-1751 [21]. The ashlar stones, the rubble and the marble pillars were doubtless the remains of the mole itself. The two above mentioned faults concerning the construction

16. *Ibid.*, p. 149-150.

17. *Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Reymond, Genève 1887, p. 226-227, n° 454, « Esquelles de la Tour des Mosches ». For the interpretation of *Esquelles* as *reefs*, cf. M. Reynouard, *Lexique Roman, ou Dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours*, Paris, 140, t. III, s.v. *Escuelh, Escueyll*.

18. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonianism in The Middle Ages*, London, 1972, between p. 308 and 309.

19. E. Linder, A. Raban, « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 184. ; E. Linder, « Excavations in the Port of Acre- First Season (Septembre 1973) », *Interim Report*, University of Haifa, The Department of Maritime Studies, 1974 ; A. Raban, « Acre- The Sea », *op. cit.*, p. 1239.

20. E. Linder, A. Raban, « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 186.

21. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 9 and n. 58, p. 12.

technique of this structure undoubtedly facilitated its break down as a result of the common earthquakes in the area, since the construction of the mole in the IX[th] century till the fall of the Crusader kingdom in 1291 [22].

The Southern Quay - The Construction Technique

The underwater excavations revealed that the oldest phase of the present fisher-wharf had been built in the Hellenistic era. Then, on it, at height of 0,5 m. upon the present sea-level, a Roman breakwater was constructed. This structure is built with kurkar narrow and long ashlar stones, with their narrow side, turning towards the water. This is a *header* construction, characterized as a typical maritime, because the erosion process, caused by the waves, is smaller on the narrow side of the stone than on its wider side. These stones lay parallel with a gap between each other. Each gap is built with two ashlar stones with their wide side towards the sea a — *stretcher* construction — typical terrestrial. [fig. 2]. Each pair of these stones is fastened together with iron clamps [23]. These clamps have an engineering double role : 1. to prevent the stretching of the lower base of a structure because of the weight of the superstructure. 2. to overcome the unstability of the lower foundation as a result of horizontal forces of waves or as a result of earthquakes [24].

Iron clamps to fasten stones together were made in the Moslem phase of the walls encircling medieval Caesarea [25]. Although the historic sources do not relate to any construction activity concerning the southern breakwater in Acre, one can conclude that the ashlar stones fastened together with iron clamps built in the gaps between the stones of the Roman breakwater were the base for a quay in the early Moslem period. As we shall see below, the medieval sea level was 2 meters lower than it is today. Consequently, the Roman breakwater, built at present at a height of 0,5 m. above sea-level and then, at height of 2,50 m. above sea-level, lost its original role. The Mus-

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22. D.H.K. Amiran, E. Arieh, T. Turcotte, « Catalogue of Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas », *Israel Exploration Journal*, 44/3-4 (1994), p. 267-270 ; H. E. Mayer, « Two Unpublished Letters on the Syrian Earthquakes of 1202 », in S.A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Surial Atiya*, Leiden, 1972, p. 307. As the eastern mole had been connected by Abu Bakr to the eastern wall of the city, one can assume that the eastern pier was also harmed by this earthquake.

23. A. Raban, « Acre-The Sea », *op. cit*., p. 1239. Raban wrongly dates this technique to the Crusader period.

24. I whould like to thank Engineer A. Arenson for this information.

25. The recent excavations in the medieval walls encircling Caesarea proved that the Crusader phase used and was built over the early Moslem walls : J. Porat, Y. Neeman, R. Badhi, « Caesarea », *Hadashot Archaeologiot*, 95 (1990), p. 40-42 [Hebrew].

lims, it might have been even Abu Bakr himself, used the Roman structure to create a quay. Al-Muqaddasi did not mention this operation, as it involved « simple » terrestrial techniques of building. This southern quay was also in use during the Crusader period. Today, only a small portion of the foundation can be seen, as the stones were robbed in later periods.

It is noteworthy that the navigation instructions book, the *Il Compasso da navigare*, named the southern quay in the mid-thirteenth century a reef, *scollio* [26]. Jacoby's assumption that it was due to the poor condition of this structure [27] is unlikely. We presume that the *Il Compasso da Navigare* referred to the Roman breakwater. This structure, we have to bear in mind, was 2,50 m. above sea-level during the medieval period. The Moslem and the Crusader quay, as its remanants show, was built at a distance of at least 1 meter northwards from the tip of the *headers* of the Roman breakwater [fig. 2]. It should be also noted that the navigation instructions book described Acre from the sea. One who approaches the port of Acre from the sea even today imagines to see reefs, which are, in reality, the southern tips of the Roman breakwater [fig. 2]. This might also explain the description of the southern quay as two sections of masonary on the Vesconte map [28].

The Maritime Castles

Two maritime castles protected the entrance to the port of Acre during the Crusader period :

The first tower was *The Tower of the Flies* in the middle of the bay of Acre. Oriented on a south-western north-eastern axis, this tower commanded the south eastern side of the entrance [fig. 1, n° 7]. First built in the Hellenistic period, once much larger than it appears today, it has several medieval layers, the lowest at 0,5 m. under sea-level. The medieval phase, most probably of the early Moslem period, is built with ashlar stones fastened together with iron clamps. In the Crusader period this tower served as a light house as well as a « check point » for the vessels entering the port [29]. The eastern mole extended from this tower in the south to the eastern wall of the city, in the north.

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26. B.R. Motzo, *Il Compasso da Navigare, opera italiana della metà del secolo XIII*, Cagliari, 1947, p. 62.

27. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », op. cit., p. 8.

28. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

29. The depth of the medieval layers of this tower were taken underwater by the present writer. For the role of this structure in the early Moslem ana Crusader periods cf. J. Prawer, *The History of the Crusader Kingdom in Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1963, vol. II, p. 530 [Hebrew]. ; D Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 9-10.

The second tower situated at the eastern end of the southern quay. Its remains are 1 meter below sea-level and 30 m. east to the tip of the new fisher-wharf [30]. This tower commanded the south-weastern side of the entrance to the port. A chain, protecting the port, extended between this tower and *The Tower of the Flies* [fig. 1, n° 4,6] [31].

The Arsenal

In the afore-mentioned maps of the XIVth century, a building, designated as an arsenal, is depicted [32]. The presumed location of this structure is in a building, situated today in the land surface of the town, at the north-western end of the bay of Acre [fig. 1, n° 11]. At present, there is no access to this building.

It was in the Byzantine period, during the reign of the emperor Maurice (582-602), that an arsenal was built in Acre [33]. The Moslem documents of the VIIth century reveal, that Muᶜawiya, the governor of Syria reconstructed [34] the byzantine arsenal, importing shipwrights from Egypt [35]. Then Acre became the base for the naval raids against the Byzantines. In the VIIIth century, the Halif Hisham transported the shipbuilders to Tyre, where he ordered to construct shipyards. Then Tyre became the base for the naval raids against the Byzantines [36]. Since then, there is no evidence for the function of an arsenal in Acre during the early Muslim period.

The documents of the Crusader period do not refer to the construction or the maintenance of vessels in the port of Acre, certainly not in a building assigned for this purpose. On the contrary, there is an indirect evidence which proves the absence of shipwrights and row material necessary for ships industry in Acre. In his letter to Bagdad in 1183, El Fadhel, the state secretary under the reign of Salah ad-Din, wrote that on his way back to Egypt, the Ayyubid navy captured a big ship of the Franks. This ship carried

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30. E. Linder, A. Raban, « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 183, n° 18., fig. 1, n° 28.

31. Cf. *infra*, p. 7.

32. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

33. *Id.*, « L'évolution urbaine et la fonction méditerranéenne d'Acre à l'époque des croisades », in E. Poleggi (ed.), *Città portuali del Mediterraneo, storia e archeologia*, Genova, 1989, p. 97.

34. E. Ashtor, « Quelques observations d'un orientaliste sur la thèse de Pirenne », *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 13 (1970), p. 170.

35. D. Jacoby, « L'évolution urbaine... »,op.cit., p.98

36. E. Ashtor, *op. cit*.

on its board logs and shuipbuilders [37]. One can conclude, that since the transportation of the shipbuilders to Tyre in the VIII[th] century, only the name *arsenale*, was left in the Crusader period, although the shipyards themselves did not fuction in reality [38].

To sum up, one could claim that the port of Acre, during the XII[th] and the XIII[th] centuries, included the structures necessary for the proper working conditions. However, as the unstable shaky eastern mole was not repaired nor maintained it could not protect the port against the stormy eastern winds [39], nor could it be used as a quay for the ships loading and unloading cargoes. Furthermore, the port of Acre could not provide for construction of ships or provide the vessels with proper repairs. The arsenal zone was silted with sea sand brought inside the port by the sea waves. Not having been dredged in the Crusader period [40] was another reason for its disability to function. In light of these data, one could safely conclude that the port of Acre, did not provide the craft with the necessary services during the Crusader period.

The Layout of the Port of Acre

There is a general agreement among the scolars regarding the outline of the port in the Crusader period. As mentioned above, along its eastern side the port was flanked with a mole extending from the eastern Early Moslem and the Crusader city wall towards the Tower of the Flies in the south. On its southern side the port was flanked with a quay, ending with a tower at its eastern tip. The controversial topic among the scholars concerns the issue of existence or non-existence of inner ports.

Rey, in the XIX[th] century, claimed that the port of Acre included two inner basins for unarmed or commercial ships. One of them, which he indicated on his two maps with the letters *A* ; *D*, he located, according to the maps of the XIV[th] century, in the place where Khan al-'Umdan is today The other inner port, named on those maps Arsenale, was further to the north, south to the church of The Holy Cross. On his maps this northern inner basin is depicted with the letters *B* ; *E* [fig. 3]. It should be noted that Rey named the southern inner basin, *A* ; *D* also *Arsenale* or *Darse*. Relying on the testimony of d'Arvieux, who had visited Acre in 1685, Rey learned that the northern

37. Abu Shama, « Kitab al-rawdatayan (Livre des deux jardins) », in *RHC, Hist.or.*, Paris, 1898, vol. IV, p. 235.

38. In contrast to J. Prawer, *The History of The Crusader Kingdom, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 351.

39. Cf. *infra* et n. 82, 83

40. Cf. *infra*, p. 10.

inner basin, had already been silted in the XVIIth century, yet the structures of *Darse A* ; *D*, could have still been seen. Along this *Darse-Arsenale*, the configuration of which was identical to the present Khan al-cUmdan, there are remnants of two parallel constructions strengthened by big columns. To Rey's opinion these buildings resembled the arsenal of Pisa. Both inner basins of the port of Acre should be therefore compared to the arsenal of Pisa [41].

Darse is a french version of the arabic terminology *Dar al-Sinaca, while Arsenale* or *Darsena* are its latin and italian versions. The original meaning of *Dar al Sinaca* is a workshop for carpentary, which was also used for shipbuilding and for the storage of arms [42]. Yet, retranslation of the french and italian versions of the arabic terminology ends up with *inner basin* [43].

The first one to use *Darse* as a port was the persian traveller, Nassir-i Khosrau, who visited the Near East, Egypt, Syria and Palestine including Acre in 1034-1047. According to him « the port (*mina*) [of Acre] is located in the south. Most of the coastal towns of Syria have *mina*. This name is given to a Darse, which is built for the safety of the ships » [44].

The Mediterranean zone visited by Nasir-i Khosrau was spread over with ports constructed already in the Hellenistic era. *Mina* is an arabic version of the greek word *Limen* [45].The Hellenistic ports included two basins ; one was an inner basin, *Limen Kleistos*, inside the city walls or encircled by moles. The other basin was exterior, *Limen Animnos*. The *Limen Kleistos* was the site where the arsenal for the storage and maintenance of war ships was constructed [46]. Furthermore, the arsenals were built obliquely, with a deliberate declination towards the sea, so that their lower section was washed by the water, to facilitate the hauling of the vessels inside. To an unprofessional observer, like Nassir-i Khosrau, the arsenal might have looked like an independant basin. Consequently, he identified *Mina* as *Darse*.

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41. Cf. supra n. 2.

42. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellert, J. Schacht (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, new ed. 1965, vol. II, s.v. *Dar al-Sinac a*.

43. Du Cange uses in his dictionary the Italian version of *Dar al-Sinac a*, i.e. *Darsena* and erroneously retranslated it as an inner harbour : Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Incinae Latinitatis*, Austria, 1883-1887, vol. II, s.v. *Darsena*.

44. Ch. Schefer, *Sefer Nameh, relation du voyage de Nassir i-Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Arabie et en Perse, pendent les annees de l'hégire, 437-444 (1035-1047)*, Paris, 1889, p. 49-50.

45. *Encyclopedia of Islam, op. cit.*, vol. IV, s.v. *Mina*.

46. For the terms *Limen Kleistos* and *Limen Animnos*, including examples from the Mediterranean ports cf. the basic discussion of K. Leeman-Hartleben, « Die Antiken Hafenanlegen des Mittelsmeer », *Klio*, 14 (1923), ch. 5,9.

Rey, either using the french translation of the persian text of Nassir-i Khosrau or, using the retranslation of the word *Darse*, reached the same meaning of a port or an inner basin. Yet, comparing Rey's location of the northern *Darse* or *Arsenale* [fig. 3] to the location of this structure in the maps of the XIVth century, one can easily observe Rey's conspicuous error, as he located the arsenal in the area which belonged to the Venetian quarter. Rey's mistake might have given the wrong impression that the Venetians had their own anchorage inside the main port of Acre. The Venetian quarter extended to the arsenal zone in the north-east, since 1258 only [47].

Furthermore, Rey's identification of Khan al-'Umdan as an inner basin was done without any substantial evidence to support his assertion. A thorough geological investigation performed in the late 1970s, including drillings, proved that Khan al-'Umdan was as originally built on a solid kurkar rock [48]. Jacoby's claim that the clumsy depiction, on the map of the XIVth century, of the small bay in the area of Khan al-'Umdan mislead also Rey and his followers to assume the existence of an inner port in that area [49], is therefore, valid. Furthermore, Jacoby's location of the *Court of the Chain* in this place [50] is justifiable. It is most probable that the remnants of buildings referred to by d'Arvieux [51], whose testimony Rey used, belonged to the *Court of the Chain*, which had a similar architectonic plan to that of Khan al-'Umdan .

The other construction with a door near Khan al-'Umdan, also observed by d'Arvieux, should be identified with the Iron Gate, the *Porta Ferrea*, depicted on the maps of the XIVth century. In this area, Rey located the Pisan quarter, again without any substantial evidence to support his argument [52]. Additionally, the comparison of Khan al-'Umdan to the medieval arsenal of Pisa is very unlikely. The only similarity between these structures is that both are perpendiculars built with vaults. However their inner space is completely different [53]. Moreover, the location of the Pisan quarter was identi-

47. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 34.

48. D. Sivan, *Paleography of Akko Area in the Holocene Period*, Submitted in Partial Fulfilment for the M.A. Degree in the History of Maritime Civilizations, Haifa University, Faculty of Humanities, April 1981, p. 91. This study confirmed Architect Gat's reserearch in 1962 : E. Linde, A. Raban, « An Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 193, n. 23.

49. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 13.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

51. E. Rey, « Etude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre au XIIIe siecle », *op. cit.*, p. 138.

52. *Ibid.*

53. This conclusion is based on the present writer's observation, who visited the medieval arsenal of Pisa.

fied nearby, to the west of Khan al-'Umdan [54]. One can safely conclude that there were no inner basins or anchorages inside the medieval port of Acre.

It should be noted that Pococke, the English traveller who visted Acre in 1738, did not mention verbally nor depicted on his drawing, these inner basins [55]. Pococke, doubtless, did not use the maps of the XIVth century, especially not the versions of the Pietro Vesconte maps.

Still, how one can explain the location of the chain in the coloured bay depicted on the versions of Pietro Vesconte's maps and identified as the site of the present Khan al-'Umdan ? It should be remembered that the maps were not made by Vesconte and his crew in Acre but in Venice, according to Marino Sanudo's drawings and notes, but not an accurate map. Those notes were made during the visit of the later in the site in 1285 or 1286. Consequently, Vesconte's maps distorted various topographical data in relation to the port : the location of the eastern mole ; the making out the southern quay of two sections instead of being continuous and the drawing and colouring of the small bay under discussion, as an inner anchorage closed with a chain, the same one which closed the entrance to the port [56]. The question which should, therefore, be asked is, where was the exact location of the chain, which closed the entrance of the port in the medieval period ?

The underwater archaeologists, Linder and Raban, stated that the chain in the Crusader period, as well as in the previous Tulunid period (IXth century), closed the western section of the port of Acre, creating there an independent anchorage. Along its southern side, this basin was flanked with a breakwater and on its eastern side, with an inner eastern mole. The remnants of this structure, consisting of small ashlar stones and reused pillars, were found underwater, spread along hundred meters northward of the submerged square tower, above mentioned, at the eastern tip of the southern breakwater. The chain, which closed this western anchorage, extended from the northern tip of the inner eastern mole northward, to a Crusader tower situated on shore, the present *Ptolemais Restaurant*. They calculated the distance between these structures to be shorter than the one between the Tower of the Flies and the tower at the eastern end of the southern quay. These scholars argue that Ibn Tulun wanted to endow Acre the same configuration as the

54. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit*., p. 19-25.

55. R. Pococke, *Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, London, 1743, cited in B. Dichter Eng. (ed.), *The Maps of Acre, An Historical Cartography*, Israel, 1973, p. 34-39 esp. p. 35 and drawing in p. 36.

56. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit*., p. 7 and n. 29, p. 14. To my view, the couleред bay is one of Vesconte's map distortions and not only a clumsy depiction, as called by Jacoby, *Ibid*., p. 13.

southern port of Tyre. They claim to base their argument on the identification of the southern port of Tyre as the one which functioned in the medieval period. According to Linder and Raban, this identification was made by Poidebard, the archaeologist who conducted an underwater expedition in the southern port of Tyre during the 1930s [57].

Following Linder and Raban, Benvenisti and Jacoby reconstructed similarly the inner space of the medieval port of Acre. Yet, in his drawing of the Port, Benvenisti exagerated in the length of the inner eastern mole, at the end of which he depicted a tower [58]. Such a tower was not indicated in the report of the underwater surveys carried out in the port in 1964, nor were it or its remnants found in that area during a rescue excavation conducted there in 1987 [59]. Furthermore, claiming to rely on the descriptions of William of Tyre and Theodoric, Benvenisti atributed to Acre a double port. He erroneously identified the western section of the port, the one enclosed by a chain, as the inner basin whereas the eastern section of the port, flanked with the eastern *mole of the Tower of the Flies* as the outer basin [60]. Jacoby, on the other hand, stated : « ... It is clear that the harbour [of Acre] was divided into two sections, like that of Tyre, a fact mentioned by Theodoric... » [61]. Yet, Theodoric, indicated explicitly that Tyre had a double port, one inside the city walls and the other outside them [62]. A similar description relevant to the port of Acre was made by William of Tyre. According to him the port of Acre was inside the walls, i. e., the mole and the quay. The ships could anchor outside them, where (or when) it was calm [63]. However, Jacoby's drawing shows clearly that both sections of the port were encircled by walls [64], thus making the same mistake as Benvenisti.

Reviewing Linder's and Raban's theory, one could not avoid the following reservations : 1. The fact that the southern port of Tyre was built with

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57. E. Linder, A. Raban, « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 183, fig. 1, points 18, 30., p. 184, 190, 193. Cf. *Ibid.*, the drawing of the southern port of Tyre, taken after the one in Poidebard's report.

58. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, p. 95-97, and map p. 88.

59. R. Gertwagen, « A Rescue Underwater Excavation in the Fishing Harbour of Acre », *Centre of Maritime Studies News*, 16 (1989).

60. M. Benevenisti, *op. cit.*, p. 95., Cf. Jacoby's remark on Benvenisti's error : D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 13 and n. 60.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 9 and n. 36.

62. « Theodericus », in R.B.C. Huygens (ed.), *Peregrinationes Tres, Saewulf, John of Wurzburg, Theodericus*, Turnhout, 1994, p. 196, lines 1605-1607.

63. *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon, op. cit.*

64. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, fig. 4.

six moles [65]. If Ibn Tulun had the intention to endow Acre with the layout of the southern port of Tyre, one would expect the port of Acre to be also built with similar number of moles. Instead, according to Linder's and Raban's reconstruction, the port of Acre had only three moles : the southern, the inner eastern and the exterior eastern mole. 2. A resurvey of the building which is used today by the *Ptolemais Restaurant*, proves it was constructed in the post Crusader era — in the Ottoman period. Furthermore, comparing its architectonic features to those of the medieval fortified structures in Acre, the building under discussion should be classified as a dwelling. 3. The archaeologists' claim that the remnants north of the eastern end of the southern breakwater are of a mole is without any substantial support, as they did not excavate them. 4. The distance between the northern tip of their inner eastern mole and the *Ptolemais Restaurant* is 110 meters, whereas the distance between the Tower of the Flies and the eastern end of the southern quay is eighty five meters. 4. It is true that Poidebard worked in the southern port of Tyre, but as he himself declared, although not scientifically sustaining his claim, that it was the northern port which functioned in the medieval period [66]. However, there are conclusive evidence to prove that the northern port of Tyre was the only one to operate in that period :

The first of these is the agreement among the medieval travellers' descriptions, mainly that of Ibn Jubayr, and the remnants of this port, recorded on Poidebard's drawing [fig. 4]. According to Ibn Jubayr : « ... [the port entrance] an openning between two high towers... the port... serrounded on its three sides by the city walls and on its other side by a wall [mole]... » [67]. The southern port of Tyre on the other hand, is not encirlced by any of the city walls but is entirely built with six moles [68].

The second evidence is the results of H. Frost's underwater survey conducted in the 1960s. Analizing the geographical, marine engineering and archaeological data of both ports of Tyre, Frost proved that the southern port functioned only till the end of the Roman period. It has been silted since then till today. Furthermore, when this port was active, it could not accomodate the commercial sailing ships but small boats propelled by oars only. On the other hand, the northern port of Tyre did not suffer the same marine engi-

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65. Cf. *supra* n. 57. See the original drawing in A. Poidebard, *Un grand port disparu, recherche aériennes et sous marines, 1934-1936*, Paris, 1939.

66. *Ibid.*, fig. 3. In my paper, fig. 3 is a copy of the original one in Poidebard's report. It should be noted that Poidebard himself did not dive. He, therefore, had to rely on indirect testimonies done by his divers and on aereal photos, which were not reliable, as proved by H. Frost, cf. *infra*.

67. « Extraits du Voyage d'Ibn Djobeïr », *op. cit.*, p. 453.

68. Cf. *supra* n. 65.

neering problems. Therefore it has been operating since its construction till today. Along the reefs, extending to the north of this northern port, Frost found various types of Byzantine, Early Moslim and Crusader pottery and cargoes. No such evidence was found around the southern port [69], which proves its unactivity during those periods.

One can conclude that Ibn Tulun wanted to endow the port of Acre the configuration of the northern port of Tyre. The reefs north of it were the exterior port [fig. 4], referred to by Theodoric [70]. The entrance to the *interior* northern port of Tyre was between two towers, one at the south-western end of the northern mole and the other, on shore west to it. Between these towers extended a chain, a fact indicated also by Ibn Jubayr [71]. That was also the case in the port of Acre. The chain extended between the Tower of the Flies and another tower west to it, which situated at the eastern end of the southern quay. In contrast to Linder and Raban, we presume that the remnants of the ashlar stones and coloumns, found underwater north of the eastern tip of the southern fisher-wharf belong to a tower, built by Abu Bakr in the IX[th] century in the same shaky technique as the eastern mole [fig. 1 n° 5]. When this tower collapsed, it was replaced by another, a squary one, the remains of which are at depth of 1 meter underwater [fig. 1, n° 4]. This configuration of the port of Acre is in a complete accordance with Nasir-i Khosrauw's descipition of the port : « It [the port] resembles a stable, the back of which is the wall [the northern city wall] and two side walls [the eastern mole and the southern quay] streteching out into the sea. Between these, there is an openning of fifty ells [32 meters] and a chain extends from one wall to the other [between the towers] » [72].

The present width of the entrance of the port of Acre is eighty five meters, fifty three meters more than the one recorded by Nasir-i Khosrau. It should be noted that the submerged towers [fig. 1 n[os] 4,5] have never been excavated and therefore their dimensions are not known, nor are those of the medieval Tower of the Flies. Furthermore, the underwater excavations proved that since the medeival period, this tower had been put through a decli-

69. H. Frost, « Ancient Harbours and anchorages in the Eastern Mediterranean », in *Underwater Archaeology, a Nascent Discipline*, Unesco, 1972 ; *Id.*, « Recent Observations on the Submerged Harbour Works of Tyre », Extraits du *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, t. XXIV, Beyrouth, 1971, p. 103-111. I would like to thank Mrs. Frost for her advices about the subject and for her kindess to deliver me her articles.

70. « Theodericus », *op. cit.*, p. 196, lines 1608-1611.

71. Cf. *supra*, n. 8.

72. Cf. *supra*, n. 44. One has to admit that there is no accordance between Jacoby's drawing of the port of Acre and Nassir-i Khosrow's description : D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, fig. 4.

nation of three to five degrees on a north-east south-west axis [73]. Consequently, it is impossible to calculate the exact width of the medieval port entrance. However, the chain which closed it in the Crusader period had been brought from Constantinople, where it may have been approximatley 750 meters long [74].

To sum up, one can safely conclude that resembling the northern port of Tyre, the medieval port of Acre was flanked on its eastern side by a mole and on its southern side by a quay, and had no inner basins. According to al-Muqaddasi, Abu Bakr built « a large gate [the iron gate] for it [the port] in the west... and... over the gate a large building [a tower, fig. 1, n° 1], and the vessels enter every night into the port and the chain is pulled behind them as it is in Tyre » [75]. The chain in Acre [fig. 1, n° 6], protected, the *port of the chain* against hostile incursions. In 1258, during the war of St. Sabbas, the Genoese strengthened the protection of the port entrance by adding a floating chain of thick wooden beams to prevent the Venetians from bringing in reinforcements and supplies to their quarter in the city [76]. The floating chain, however, was temporal, and it was till the iron chain that the the oared ships of the Italian city of Piombino were persued by the Genoese oared craft in 1287 [77]. Although protected against hostile incursions, the port could not accomodate the commercial and pilgrim craft with safe moorings.

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73. E. Linder, « The Excavations in the Port of Acre-The First Season », *op. cit.*

74. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 13-14 et n. 65.

75. Cf. supra, n. 10., Another interpetration is : Abu Bakr built « a large gate for it [the port] in the west [= in the south] : J. Drori, cited by Architect A. Kesten, *The Old City of Acre, A Revision. The Conclusions of 1993*, The Company for the Development of Acre, 1993, p. 20.

76. Andrea Dandolo, « Chronicon venetum », in E. Pastorello (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII, Bologna, 1937, vol. XII, pars. 1, p. 308. Jacoby erroneously distinguished between the location of the two chains : D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 10, n. 42. The means taken by the Genoeses were for the protection of the iron chain, the device of which was located in both towers at the entrance to the port [fig. 1]. The one who took over one of these towers or both of them, controlled the device of the iron chain and, consequently, the entrance to the port. It should be noted that Prawer's location of the chain is also at the present entrance of the port of Acre, although slightly differently. From the Paolino map, Prawer learned that the light house – the Tower of the Flies was not adjacent to the southern end of the eastern mole, but detached from it. From this light house extended the chain which closed the port, to another tower in the west : J. Prawer, *The History of the Crusader Kingdom in Palestine*, *op. cit.*, p. 530, n. 12. As it has already been indicated in this paper, it was the Tower of the Flies which stood adjacent to the southern end of the eastern pier.

77. *Gestes des Chiprois*, *op. cit.*, p. 227, n° 454. Jacoby's assumption that the whole persuit took place near the Tower of the Flies is very unlikely. Similar to the present period, ships did not anchor in the past at the entrance to the port. In the case of Acre it was south to the southern quay or in the open bay, as discussed below. In another words, the fishing boats of the *poulains* anchored at quite a distance from the port. Furthermore, one has to bear in mind that the *Il Compasso da Navigare* adviced the ships aproaching the port of Acre to keep

Problems of Anchorage inside the Port of Acre

The position and planning of ports depend primarily on maritime conditions. A number of topographic and maritime factors are of primary importance : protection against the prevailing stormy winds, which could endanger navigation and anchorage in the port ; adequate depth of water for the draft of the contemporary ships, and protection against the waves and sea currents, which could silt the port.

The prevailing winds along the levantine coastline, during the whole year, are the north-north-western. Yet, the stormy winds are the south-south-western and the westerlies. The natural configuration of the bay of Acre provides it with protection against the north north-western winds but not against the stormy south-south-westerlies [78]. The location of the present southern fisherwharf, built upon older layers, proves that the first builders in the Hellenistic period had already been aware of these dangerous winds. The description of Theodoric in the late 1160s attests to the alertness displayed by his contemporaries to the danger expecting the ships around the port of Acre because of these winds [79].

A special problem, unique to the bay of Acre, is the storms caused by the easterlies. These winds are common during the spring and autumn and they can blow during three days successively [80]. The eastern mole, built by Abu Bakr (IX[th] century) should have protected the port against these winds yet, its shaky construction, described above, and eventually its collapse prevented the necessary protection. In the late XIII[th] century, the windows of the apse of St. Demetrius church, which stood on the western shore of the port, south to a Venetian tower [fig. 1, n[os] 17,18] had to be closed during the blow of the easterlies, as they raised the sand from the beach and covered with it

a distance from the Templar palace and the church of St. Andrew. One can safely conclude that the meeting between the Genoese galleys and the fishing boats of the Pisan *poulains* occured at a great distance from the port. One can also assume that the Piombino *lignes*, which were of a similar type as galleys, had to sail quite far from the port in order to catch sight of the Genoese vessels among the many pilgrim and commercial ships anchoring around the port of Acre. Upon having an eye contact, the persuit between oared propelled vessels began. The interpretation of the text should, therefore, be as the following : The Piombino people tried to retreat, as quickly as possible, inside the artificial port, but the Genoese galleys succeeded in catching them at the entrance to the port, where the chain extended between the two towers, the Tower of the Flies and the square tower west to it [fig. 1].

78. Commander R.N. Alun Jones (ed.), *Mediterranean Pilot*, 5[e] ed. London, Hydrographic Department Under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admirality, 1961, vol. V, p. 39-41.

79. « Theodericus », op. cit., p. 185, lines 1310-1312.

80. Cf. *supra*, n. 78.

the altar [81]. In an official document of March 1290 it was said that this church was flooded, destroyed and demolished by the sea waves, doubtless by a storm caused by the easterlies [82]. A year later, during the Mameluk conquest of Acre in 1291, these were again the stormy easterlies, which caused turbulant sea inside the anchorage zone, thus prevented the Crusaders to reach two boats in the port and to escape with them from the city [83].

Another problem concerning the port of Acre was its incapacity to accomodate large ships as attested by Ibn Jubayr in 1184. Regarding this subject, Ibn Jubayr indicated the advantage of the northern port of Tyre over that of Acre : « ...the port of Acre cannot contain big vessels (*sufun*), they cast anchor outside [the port] of Acre and only the small craft (*markab*) enter it » [84]. As we shall see below this problem was due not only to the small dimensions of the port [85] but to the unadequate depth of water inside the mooring zone for the draft of the medieval vessels. In order to prove this argument one has to calculate the depth of water in the medieval port and the draft of the contemporay craft respectively.

Various terrestrial Early Moslem and Crusader constructions, today partially submerged, prove that the shore line and sea level at Acre have changed since the medieval period, presumably as a result of tectonic activity [86].

The first of these structures is a wall situated in the sea, west to the southern fisher-wharf and south west to *Abu Kristo Restaurant* [fig. 1, n° 13]. At present this wall is connected to the shore by a wharf, built in the 1940s by the British. The lower section of this wall, yet not its foundations are, in calm sea, at depth of 1,20 m. underwater. Springing of vaults on its northern side prove the wall had extensions northward and westward. *Reefs*, which are in reality remnants of constructions, the upper sections of which are missing, extend slightly north-westward. These data prove that the wall un-

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81. M. Pozza, « Venezia e il Regno di Gerusalemme dagli Svevi agli Angioini », in G. Airaldi, B.Z. Kedar, (eds.), *I Comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, Genova, 1976, Appendix n° 3, p. 388.

82. *Ibid.*, n° 5, p. 396.

83. *Gestes des Chiprois*, *op. cit.*, p. 251, n° 498.

84. Cf. *supra*; n. 8.

85. As Prawer claimed : J. Prawer, *The History of the Crusader Kingdom in Palestine*, *op. cit.*, vol, II, p. 531.

86. D. Sivan, *op. cit.*, Raban argues that the shore line and the sea level at Acre have changed since the medieval period due to eustatic factors : A. Raban, A. Galili, « Recent Maritime Archaeological Research in Israel. A Preliminary Report », *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 14 (1985), p. 349. However, to prove his point, this scholar has to show archaeological data from the medieval period through out the whole Mediterranean, as eustatic phenomenons are universal.

der discussion belonged to a complex of buildings, partially dismalted. To the north it was connected to structures on land, the northest section of which was adjacent to the southern wall of medieval buildings of the Pisan *Palatea*, the present Khan ash-Shuna. To the west-north-west, this wall was connected to a medieval building, first built in the Early Muslim period, and nowadays is used by the *Galileo Restaurant*. These data also prove that when this complex of buildings was constructed, the sea level was lower than to day [87]. No doubt, the assertion that during the Crusader period this area was the Pisan port [88] — an assertion without any substantial documented evidence — is erroneous, considering the topography of this area in the medieval period. In another words, this area was terrestrial, containing warehouses [fig. 1, nos 12,13] belonging to the Pisan quarter or to the Port itself. Furthermore, the John's report of 1944 indicates that in 1940 remnants of buildings connected to the wall under discussion still existed in the area covered to day by the sea. According to this report, these buildings were destroyed mainly by the winter storms. Quoting a previous report written in 1840, John indicated that this destruction process had already been observed in 1840 [89].

There are additional evidence for different shore line and sea level in the medieval period : 1. The foundations of the main Templars building in southwestern section of the Crusader city. In calm sea, these foundations, partly quarried partly built, are at depth of half a meter underwater. On its western side, there are quarried remains for a gate, the lower section of which are at depth of sixty centimeters underwater [90]. 2 north-west of the old city, at a distance of half a kilometer north- west to the present police station, there is a quarry which was, presumably, the foundations of a fortification, the one at the north-western end of Montmusard. The lower section of this quarry is one meter underwater [91]. 3. The medieval foundations of the Tower of the Flies, built in a terrestrial technique — *stretchers*, fastened to-

87. R. Gertwagen, « A Rescue Excavation and Underwater Survey at the Southern Shore of Acre : The so called Pisan Harbour », *Centre of Maritime Studies News*, 16 (1989).

88. A. Raban, « Acre-The Sea ». *op. cit.*, p. 1240.

89. « The Johns Report, Town Walls, May 1945 », in P.H. Winter, *Acre Report (Preservation and Reconstruction of Acre, Survey and Report)*, Jerusalem, Government of Palestine-Public Works Department, s.d. [1944], Appendix V, p. 6 and pictures n. 329, 642., Kesten claims that the destruction occured by the bombards during the war between Turky and Egypt in 1840, yet without any historical evidence. However, Kesten agrees with us that this area was constructed with buildings during the medieval period and that its identification with a *pisan harbour* is erroneous ; Architect A. Kesten, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

90. This area was surveyd underwater by the present writer.

91. About the location of these remains I was informed by Prof. D. Jacoby who also toured with me this area.

gether with iron clamps – are at depth of 0,50 m. beneath sea level [92]. 4. At the eastern end of the southern fisher-wharf there are remnants of a medieval square tower built with ashlar stones fastened together with iron clamps [fig. 1, n° 4] at depth of one meter underwater. 5. Inside one of the towers built in the XIII[th] century exterior wall of Acre, a well was built in the same period. A marine geological examination of the water signs inside the well shew that the sea level in the XIII[th] century was 2 m. lower than the present one [93].

From the data above detailed, one can conclude that during the medieval period, the sea level was 2 meters lower than it is today. At present, in order to enable the moorings of the fisher boats and the yachts in the heavily silted port, the anchorage zone has to be dredged. These operations, mainly in the western section of the port, have been conducted since the 1960s. The last time was in 1992. Each time the dredger reached the *vergile soil*, at depth of 3,5 meters beneath the present sea-level [94]. At this depth pottery of the Byzantine, Early Moslem and the Crusader periods were found, during the underwater excavations in 1964 [95]. As the sea level in the medieval period was 2 meters lower than at present, one can safely calculate a depth of 1,5 m. inside the port during the Crusader era. It is noteworthy that this depth of water is quite identical to the present one in the eastern section, which decreases northward to several centimeters. Along the Turkish sea-wall, flanking the west-northwestern side of the port, the depth is 70 centimeters. In the western section of the present harbour, along the southern breakwater and the western quay the depth is 1,50 m. to 2 meters after dredging. Only at the entrance, the depth reaches 3,5 meters [96].

The shallow depth of water inside the medieval port was caused by its siltation due to the following factors :

(a) The human aspect, about which one can learn idirectly. An official Venetian document of 1261 said that the water inside the port was very

92. These data were taken underwater by the present writer.

93. I would like to thank Dr. Y. Nir, the geologist who examined the well, for this information. About the excavation cf. M. Hartal, « Acre », *Hadashot Archeologiot*, 100 (1993), p. 19-20.

94. I would like to thank prof. Raban for the information about the first two dredging operations and Mr. E. Galili, the underwater inspector of the Antiquities Authorities for the information concerning the last dredging in 1992.

95. E. Linder, A. Raban « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 186

96. The depth were taken underwater by the present writer and were confirmed by the local harbour authorities.

dirty : *mare quod dicitur immundun sursum* [97]. The source of the dirt might have been iron and wood refuse discarded by the citizens on the shoreline or the rubbish they threw there and the carcass thrown from the slaughter-house in the north-eastern section of the port. These were carried into the water by the waves, the force of which increased after the collapse of the eastern mole, and obstructed anchorage. These bad habits of the local inhabitants were quite common in the medieval mediterranean port towns [98].

(b) The fluvial silt of the Naaman river, (nowadays only a stream), the mouth of which is south-east to the port and the city.

(c) The heavy loads of sand picked up along the north coast of Africa, off the mouths of the Nile and the stone or *kurkar* cliffs along the Israeli shoreline by the strong counter-clockwise long shore current that runs counter-clockwise around the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean. The peculiar configuration of the gulf of Haifa and the projection of Mount Carmel into the sea, make this gulf a sink for the silt. However, the heavy sediment deposition occurs in the northern section of this gulf — in the bay of Acre, where the wave refraction is intense and causes a wave ray divergence like a fan. Eventually, the water loses kinetic energy and the silt falls out of suspension [99].

The sediment deposition occurs along the border line between the shore and the sea and they might create also sand banks. We have to bear in mind, that during the Crusader period, the sea level was two meters lower than today. As Acre was not encircled with walls on its western and southern side, except of the Templar fortification in the west, the sand banks were created along the southern shore of the town and the *kurkar* reefs over which the Turkish sea wall was constructed. There during the Crusader period the Church of St. Andrew stood [fig. 1, n° 14] [100]. The *Il Compasso da Navigare* warned the navigators to beware these sand bars, when describing the course to the port : « When you approach the said port [of Acre], go at a distance from the city, that is to say from the house of the Temple and from the church of St. Andrew four *prodesi*, because of the bank that is close to St. Andrew » [101].

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97. M. Pozza, *op. cit.*, appendix 3, p. 386.

98. R. Gertwagen, *op. cit.*, p. 148 et n. 32.

99. For a detailed description of this process cf. V. Goldsmith, A. Golik, « Sediment Transport, Model of the Southern Meiterranean Coast », *Marine Geology*, 37 (1980), p. 145-147 ; Z. Carmel, D.J. Inman, A. Golik, « Directional Wave Measurement at Haifa, Israel and Sediment Transport along the Nile Littoral Cell », *Coastal Engineering*,, 9 (1985), p. 21-36.

100. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, fig. 4, n° 2.

101. R. Motzo, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

The artificial port, as above mentioned, suffered heavy siltation. The eastern mole served till its collapse as a bar against sediment transportation from the east. However, the sea waves brought their load inside the port through its entrance in the south and dumped it in both sections of the port. In contrast to their predecessors in the Hellenistic and Roman periods [102], the Crusaders did not create any de-silting system. On the contrary, the circulation gaps between the *headers* of the Roman breakwater had already been blocaded by the foundations of a quay in the IX[th] century, as they were useless being 2,5 meters above the medieval sea-level [103]. Furthermore, the Roman de-silting system in the southern breakwater was ineffective when the eastern mole did not exist. The moment this structure was constructed, it changed the port into a sink for the sediments.

In the western section of the port the ultimate border of the dump of the silt occured along the meeting line between the *kurkar* rock, above which the city is built, and the sea, creating there a sandy beach. This beach extended from the south-western tip of the present harbour i.e., *Abu-Kristo Restaurant* northward, along the western side of the Venetian quarter. On this shore, south to a Venetian tower [fig. 1, n[os] 17,18], stood the church of St. Demetrius, as above mentioned.

In the eastern section of the port, the ultimate line of the siltation was the northern shore where the arsenal was situated [fig. 1, n° 11]. The dumped silt accumulated at the entrance to the arsenal, obstructed its activity. Furthermore, this silt created the sandy beach which has been existing till today from the arsenal eastward toward the eastern mole. The medieval beach was quite far from the southern border of the city, where the slaughter house, *La boucherie* stood. Along this beach, the galey of the Emperor Fredrick II moored in 1229. When he was about to embark on his ship while leaving Acre, the Frankish lords had to raise their voice, (because of the distance), in order to wish him a successful journey. The Emperor, however, answered without raising his voice. Because of the distance his voice sounded very hushed and consequently, it was not clear whether he greeted or cursed them [104].

It seems that the depth of water in the medieval port did not change till our era. Visiting Acre in the 1420s, Lannoy indicated the shallow water in the port, which could not accomodate but the *fuste* and the galleys. The ships

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102. E. Linder, A. Raban, « Underwater Survey in the Port of Acre (1964) », *op. cit.*, p. 141-142.

103. Cf. *supra*, p. 3.

104. Philippe de Navare, *Mémoires, 1218-1243*, ed. Ch. Kohler, Paris, 1913, p. 24-25, par. XLIII-CXV.

of 400-500 *botte* anchored around the Tower of the Flies and the entrance to the port, where like to-day they could find deep water for their draft. The larger vessels had to anchor outside the port [105]. Pocoke in the XVIIIth century [106], Rey [107] and Guerin in the XIXth century [108] also indicated that during their visit the port was heavily silted and that only small boats entered it. Guerin stated that the depth of water inside the port was 1,5 meter, the same as in the medieval period. However, this depth of water could not accomodate the draft of the medieval craft.

The draft of the medium-sized Fredrick's II *salandriae*, for the transportation of sixty horses, which were identical to the oared *taridae* of King Louis IX, was 2,23 meters [109]. In the sandy bottom of Acre port these vessels needed 2,83 meters depth of water [110]. The draft of the *naves*, like those of the Venetians, with two decks was 2,06 meters and the draft of those with three decks was 2,90 meters. These vessels needed 2,66 meters to 3,5 meters depth of water.

These types of ships, including pilgrim ships, anchored outside the artificial port in the open bay, either close to the southern quay, where the depth of water reached in the Crusader period 6,96 meters, according to the *Il Compasso da Navigare* [111], or between the outlet of the river Naaman, south-

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105. *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, ed. Ch. Potvin, Louvain, 1878, p. 144. Ignoring Lannoy's explicit indication that the port could accomodate only the *fuste* and galleys, Arbel wrongly refers to the ships of 400-500 butts as anchoring inside the port, instead of around the Tower of the Flies : B. Arbel, « Venetian Trade in Fifteenth-Century Acre : The Letters of Francesco Bevilaqua (1471-1472) », in B.Z. Kedar, A.L. Udovitch (eds.), *The Medieval Levant Studies in Memory of Eliyahu Ashtor (1914-1984)*, 1988 (Asian and African Studies, 22, 1-3), p. 227-288, esp. p. 238 and n. 34.

106. R. Pockoke, *op. cit*., p. 35.

107. Cf. *supra*, n. 2.

108. V. Guerin, *Description de la Palestine*, Amsterdam, 1969, vol. III/1, p. 802.

109. D. Jacoby, « Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre », *op. cit*., p. 6,9. The draft of these ships and of the *naves*, mentioned right below, were calculated according to Pryor's data : J.H. Pryor, « The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships (Parts I, II, III) », *The Mariner's Mirror*, 70/2-3-4 (1984), p. 200, 203, 209

110. The depth of water required for the draft of these ships was done according to the principles of the calculation made by the modern marine engineering : Alfonzo De F. Quinn, *Design and Construction of Ports and Maritime Structures*, New Yotk, 1961, p. 78-89.

111. R. Motzo, *op. cit*. This portolan indicates the depth of 4 passi (= 6,96 meters). The metric equivalent of *passi veneziani* follows Thiriet's calculation of 1 passus = 5 pieds venitiens = 1,74 m. F. Thiriet, *Rgisters des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, Paris, 1958, vol. 1, p. 228 : « Notes sur les poids et mesures ».

east of Acre, and the artificial port [112]. No doubt, it was in the open bay that Theodoric saw the thirty pilgrim ships, in addition to his own, in Easter 1169. It is true that this pilgrim indicated that the ships anchored ***in portu*** [113]. However, a thorough examination of the medieval portolans prove that the word *portus* is referred to regarding a natural bay. On the other hand, regarding artificial ports these portolans either indicate that the ports are artificially built, or they describe the port marine installations like the wharfs [114]. Fiftteen years after Theodoric, the ship, on board of which Ibn Jubayr intended to sail to Sicily, waited in October 1184 for the easterlies to raise up in order to set sail from the bay of Acre [115].

While the vessels with the low draft were anchoring in the open bay, the cargo, merchants and pilgrims were ferried inside the port, by barks and small boats with a shallow draft. With such craft the poulains reached the *salandriae* of the Langobards in 1232, anchoring in the open bay, in order to attack them [116]. Such craft was used to transport the horses from the *salandriae* into the city [117]. During the attack of Damiet by King Louis IX in1249, even galleys were used to transport the horses from the *Salandriae* [118]. Galleys, like the one of Emperor Fredrick II above mentioned, could enter the artificial port of Acre because of their shallow draft.

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112. D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit*., p. 12 ; *Id*., « Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre », *op. cit*., p. 9-10 ; J. Prawer, *The History of the Crusader Kingdom in Palestine*, *op cit*., vol. 2, p. 531.

113 « Theodoricus », *op. cit*., p. 186, lines 1320-1322.

114. The *Il Compasso da Navigare* names the bay of Modon *portus* : R. Motzo, *op. cit*., p. 34 : *Motona*. An artificial port was constructed in Modon only in 1358 : R. Gertwagen, « The Port of Modon in the Venetian Commercial System of Foodstuff, 1358-1500 », in K. Friedland (ed.), *Maritime Food Transport*, Germany, 1994, p. 188-189 and n. 8, 14. However, referring to the artificial port of Ancona, the portolan indicates that this port was built with a mole : R. Motzo, *op. cit*. The « Portolan Parma-Magliabecchi », compiled in the first half of the XV[th] century calls the bay of Negroponte *portus*, although no artificial port was ever built there during the Venetian occupation : « Portolan Parma-Magliabecchi », in K. Kretschmer, *Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1909, p. 32. While referring to artificial ports the portolan indicates this fact explicitly, like in the case of Candia in Crete : « Candia e porto fatto per forza », *ibid*., p. 319.

115. Ibn Jubayr is cited by J. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 1 et n. 1.

116. Philippe de Navare, *op. cit*., p. 70, par. CXIV-CXV ; « L'estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer », in *RHC, Hist.or*., Paris, 1859, vol. II, p.. 395-396, ch. XXIX.

117. D. Jacoby, « Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre », *op. cit*., p. 9 and n. 42.

118. *Histoire de Sain-tLouis par Joinville*, ed. M. Natalis de Wailly, Paris, 1865, p. 68, ch. XXX.

Mooring in the open bay, the ships were liable to be endangered by strong southerlies as well as by easterlies. In order to safeguard the anchorage of the Venetian craft in case of bad weather, the Great Council of Venice decided in August 1288 to dispatch 30-40 anchors to Acre [119]. However, strong gusts enforced the Byzantine fleet to leave the bay of Acre in Septembre 1169, while in autumn 1190, the storms compelled the Christian fleet besieging Acre to sail to Tyre [120].

In light of all the problems mentioned above, one can safely conclude that the port of Acre did not meet the fundamental maritime requirements for proper working conditions in the XIIth and the XIIIth centuries : Its collapsed eastern mole could not provide it with adequate defense against the strong easterlies ; Its shallow depth of water could not accomodate the cargo and pilgrim ships, which had to anchor in the open bay, and the port could not provide the ships with the necessary repairement and caulking services, as its arsenal did not function.

No doubt one could expect that means would have been taken to remedy the above mentioned defficiencies, because of the status of Acre as the main port of the Crusader Kingdom in the XIIth century and its capital in the XIIIth century. It is true that the Crusaders were *terrestrial civilization* as well as the knowhow of constuction and maintenance of ports had already been lost in the Eastern Mediterranean previous to the Crusader period. Yet, one could expect the Italian republics to contribute in this field. No doubt if such efforts had been made by these republics, they would have been well documented in the Crusader as well as in the those communes' sources. In light of the rivality between these Italian cities to seize power over the commerce carried out through Acre, one can imagine they might have also strongly contested over the right to improve the condition of the port of Acre both with the reducing for their own benefit the local Kingdom's monopoly over the international maritime commerce carried out through it. However, it should be noted, that the Genoese and the Venetians built stone piers only in the XIVth century. Till then, the piers in the ports of Genoa and Venice had been made of wood [121]. Furthermore, the Venetian documents, for example,

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119 . D. Jacoby, « Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre », *op. cit.*, p 7-10.

120. « Résumé de l'histoire des croisades tiré des annales d'Abu ᶜl-feda », in *RHC Hist.or* ; vol. I,p 63 , D. Jacoby, « Crusader Acre... », *op. cit.*, p. 12 and n. 56.

121 . I would like to thank prof. M. Balard for the information about Genoa. As For Venice, cf. E. Crouzet-Pavan, *« Sopra le acque salse ». Espace, pouvoir et societé à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age*, Roma, 1992, vol. 1, p. 238. I have already discussed it elsewhere, that Venice only introduced hydraulic concrete based on *pozzolana* in the mid-eighteen century, R. Gertwagen, « The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299-1363) », *op. cit.*, p. 152.

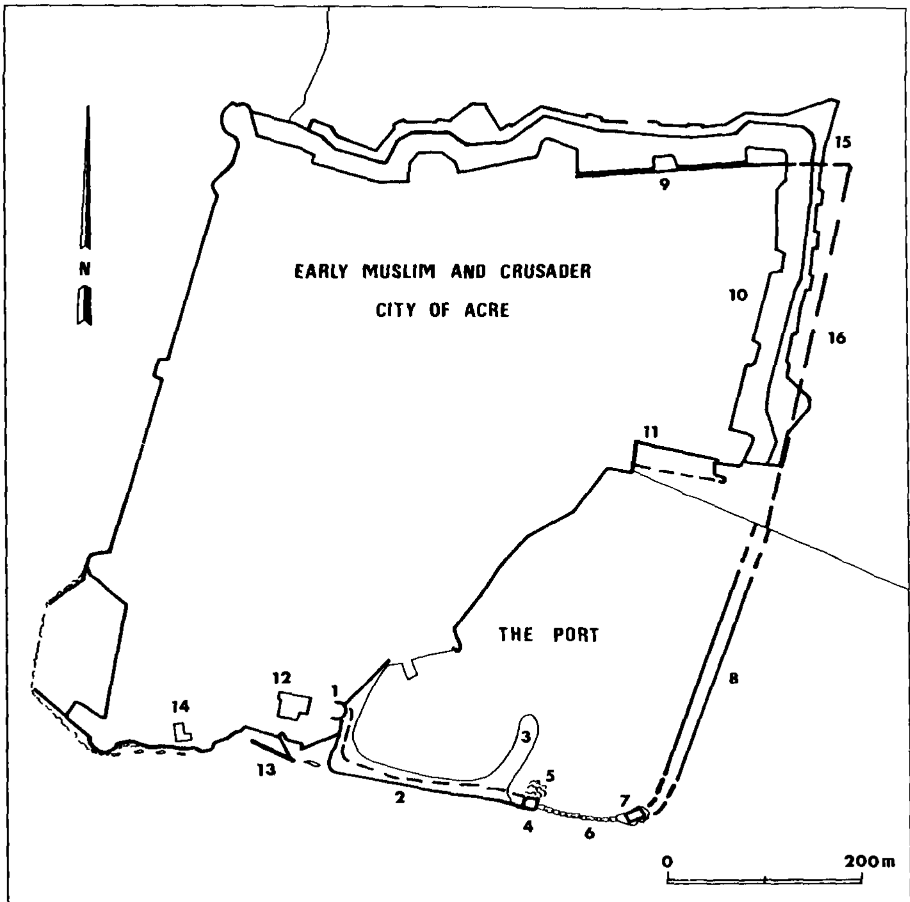
prove that the Venetians lacked the skills to maintain adequate depth of water in Venice as well as in the ports of their colonies in the Aegean [122].

The shortcomings of the port of Acre raise the question as to why it continued to be the main port of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and not the northern port of Tyre, which did not suffer the same porblems ? This question is sharpened if we bear in mind, that during the Ayyubid rule (1187-1191) it was only Tyre not to have been conquerred by the Muslims. Consequently, it served as the main port and the administrative centre of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The answer lies in the different geographical location of both port towns. In contrast Acre, Tyre was located far away from the borders of Palestine and therefore, could not enable a direct short access to this country. Furthermore, the access from Tyre to the hinterland and Syria was complicated and difficult, a fact which gave her a severe economic as well as strategic disadvantage comparing to Acre. No doubt, Acre owed its status as the main port of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in the XIIIth century to the political role played by the city, being the administrative centre of the Kingdom. Furthermore, the *Livre au Roi*, compiled at the beginning of the XIIIth century and forbidding, among other issues, the magnates of the Kingdom to allow anchorage in their territory or to build craft [123], show the continuous deliberate policy of the Crusader Monarchy, aiming at the concentration of all maritime activity in the port of Acre.

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122. *Ibid.*, p. 147-148.

123. « Livre au Roi », in *RHC, Lois*, Paris, 1841, vol. I, p. 616-617, ch. XVI. It should be noted that the crusader documents do not mention any artificial ports along the Israeli shore line except of Acre. Furthermore the *Il Compasso da Navigare* mentions only Acre : R. Motzo, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63. However, the non-existence of artificial ports along the Israeli coastline during that period, does not rule out the existence of natural harbours, which lacked the necessary installations for the function of the ports. For the difference between ports and harbours cf. Alfonzo De F. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 74-79.



1 : The Semi Circular Tulunid and Crusader Tower – 2 : The Early Muslim and Crusader Quay – 3 : The Modern Quay – 4 : The Crusader Underwater Square Tower – 5 : The Underwater Remains of the Tulunid Tower – 6 : The Chain – 7 : The Tower of the Flies – 8 : The Eastern Mole – 9 : The Northern Early Muslim and Crusader Wall – 10 : The Eastern Ottoman Wall – 11 : The Arsenal – 12 : Stores – 13 : A Terrestrial Wall (today in Water)-Stores – 14 : St. Andrew's Church – 15 : The Alleged section of The Northern Early Muslim and Crusader Wall – 16 : The Alleged Eastern Early Muslim and Crusader Wall.

Fig. 1. Early Moslem and Crusader Port of Acre

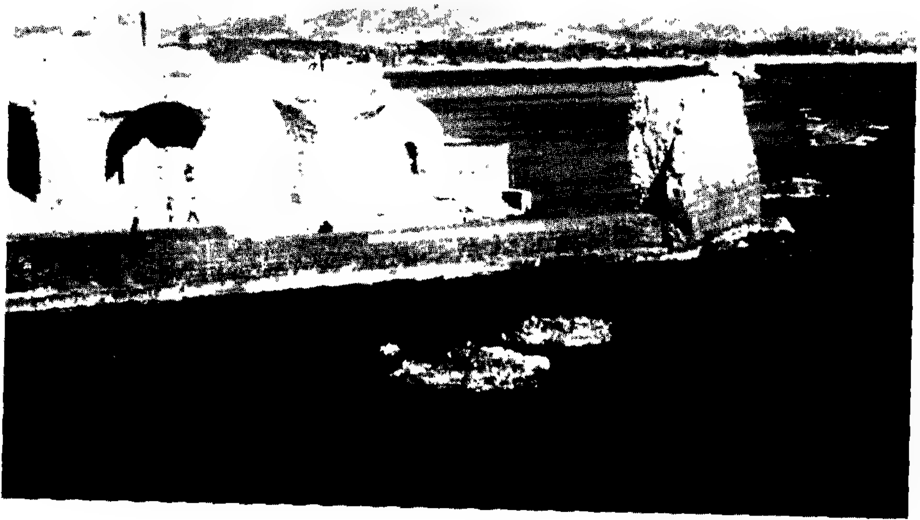


Fig. 2. The southern Roman breakwater and medieval quay before the construction of the modern Fisher-wharf above it. The look is from west to east.

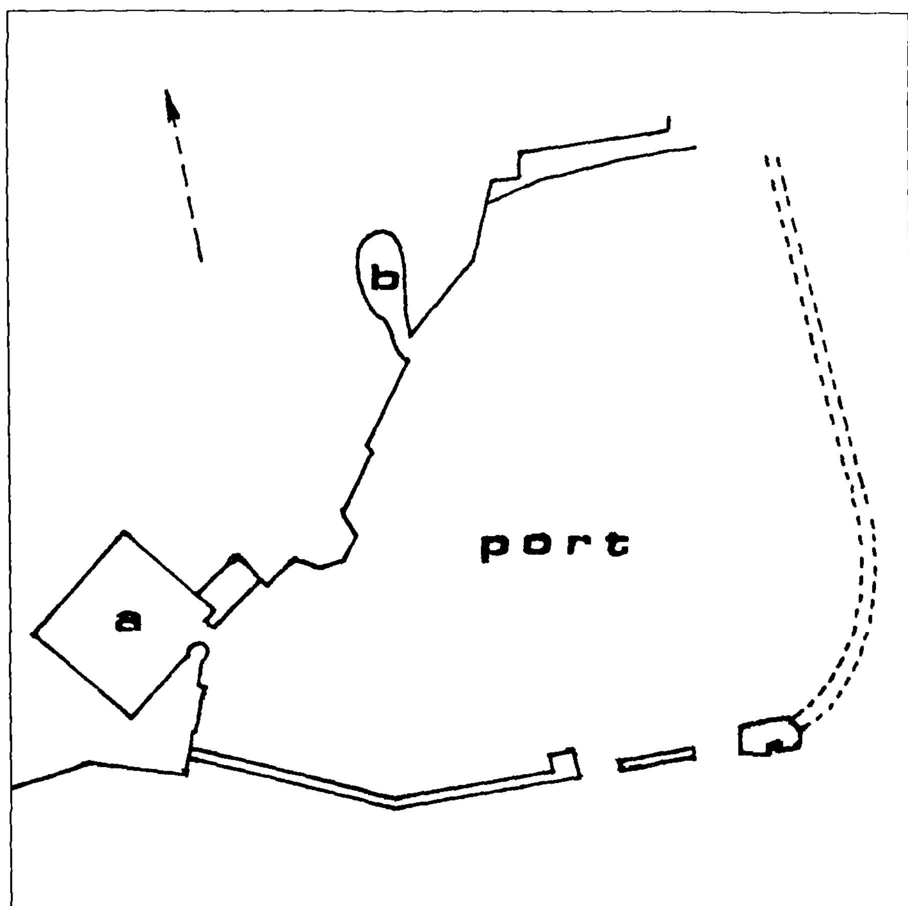
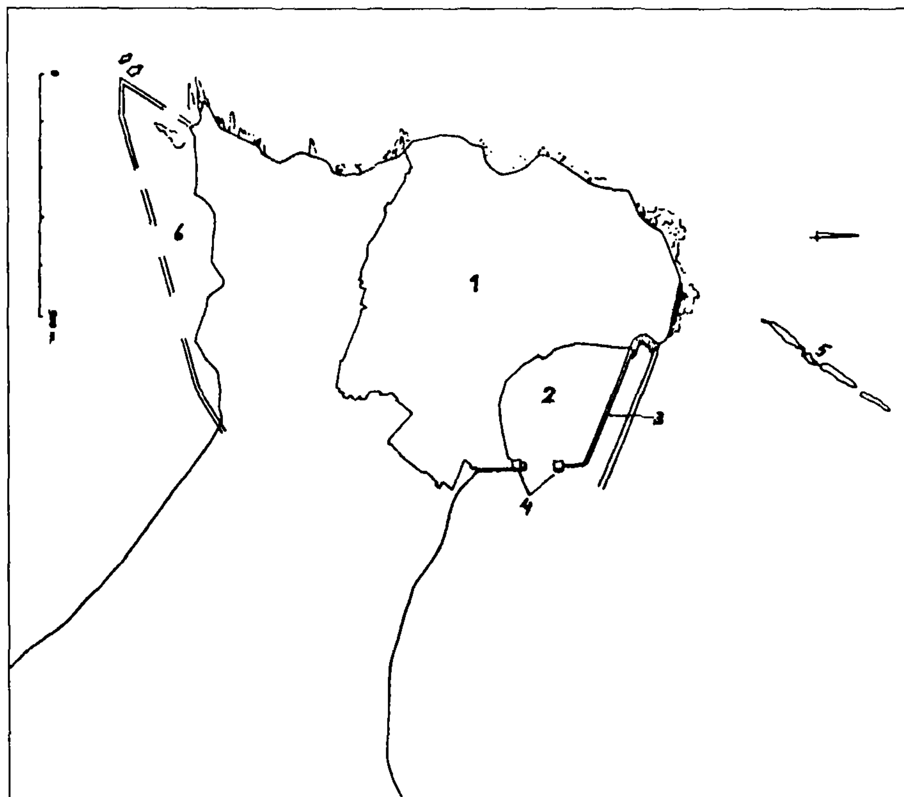


Fig. 3. Rey's configuration of the Port of Acre



1 : The Fortified Medieval City of Tyre – 2 : The Northern Port – 3 : The Northern Mole – 4 : Towers – 5 : The Northern Reefs – 6 : The Silted Southern Port.

Fig. 4. Medieval Tyre

Adrian J. BOAS

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRANKISH VILLAGE AT RAMOT ALLON, JERUSALEM

Introduction

In the summer of 1992, during an emergency excavation at a small hill-site named Khirbet el-Burj in the north Jerusalem suburb of Ramot Allon, popularly known as Ramot, an unexpected discovery was made. On the slopes below Khirbet el-Burj, at a site known as el-Kurum, « the vineyards », archaeologists uncovered the ruins of a medieval village with one row of houses lining each side of its single street (Fig. 1). The plans of the village and its houses, together with the small finds, clearly indicate that this was a Frankish village dating to the XIIth century [1]. The importance of this discovery is considerable. Our knowledge of Frankish villages in the Kingdom of Jerusalem has previously been largely based on the single village of el-Qubeibeh (Frankish *Parva Mahumeria*), excavated in the 1940s by B. Bagatti [2], and a few remains found at nearby el-Bireh (*Magna Mahumeria*) (Fig. 2) [3].

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1. The excavation was carried out by Alexander Onn of the Israel Antiquities Authority. A second season at the site took place in 1994 under the direction of the author. A brief note on the first season was published in Hebrew by A. Onn and Y. Rapuano in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot*, 101-102 (1994). A detailed publication of the site is now in preparation by the author.

2. B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus il Qubeibeh e dei dintorni*, Jerusalem, Franciscan Printing Press, 1947. English translation by R. Bonanno, Jerusalem, Fransiscan Printing Press, 1993.

3. On this excavation see notes by S.A.S. Husseini in the Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives, (*PAM*) 38, 1946, 1947 now in the Israel Antiquities Authority archives in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.

The Frankish settlement at el-Kurum was a planned, western European-type village. It has almost nothing in common with the local Oriental villages, which typically have nucleated plans : i.e., the houses surround an open area in which the mosque or church is situated, with the outer houses built against one another, thus providing a type of defensive wall to protect the interior. Such villages are a natural growth, developing over a long time without intentional planning. On the other hand, the village at el-Kurum is typical of medieval Europe where, as is well known, many such villages were established in the XIIth century. These villages consisted of a central axial road or occasionally parallel streets lined on either side by a row of houses built on long, narrow plots. The appearance of linear-plan villages in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem is significant. It provides evidence not only that western traditions influenced Frankish settlement but, perhaps more importantly, that a relative security existed in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-XIIth century, seeing that the linear village was more difficult to defend.

There are certain elements at el-Kurum that are absent in the houses at el-Qubeibeh, most notably the terraced fields and the fireplaces and chimneys discussed below. Consequently the discovery and excavation of this site has added considerably to what we know from the other sites, enabling us to produce a fairly accurate picture of the typical XIIth century Frankish village in the Holy Land.

Archaeological Evidence

In el-Kurum no public buildings similar to the church and curia at the centre of el-Qubeibeh have yet been found, but the tower — Khirbet el-Burj — was possibly the manor house of the village. It is an elongated two-storey structure covering an area of 270 square metres, with massive walls 1.4 to 2.35 m thick (Fig. 3). Construction is of fieldstones with a rubble and mortar fill. The interior was originally plastered. The ground floor may have been intended for storage or stabling. A staircase built into the thickness of the eastern wall led to the upper floor, which probably served as the living area.

The houses of the village are small, narrow, barrel-vaulted structures, averaging about 10 x 4 m internally and built with thick rubble and ashlar walls. The walls of several houses are shared, showing that the village was constructed as a single enterprise and not over a long period. Some of the houses must have had upper storeys. There is little evidence of this at el-Kurum, but at el-Bireh the upper storey of a house survives with internal walls subdividing it into smaller rooms. Moreover, the fact that the ground floors of many of the houses are work areas with installations suggests that there must have been upper floors serving as living areas. In one house at el-

Kurum the stairs to the upper floor are partly preserved in the street wall. There were also occasionally undercrofts, partly excavated in the bedrock and partly constructed (Fig. 4). These rooms were reached via stairs from inside the house or directly from the street ; no doubt such underground rooms would have been intended for storage. Both at el-Qubeibeh and el-Kurum the settlers were involved in the production of wine and these cellars would be ideal for the storage of wine. In the ground floor of many of the houses large wine-treading basins were constructed near the doorways. These basins were built of stone and lined with two thick layers of pink hydraulic plaster. Pipes at their floor level fed collecting vats which were carved in the bedrock floor (Fig. 5). In other houses presses used for olive oil manufacture were found. The construction of oil and wine presses within the houses, rather than in the open fields as was customary in the Near East, is additional evidence for the western origin of the inhabitants. Bread was baked in large ovens ; one such oven was built into the wall of a house at el-Qubeibeh [4].

Columbaria and other installations were found in the village. Around the walls in many of the houses there were narrow benches, cut in the bedrock where it formed the lower part of the walls or built of stone and plastered (Fig. 6). Their purpose is not clear, as they are rather narrow for seating. In many of the walls there are niches and occasionally large cupboards. A unique feature at el-Kurum is the presence of a number of fireplaces and chimneys built into the northern walls of the houses (Fig. 7). No such fireplaces are found at el-Qubeibeh, although there may have been fire-places in other Frankish villages. British and French scholars of the late XIXth century mentioned the existence of such fireplaces in the Frankish villages at nearby Nebi Samwil and Sha'afat, but the remains that I have examined at both these sites are clearly of Late Ottoman date [5]. Where did the idea for constructed fireplaces and chimneys come from ? Obviously Europe comes to mind. However, in the west fireplaces do not seem to appear in village houses prior to the XIVth century. In the Levant they appear only in the Ottoman period. We do however find a tradition of fireplaces in Druse villages, and in Asia Minor fireplaces and chimneys similar to those at el-Kurum were built in houses since the Neolithic period [6]. In the middle ages fire-

4. *Qubeibeh*, *op. cit* , photo 20.

5. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, vol. 1, Palestine Exploration Fund, Paris, 1899, p. 471-72, and C.R. Conder, H.H. Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol 3, Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1883, p. 151.

6. J. Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar I*, Edinburgh University Press, 1970, p. 14 ; D. Kirkbride, « Umm Dabaghiyah 1974 : A Fourth Preliminary Report », *Iraq*, 37 (1975), p. 6, plate 4

places identical to those at el-Kurum are found in Pergamon [7]. Perhaps, then, this is an innovation that reached the Kingdom of Jerusalem through its ties to Byzantium and Armenia.

At the back of the ground floor of the houses a small room is frequently found ; these rooms served in some cases as the kitchen. In one such kitchen we find a raised platform built of stone on which a *tabun* (a small clay oven used for baking) was found. Next to it was a large bell-shaped cistern lined with hydraulic plaster fed by a channel leading from a small plastered settling tank (Fig. 8). Many houses had cisterns within them or in the fields behind them. The cisterns were fed by water which was collected from the roofs.

Some of the houses had back doors leading into the fields which were walled in by low terrace walls –extensions of the side walls of the houses. These fields were the long narrow plots on which each settler worked, growing vines, olive trees or grain. Only at el-Kurum, and there only on the eastern side of the village have these fields survived. They average 8 m wide and 46 m long, i.e. 368 square metres. This is exactly half of the Frankish *carruca*, which in mountainous regions measures 734 metres. Some houses have fields which are twice as wide, measuring one *carruca*. Thus the plots behind the houses measure a half or one *carruca* [8].

Small finds in these houses were fairly meagre, consisting of some pottery, mostly locally made cooking vessels and some glazed wares, a stone mould for metal crosses and several hundred coins ; however, many of the coins may belong to the second phase of the use of the village. Like the village at el-Qubeibeh, the newly discovered village was abandoned, presumably close to the fall of Jerusalem in October 1187. In the XIIIth century, probably within the first few decades, the houses had fallen into ruin, or, as some archaeological evidence suggests, had been destroyed. At that time pottery kilns were built in the ruined houses producing a range of coarse and glazed wares, mainly jars, jugs and bowls, which are typical of the wares found in the region of Jerusalem in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. One may assume that these kilns were built by peasants from one of the nearby villages.

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7. K. Rheidt, « Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44 (1990), plate I.3.

8. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 159 ; see also J. Richard, « Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States », in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 5, Wisconsin University Press, 1985, p. 254-55. This is the « local » *carruca*, which was based on the area that could be ploughed by one team of oxen in one day (Prawer, *ibid*., p 157). It should be distinguished from the « official » *carruca*, which was basically a unit of taxation based on the area that a team of oxen could plough in one year.

Identification

The similarity of the village at el-Kurum to that at el-Qubeibeh which has been identified as Frankish *Parva Mahumeria*, suggests that like *Parva Mahumeria* this village may have been one of 21 villages belonging to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which produced wine and oil for it. Another possibility is that it belonged to the Premonstratensian Order, which established one of its houses at nearby Nebi Samwil and which possessed additional lands in the region. While, as I have noted above, the village at el-Kurum was discovered during the recent excavations at Khirbet el-Burj, the ruins were known and mentioned before. In 1883 the British Survey of Western Palestine noted ruins at the site south of Khirbet el-Burj, forming part of the same site [9]. It appears to be the same site that is mentioned in pilgrim's texts as far back as the XIV[th] century. In 1336 Ludolf of Suchem describes a place called Arimathia from which came Joseph, who buried Jesus [10]. He mentions it as being three Roman miles from Shiloh, which apparently refers to nearby Nebi Samwil. In a XV[th] century description a church and the tomb of Joseph are mentioned : « Not far from this [the tomb of the prophet Samuel] is Arimathie, from where was Joseph : there is his tomb and a church » [11]. This identification continues in XV[th] and XVI[th] century accounts and then surfaces again in XIX[th] century guide books that refer to « ...the ruin of Khirbet el-Joz, or Khirbet el-Burj, dating to the Crusaders' period, and supposed in the middle ages to have been the chateau of Joseph of Arimathea » [12].

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9. *Survey, op. cit*., p. 125) : « Khurbet Samwil(Mt).- Traces of ruins. Walls, caves and a cistern cut in the rock. Immediately south of Khurbet el Burj, forming part of the same site. There is also a large mound, with side walls of dry-stone. It is marked as a tomb on the map, and appears to be a modern Arab grave ».

10. *Ibi prope est Arimathia civitas, unde ortus est Joseph, que Dominum in sepulchro novo posuit. Non longe ibi est Emaus*, Ludolphus de Sudheim, *De Itinere Terre Sancte*, *Archives de l'Orient latin (AOL)*, 2 (1885), p. 357.

11. Nicolas evêque d'Acquirmann, 1483, in *AOL*, *op. cit*., p. 400. Regarding the tomb of Joseph, however, Fetellus (c. 1130), who mentions Arimathia as being 4 miles from Lydda, i.e. Rantia, notes that Joseph's body was removed from there to Bethlehem, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 5, trans. J.R. Macpherson, London, 1892, p. 46.

12. K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipsig, Karl Baedeker, London, Dulau and Co., 1898, p. 114. Also we find : « Some thirty minutes' climb brings us to a terraced hill-top on which we observe, to our left, a medieval ruin called el-Joz [the walnut]; this is said by one tradition to mark the country house of Joseph of Arimathea, and by another to be the place where, on their walk to Emmaus, the two disciples were joined by the risen Christ. Thence in twenty minutes or so we reach Nebi Samwil », H.C. Luke, J. Garstang, *The Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, London, Simpkin Marshall Ltd., 1929, p. 216, and : « Following a side valley, the road soon passes along a prominent hill, crowned with a large restored ruin, called Khirbet el Burj, with a broad field to the S. of it. The ruin belongs to the Russians, by whom it is claimed to be the site of Joseph of Arimathea's summer house. Not far away to the

In some of the pilgrim texts the village is called Arimathea or Aramathea, in others Ramatha or Aram. Now, one of the villages owned by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was called Aram, but this village is usually identified with the modern village of ar-Ram [13]. Another of the 21 villages is Arnotie, a name that recalls Arimathea. It has been identified with Khirbet Arnutiya south of Nablus. Yet it is possible that the newly found village at el-Kurum is Aram or Arnotie. The question must remain open at this stage. It is a curious coincidence, though, that the modern name of the new Jerusalem suburb, Ramot, falls into the same pattern (Aramathea-Ramatha-Aram-Ramot).

S. is the village of Beit Iksa », G. Olaf Matson, *The Palestine Guide*, 5th ed., Jerusalem, Joshua Simon, 1946, p. 241.

13. In favour of ar-Ram rather than el-Kurum as the site mentioned by Ludolph of Suchhem is the fact that ar-Ram, which is north-east of our site, is closer to the three Roman miles mentioned by Ludolph. El-Kurum is only slightly over one Roman mile south-east of Nebi Samwil.

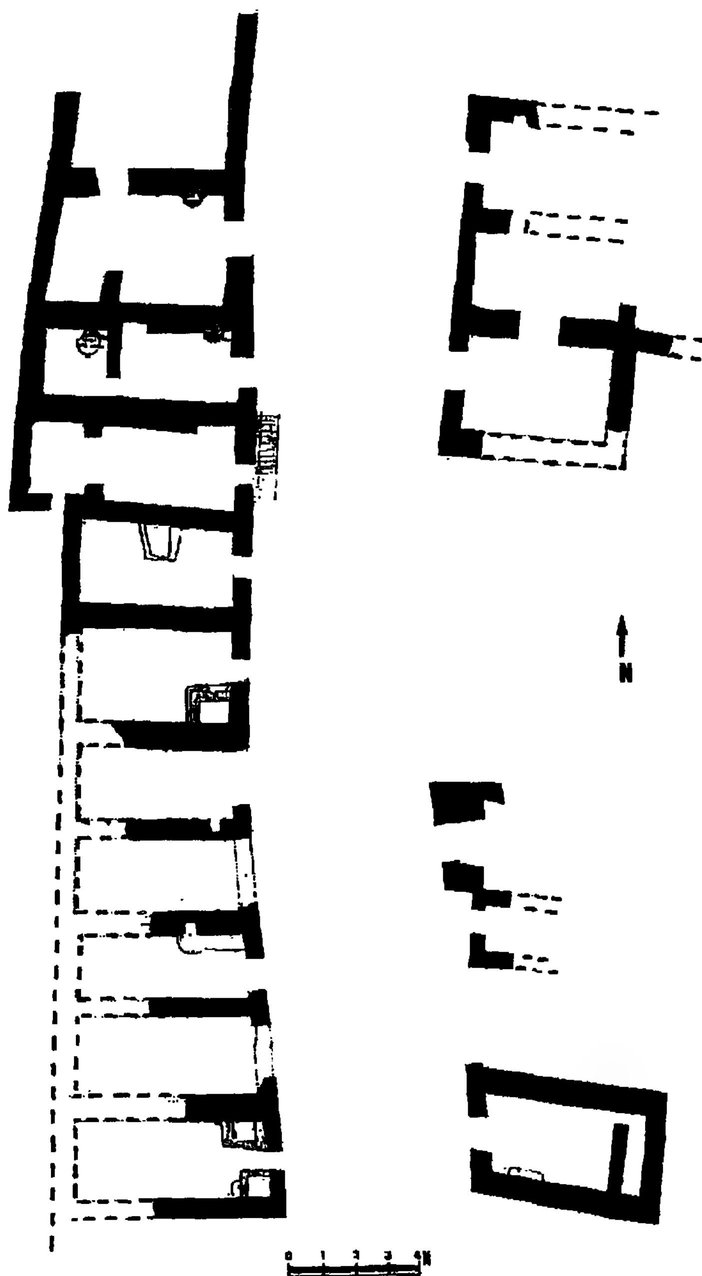


Fig. 1 : Plan of the medieval village at Ramot Allon

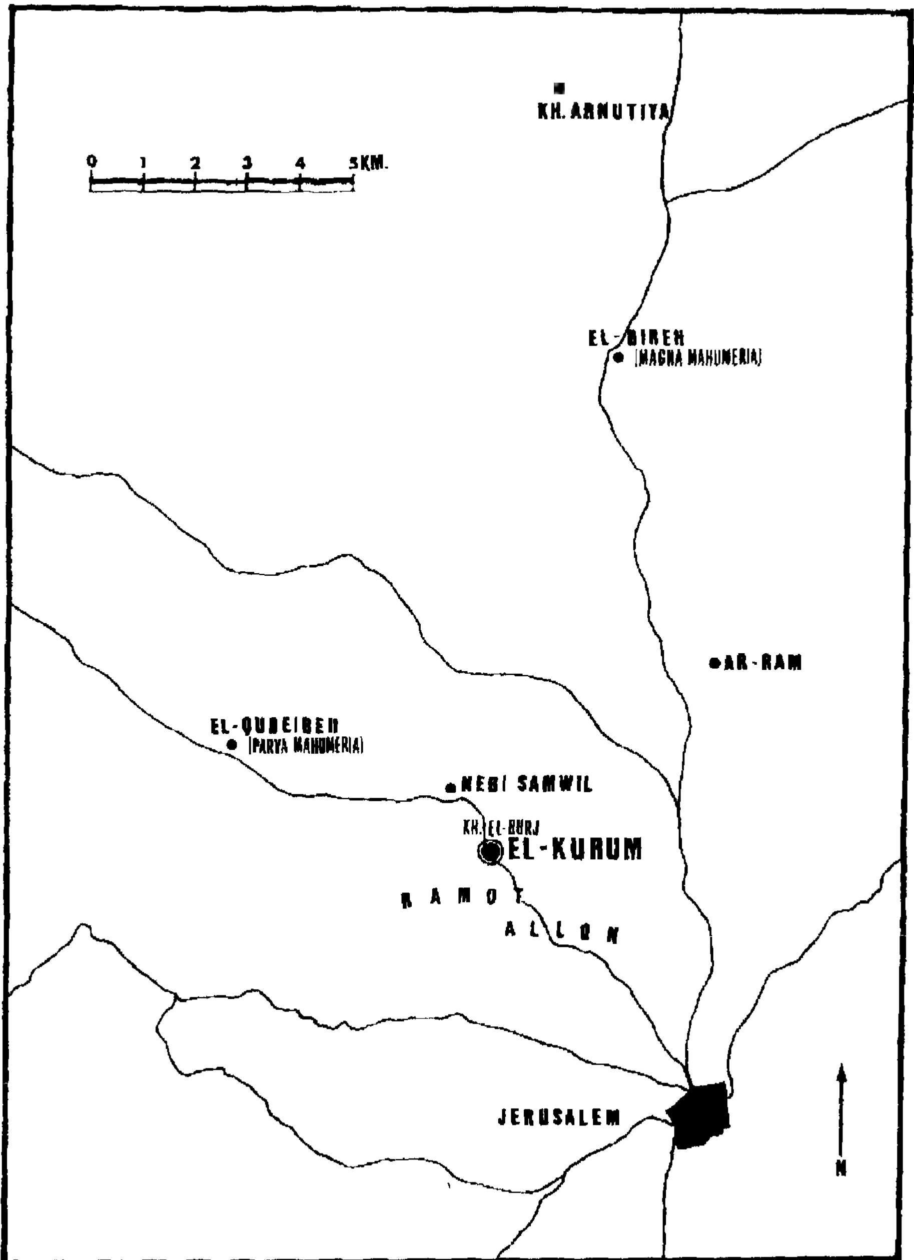


Fig. 2 : Map of Frankish settlements north of Jerusalem

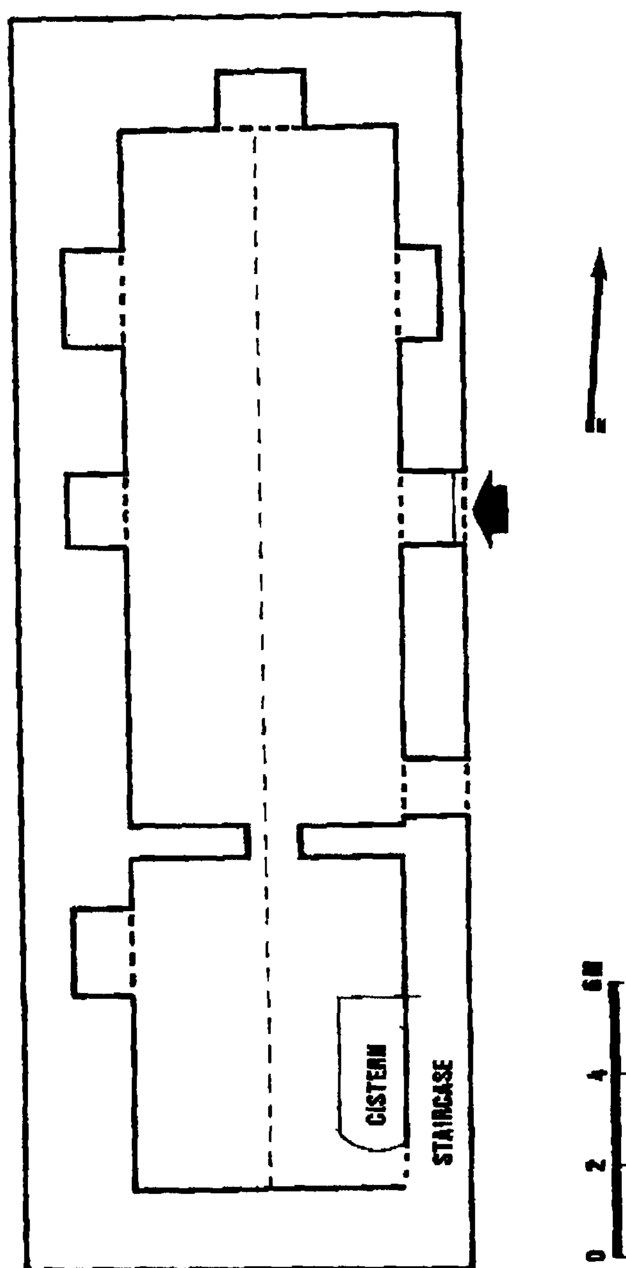


Fig. 3 : Plan of Khirbet el-Burj



Fig. 8 : Plastered cistern and settling tank

Israel Roll

MEDIEVAL APOLLONIA-ARSUF : A Fortified Coastal Town in the Levant of the Early Muslim and Crusader Periods

Location and Research

The ancient site of Apollonia-Arsuf is located on a sandstone cliff, ca. 30 meters above sea-level, overlooking a small natural haven of the eastern Mediterranean shore [1] (fig. 1). Today, it is in the domain of the modern town of Herzliya, at some 15 kilometers north of Tel Aviv.

The remains of the site above ground include : a) a Medieval city-wall with a gate protected by a moat, which encloses an area of ca. 22 acres ; b) a Crusader fortress of ca. 1 acre, which includes a double system of walls and towers surrounded by a deep moat, and a builded port on the seaside ; c) large quantities of pottery and coins of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods scattered on the surface over a widespread area outside the Medieval walls, which indicates that in those times of its greatest prosperity, the city enclosed an area of almost 100 acres. Although, a century ago, two springs have been reported at the foot of the cliff (non-existent today), the city's water supply was maintained for the most part by numerous cisterns that collected rainwater.

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1. For a short general introduction on the site, with up-to-date bibliography, see : I. Roll, s.v. « Apollonia », in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1, 1992, p. 298-299.

The site has first been identified with Apollonia by the Dutch scholar Hadrianus Reland in the early XVIIIth century [2]. The first detailed description of the city's ruins were recorded a century and a half later, in reports by the French traveller Victor Guérin [3], and by the British team of the Survey of Western Palestine [4]. Claude Conder of the British team also drew an accurate plan of the city. The first excavations at the site were rescue digs of the Israel Department of Antiquities, carried out in 1950 at the manufactural area in the north [5], and in the years 1962 and 1976 at the Byzantine church in the south-east [6]. Since 1977, nine seasons of excavations have been underta-ken, so far, by the author of the present paper — the first three seasons on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities with the assistance of Etan Ayalon [7], and the following seasons on behalf of the Institute of Archaeo-logy of the Tel Aviv University with the assistance of the Municipality of Herzliya and of the American School in Kefar Shemariahu [8]. These excava-tions were carried out : in the commercial quarter in the east and the center of the city (areas A-D) ; on both sides of the southern city-wall (area E) ; close to the western city-wall (area H) ; and inside the Crusader fortress, at its *donjon* and at its chapel (areas F1 and F2).

In sum, and from the point of view of « strategy of excavation », digs were carried out in areas located at the four cardinal points of the city, as well as in its center. The archaeological evidence furnished by them, when combined with the written sources, provide a good basis for an overall pic-ture of the archaeology and history of Apollonia-Arsuf [9].

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2 H. Reland, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, Trajecti Batavorum, Broedelet, 1714, p. 569-570, 573.

3 V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, Samarie*, vol 2, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1875, p. 375-382

4. C.R. Conder, H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 2, London, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1882, p 137-40

5. I. Ben-Dor, I. Kahane, « Rishpon (Apollonia) », *Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel*, 3 (1951), p 41-43 (Hebrew) See also Ann Perkins, « Archaeological News », *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55 (1951), p 86-87.

6. Notified in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot (Archaeological Newsletter)*, 3 (1962), p 11 ; *ibid*., 59-60 (1976), p. 59-60 (Hebrew)

7. I. Roll, E Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon · A Model of a Coastal City and its Hinterland*, Tel Aviv, Hakibutz Hameuchad, 1989 (Hebrew) , *Id*., s.v. « Apollonia-Arsuf », in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 1, 1993, p. 72-75

8. I Roll, « Apollonia-1990 », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 10 (1991), p 96-97 ; *Id* , « Tel Arshaf (Apollonia)-1991/1992 », *ibid*., 14 (1994), p. 77-78.

9 To be treated in detail in the first volume of the Final Report of the Excavations : *Apollonia-Arsuf*, I (in preparation).

Antiquity

The earliest occupation level dates to the *Persian period* (Vth century B.C.) and it was concentrated on the cliff above the natural haven. The remains from this period consist of two phases of settlement built on the virgin soil in area H, a large rubbish pit of broken pottery in area D, and infant burials in jars in the north-east. The finds include : local pottery, mainly storage jars, typical to the inland ; imported pottery, mainly Black Glazed Ware, from Greece ; a large number of murex shells, from which Royal purple was extracted ; two dozens of Phoenician coins, almost all of them Sidonian [10]. We may learn from this evidence that the earliest settlement at Apollonia-Arsuf was a Sidonian foundation, that it served as a trading center which had commercial ties with inland Judaea on one hand and with the Greek world on the other, and that it possessed a purple dye industry. The name of the place was probably Arshof – a derivation from the name of the Phoenician god Resheph – which has been preserved in the Arabic toponym Arsuf [11]. Of special interest, among the finds, are three heads of terracotta figurines found in area D : one of them of the Irano – Phoenician type, the other of the Egyptian type, and the third one of the Greek type. Those finds serve as a good indicator for the cultural trends that converged upon the site, as well as of the eclectic nature of its material culture, already at its beginnings [12].

The *Hellenistic period* is represented by deposits of local and imported pottery, and of murex shells, uncovered in areas D and H. This indicates that the Hellenistic settlement occupied the same area, more or less, as previously, and that the production of purple dye continued. Josephus, which provides the earliest written records on the site, mentions Apollonia as a Hellenistic town that belonged to the Jews under Jannaeus (*Ant.* XIII, 15, 4-395), then as a city restored by the Roman governor Gabinius (*JW* I, 8, 4-166). The name Apollonia derived from that of the Greek god Apollo which has been identified with the Phoenician god Resheph already in the early IVth century B.C. [13].

10. I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon*, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 29-34. A full account of the finds from the Persian period is in preparation by Oren Tal of the Tel Aviv University.

11. That has first been suggested by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, « Horus et Saint Georges d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre », *Revue Archéologique*, 32 (1876), p 196-204 and 372-99 and it received universal approval. See also : S. Yzreel, « Arsuf is Arshop », in I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon*, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 245-58.

12. I. Roll, E. Ayalon, s.v. « Apollonia-Arsuf », *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 73.

13. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* n. 11, p. 374-375 ; *id.*, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1896, p. 259-261. See also : W.J. Fulco, *The Canaanite God Rešep*, New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1976, p. 50-52.

To the *Roman period* belongs an architectural complex of underground storage rooms from the IInd and early IIIrd centuries A.D., uncovered in area E, close to the main descent to the haven [14]. The pottery found there includes large numbers of ribbed local storage jars, and finer pieces of Eastern Sigillata ware and African Red Slip ware, which indicate commercial ties with the main ceramic production centers of the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. These, and many other finds, reflect a typical Graeco-Roman city of the Levant, and Apollonia is indeed recorded as such by Pliny (*NH* V, 13, 69), by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* V, 15,2) and on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* [15]. On the other hand, digs carried out in the east of the site have provided Roman lamps, from which the pagan scenes were broken away intentionally, a large group of « Samaritan » lamps, and a lamp decorated with a seven-branched *menorah* [16]. These seem to reflect also the presence of Monotheistic communities at Apollonia, of Samaritans as well as of Jews.

In the *Byzantine period*, specifically in the VIth and early VIIth centuries A.D., the city which, apparently, was unfortified, reached its greatest prosperity and largest expansion. It included a commercial area in the center (areas B-D) a large church in the south-east, a manufactural area in the north where oil, wine and glass were produced, and an anchorage along the shore. More installations for processing agricultural produce were found in the south (area E) and in the west (area H) [17]. The city is mentioned by Martianus Capella (VI, 679, ed. Dick, p. 338), by Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. « Apollonia », n° 13, ed. Meineke, p. 106) and in several other Byzantine and Samaritan sources. Consequently, Byzantine Apollonia emerged as the main commercial, industrial and maritime center of the southern Sharon plain. It also served as an urban center and outlet to the sea for numerous rural settlements of Western Samaria and Judaea [18].

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14. I. Roll, « Tell Arshaf (Apollonia)-1991/1992 », *op. cit.*, n. 8, p. 77-78.

15. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, vol. 2, ed. G. Vermes *et alii*, Edinburgh, Clark, 1979, p. 114-115.

16. V. Sussman, « The Samaritan Oil Lamps from Apollonia-Arsuf », *Tel Aviv*, 10 (1983), p. 71-96 ; L. Wexler, G. Gilboa, « Oil Lamps of the Roman Period found at Apollonia-Arsuf », *Tel Aviv* (forthcomming).

17. I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon, op. cit*. n. 7, p. 51-67, and p. 279-288 (by A. Ovadiah, R. Birnbaum). For the underwater remains of the anchorage, see : E Grossman, « Apollonia, Underwater Survey », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 10 (1991), p. 119 ; *ibid.*, 14 (1995), p. 140 ; E. Galili *et alii*, « Underwater Survey along the Coast of Israel : Apollonia », *ibid.*, 10 (1991), p. 164-165.

18. I discussed the subject in a paper entitled « Excavations at Apollonia : the Industrial and Commercial Centre of the Southern Sharon Plain » presented at the International Conference on *Ancient History in a Modern University held at Macquarie University*, Sydney, in 1993. For a summary, see the Conference's *Abstracts*, Sydney, 1993, p. 56-57.

The Early Muslim Period

The city was taken by the Persians in A.D. 614 and a short while later by the Arabs. During the Early Muslim period the area of the city, now called Arsuf, was largely reduced, but it was better planned and its houses more densely built. In the late VIIth century, most probably during the reign of Abd el-Malik (685-705), the core of the Byzantine city was enclosed by a wall, *ca.* 1 meter wide, apparently, because of constant threat from the Byzantine navy [19]. The city-wall's auter face was strengthened with buttresses, and a moat was dug in front of it. A city-gate, protected by two semicircular towers was erected on the east side. The early date of the city-wall is well attested by dated finds uncovered on floors of two houses adjoining the wall, in areas E and H. In area B, a complex of buildings was found on either side of a street, *ca* 2 meters wide and oriented north to south. Eight phases of use, covering the duration of the entire early Muslim period, were distinguished in the street's floor and in the structures related to it [20].

The buildings of stratum VIII, that is, the lowest Medieval stratum, display continuity from the Byzantine period onward. In stratum VII, the entire area was reconstructed and long rooms that were uniform in plan and entered through pairs of piers stood on either side of the street. These rooms, which contained ovens and fire-places, served most probably as food-stalls and shops facing the passage – clearly a market-street typical of the Muslim Orient [21] (fig. 2). The continuation of the street and its structures was uncovered in area C, more to the north. That indicates that this entire part of the city has been subject to comprehensive urban planning, probably at the same time when the city-wall was erected, that is, under the Umayyad caliph Abd el-Malik [22]. On the other hand, the narrowness of the street clearly indicates

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19. The supremacy of the Byzantine navy during the early phase of the Early Muslim period is emphasized by : H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles*, Paris, PUF, 1966, p. 19-35 ; and by A.R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100*, New York, Johnson, 1970, p. 54-71.

20. I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon*, *op. cit.* n. 7, p. 67-97 ; I. Roll, « Tel Arshaf (Apollonia)-1991/1992 », *op. cit.* n. 8, p. 78.

21. I. Roll, E. Ayalon, « The Market Street at Apollonia-Arsuf », *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 267 (1987), p. 61-76. For parallels see : E. Wirth, « Zum Problem des Bazars (sûq, çarşi) », *Der Islam*, 51/2 (1974), p. 203-260, and 52/1 (1975), p. 6-46 ; M. Scharabi, « Der Sûq von Damaskus », *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 1 (1983), p. 285-296 ; Kh. al-Asad, F. M. Stepniowski, « The Umayyad Sûq in Palmyra », *ibid.*, 4 (1989), p. 205-223.

22. Early Islamic urbanisation is discussed by : R. Hassan, « Islam and Urbanisation in the Medieval Middle East », *Ekistics*, 33/195 (1972), p. 108-112 ; A.A. Ismail, « Origin, Ideology and Physical Pattern of Arab Urbanisation », *ibid.*, p. 113-123. See also, the collection of

that it was intended to serve beasts of burden only, a fact which goes in line with the disappearance of wheeled vehicles from normal traffic of those times [23].

The shops remained in use in stratum VI and then suffered a violent destruction, perhaps during the riots of 809, which broke out in the region after the death of the Abbasside caliph Harun er-Rashid [24].

Stratum V, of the IXth century, was rebuilt with minor changes. But now, the rooms became smaller and inner courtyards were added. Finally, the same market-street continued in use in strata IV to I, in the Xth and XIth centuries. However, the later structures show clearly, that there had been a steady decline in construction standards and in the building materials [25]. A variety of rich finds were uncovered from that period, including glazed pottery of various colours, vessels with Black-on-White decoration of Mesopotamian origin, bone and metal objects, rings, pendants and seals. The large number of tools and nails indicate extensive use of wood for house- and boat building. The Arabic written sources of the period provide a similar picture of Arsuf. That is, a fortified coastal city of the Muslim Orient, densely populated and having a marketplace. It was the seat for religious scholarship, and it served as a center for redeeming Muslim prisoners captured by the Byzantines [26].

The Crusader Period

That was the city of Arsuf which the Crusaders encountered, already in mid-October 1099. A Crusader army, under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse laid siege on the city, without any suc-

essays edited by A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, *The islamic City*, Oxford, University Press, 1970

23. As shown by R. W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univerty Press, 1975, p. 216-36.

24. Testimony attributed to the Samaritan chronicler Abulfathi, *Annales Samaritani*, ed. Vilmar, Gotha, 1865, p. LXXX.

25. For later developments in the local construction standards, see : T Canaan, « The Palestinian Arab House . its Architecture and Folklore », *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 12 (1932), p. 233-247, and 13 (1933), p. 1-83.

26 A. Elàd, « Arsuf in the Early Arab Period », in I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon*, *op cit.* n. 7, p. 289-301 [Hebrew]. For a general survey, see : A. Elàd, « The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle Ages », in L.I. Levine (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, 2, Jerusalem-Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1982, p. 146-167.

cess [27]. That came because of the bitter quarrel between the two commanders, and because the siege was laid only on the landside. The sea was practically open to the Muslims and they used it for getting constant supply from Egypt. Another Crusader attempt to conquer the city, in December of the same year and this time with the aid of two siege-towers, ended in an even greater failure [28]. Arsuf was finally captured by the Crusaders a year later, in spring 1101 [29]. A strong and united Crusader army, under the sole command of King Baldwin I, besieged the city on land. Following a formal agreement with the King, a Genuese fleet kept close the approaches from the sea [30]. After a fierce battle, parts of the city-wall were captured and the Muslim defenders decided to surrender, on condition that their lives will be spared and that they will be free to leave the town. Baldwin agreed to those terms and Arsuf was entirely abandoned by the Muslim population.

The city, now called Arsur, became a possession of the Crown, and later on the seat of a *seigneurie* [31]. The Crusaders restored the city-wall and only some of the buildings along it. One such house, which included several rooms with an upper floor supported by arches, was uncovered in area E. They were built of dressed sandstone bloks joined with mud and had plastered floors and well-made thresholds and jambs. A sewer, built of slabs, that extended under the floor of one of the rooms and emerged in an opening cut low in the city-wall, served to discharge the sewage of the area outside the city [32]. Another building, built more simple and consisting of a row of square rooms, was brought to light in area H. On the other hand, the finds in areas B, C and D reveal that the city-center was no longer urban in character, but was mainly an open expanse, paved alternately with stone slabs and plaste-

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27 Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, l. VII, c LI-LIII, *RHC*, *Hist. occ.*, IV, p. 497-499. See also : P. Aubé, *Godefroy de Bouillon*, Paris, Fayard, 1985, p. 309-316.

28. Albert of Aix, *op. cit.* n 27, l VII, c. VI-XV, *ibid.*, p. 511-516 See also R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1992, p. 72-74.

29 *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, Chronicon*, l 10, c. 13, ed. Huygens, Turnhout, Brespols, 1986, vol. 1, p. 468-469. See also : H.S. Fink, « The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099-1118 », in K.M. Setton (ed), *A History of the Crusades*, I, Madison, 1969, p. 368-376.

30 S. De Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, Jerusalem, Franciscan Press, 1974, p 24-26 See also . H.E Mayer, « Das Diplom Baldwin I für Genua und Genuas goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche », *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 55/56 (1976), p 22-95 ; B.Z. Kedar, « Genoa's Golden Inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre : A Case of Defence », in G Airaldi, B.Z Kedar (eds), *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, Genoa, 1986, p. 317-335

31. On the *seigneurie* of Arsur and its rulers, see : L. de Mas Latrie, « Les seigneurs d'Arsur en Terre Sainte », *Revue des questions historiques*, 55 (1894), p. 585-597 ; G Beyer, « Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Sudwestpalästinas », *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 68 (1951), p. 151-58 and 178-184 ; S. Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1989, p. 180-185.

32. I. Roll, « Tel Arshaf (Apollonia)-1991/1992 », *op. cit.* n. 8, p. 77-78.

red floors. That seems to indicate that the re-population of the city was much sparser than in previous times. As for the wide-open and paved spaces, they could have served as gathering places for the surrounding rural population in case of danger of enemy attack [33].

In September 1191 the Crusaders, led by King Richard the Lion-Heart, won a major victory over Saladin's army, during the famous « Battle of Arsuf » which took place near by the city. The Crusader warrior Jacques d'Avesnes fell in this battle and we are told that he was buried in the Church of the Holly Lady within Arsur [34].

In the early XIII[th] century, a Castle was erected in the north of the city, on the cliff above the sea (fig. 3). The Castle included a courtyard, surrounded by an inner high wall strengthened by semicircular and square towers, and by an outer lower wall with towers parallel to the inner ones. This double-wall system was surrounded, in its turn, by a deep moat and strengthened by a series of carefully built retaining walls. On the west side of the fortress, an octagonal *donjon*, supported by a rectangular vaulted hall, was partially excavated. On the east side, an elongated hall with rounded east wall was cleared-up. The latter may have served as the Castle's chapel [35]. At the base of the fortress, on the sea-side, was a small port, built with jettys and corner towers. A tunnel led from the fortress to the port, probably, a mean of last-moment escape. Another tunnel cut into the bedrock led south from the courtyard to the moat which, seemingly, permitted to surprise an attacking enemy [36].

The finds from this period include bone and metal ornaments, jewellery, and glazed pottery imported from Cyprus, from northern Syria and even from southern Italy [37]. To the mid-XIII[th] century belongs a special item, published long time ago : a seal of *Balian d'Ibelin seigneur d'Arsur*, which depicts the fortress with its *donjon*, its corner towers and its gate [38] (fig. 4).

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33. I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon, op. cit.* n. 7, p. 93-117.

34. Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1897, c. 163-180 ; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, l. IV, c. XVII-XX, ed. W. Stubbs, Stationary Office, 1864, p. 260-77.

35. Interpretation also accepted by D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, I, Cambridge, University Press, 1993, p. 59-61.

36 Y. Porath, « Arsuf Castle », *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 7-8 (1988/9) p. 198.

37. To be treated in the forthcomming publication of A. J. Boas, « Imported Crusader Ceramics from Apollonia-Arsuf ». Research on the Black-on-White Pottery is in progress, by Dvorah Roshal.

38. S Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano*, I, Lucca, Marescandoli, 1733, tab. VI, n° 56. See also : G. Schlumberger *et alii*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, Paris, Geuthner, 1943, pl. XVII, 1 and p. 65.

The Castle, town and *seigneurie* of Arsur were leased by the Ibelins to the Hospitallers in 1261, and the latter strengthened considerably the existing fortifications [39] (fig. 5). But, that was for no use because, in 1265, the Mameluke sultan Baybars laid siege, conquered and razed to the ground the city and its Castle, never to be rebuilt [40]. This destruction is attested in the excavations by ballista stones and by thick conflagration layers.

The meager amount of coins and pottery from the time of Baybars indicate the existence of a small Mameluke garrisons at the site, for a short period of time, in the final chapter of its history [41].

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39. J. Delaville de Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Staint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, III, Paris, 1899, nos 2972, 2985, 3047, 3071 ; *L'Estoire de Eracles*, 34, 4, An. 1261 (*RHC*, *Hist. occ*., II, p. 446). See also : J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, London, Macmillan, 1967, p. 133-134.

40. *L'Estoire de Eracles*, 34, 6, An. 1265, *op. cit*. n. 39, p. 450 ; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, n° 328 (*RHC*, *Doc. Arm.*, II, p. 758-9). See also : U. and M. C. Lyons, J. Riley-Smith, *Ayyubides, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, Cambridge, Heffer, 1971, p. 73-8.

41. See the lamentation on the fall of Arsur in a Provençal song of an anonymous Templar published by P. Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens textes bas-latins, provençaux et français*, Paris, Frank, 1874, p. 95-96.

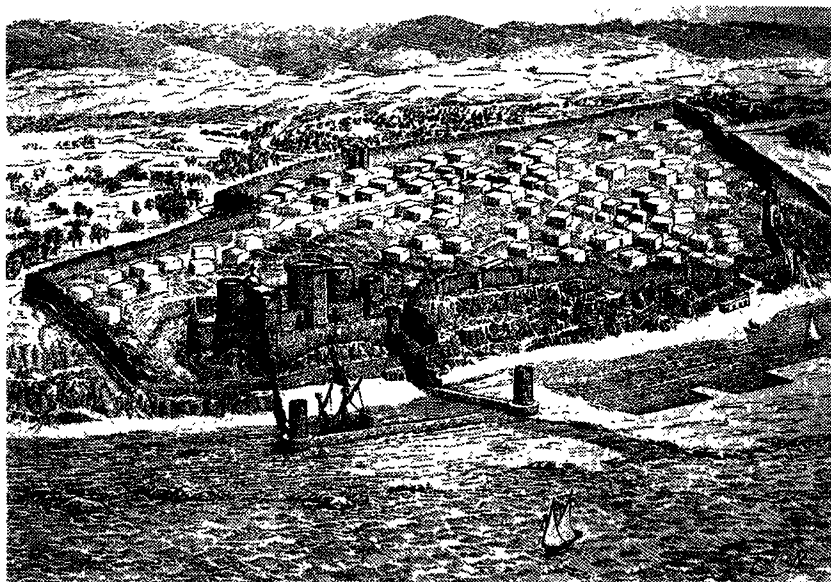


Fig. 5. Apollonia-Arsuf : Reconstructed view of the Crusader city and castle, looking to East (by Anna Iamim)

L'ART DES CROISÉS

Jaroslav FOLDA

CRUSADER ART
A MULTICULTURAL PHENOMENON :
Historiographical Reflections

Introduction

When Pope Urban II delivered his famous speech at Clermont on 27 November 1095 — wherever it took place exactly and however many people could have actually heard him give it — he set in motion the First Crusade, which had momentous consequences for European history in the late XIth century and well beyond. Urban's stirring summons to aid the holy land apparently focussed on the liberation of the holy places and the freeing of their eastern christian brethren from Moslem oppression.

In response to this call, the First Crusaders achieved these goals and more. Not only did they conquer Antioch and Edessa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth in 1098-1099, but also they eventually established four Crusader States in mainland Syria-Palestine. Urban had not apparently envisioned the political, social, economic or military consequences of the First Crusade he set in motion. It is even less likely that he envisioned the remarkable artistic developments which the Crusader settlers would sponsor between 1099 and 1291.

Reflections on the Historiography of Crusader Art

Just as Pope Urban did not foresee the artistic projects which the Crusaders would initiate in the Levant, he could not have imagined the flou-

rishing study which this art has enjoyed in modern times, particularly since the European rediscovery of the Near East at the time of Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt and Palestine. But it was only later, in the second half of the XIX[th] century that serious research began with the founding fathers: Count Melchior de Vogüé and Guillaume Rey, two great French archéologues. De Vogüé established the working corpus of Crusader churches at the time ; Rey did the same for the castles [1].

De Vogüé and Rey shared a more or less common view of the nature of Crusader architecture. De Vogüé wrote :

> « Les Croisés avaient transporté en Palestine la société du moyen âge tout d'une pièce, avec ses hiérarchies militaires et ecclésiastiques, ses coutumes féodales [...]. Les constructeurs venus à leur suite [...] ; ils transplantèrent au milieu des édifices byzantins et arabes les églises françaises de la mère patrie, avec leurs nefs hautes et allongées, leurs bas-cotés, leurs systèmes de voutes, enfin tous leurs éléments essentiels [...]. Les églises indigènes sont basses, timides, sans ornamentation, les églises des Croisés, au contraire, hautes, hardies, construites et ornées à l'aide de tous les procédés usités en Occident, [ils] présentent tous les caractères d'un art déjà vielli par l'expérience, d'une école qui enseigne, et non d'une école qui imite » [2].

Thus for De Vogüé and Rey, what is Crusader is French ; it is colonial ; it is an architecture for the Latin liturgy that is French Romanesque in style. Finally, it is an architecture that was translated to the holy land from Europe by the Crusaders and that was superior to what the Crusaders found when they got out there.

This essentially was the view taken by their successors, eminent scholars like Camille Enlart and Paul Deschamps. But one French savant, Charles Diehl, sounded a somewhat more multicultural note, even in 1897. Charles Diehl was, of course, a byzantinist and an orientalist, so his views were structured much more in terms of the East rather than the West. And even if he did consider the Latin Orient as « la civilisation franque en Orient », he also understood it to be « une société composite et curieuse,... [et] dans cette société si complexe l'art prit le même caractère » [3].

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1. C.-J.-Melchior, Comte de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, Librairie de Victor Didron, 1860 ; E.G. Rey, *Etude sur les Monuments de l'Architecture Militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'Ile de Chypre*, Paris, 1871 (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 1, Histoire politique).

2 De Vogüé, *Les Eglises*, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

3. C. Diehl, « Les Monuments de l'Orient Latin », *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 5 (1897), p. 293-310.

If the French archeologists and art historians who essentially founded and fully established the study of Crusader art and architecture thus harbored within their own ranks a scholar of the stature of Charles Diehl, it is not surprising that his more multicultural view of the Latin Orient would eventually find strong voices outside of France as well, in England and the United States. Between the era of World War II and the 1960s the study of Crusader art was enormously enriched by three scholars : T.S.R. Boase, Hugo Buchthal, and Kurt Weitzmann, who also represent in the focus of their research, the shift of attention from architecture and architectural sculpture to the figural arts and especially to painting.

Boase was a Scot who lived most of his life in Oxford and London, a medieval historian turned art historian ; he saw the Crusader artistic experience — painting, sculpture and architecture — in terms of the East and the West meeting and effecting exchanges in Palestine [4]. Buchthal was a German and a byzantinist, one of Erwin Panofsky's last doctoral students at the Warburg Institute in Hamburg before he went to London and eventually to New York. Buchthal encountered Crusader art in terms of manuscript illumination, a newly identified medium. Weitzmann was also a German and a byzantinist, who studied with Adolf Goldschmidt in Berlin, but who spent almost his entire professional life at Princeton. He newly identified Crusader icons at the monastery of St. Catherine's, Mt. Sinai, another breakthrough for understanding the variety and diversity of Crusader art. Two comments by these byzantinists are worthy of note here. Buchthal wrote : « the [XIIIth century] manuscripts from Acre [reflected] its wealth and vitality, and mirrored too, a multi-racial society whose character, at the same time cosmopolitan and super-national, was so far ahead of its time » [5]. Weitzmann said : « ... [whereas] as in architecture and sculpture, France takes first place in supplying models, for the Crusader miniaturists... Crusader art [and in particular icon painting] is a special case of a conglomerate style which absorbed not only Byzantine models but also Italian and French traditions, sometimes to such an extent that it will remain difficult to determine, on the basis of style alone, the nationality of each individual artist » 6.

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4. T.S.R. Boase, « The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 2 (1938/1939), p. 1-21 ; *Id.*, Ch. III, IV, Va, VI, in K.M. Setton (dir.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, H.W. Hazard (ed.), Madison and London, University of Wisconsin Press, p. 69-250.

5 H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1957, p. 105.

6 K. Weitzmann, « Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai », *Art Bulletin*, 45 (1963), p. 202.

Since 1977, the year that Tom Boase's chapters on Crusader art and architecture appeared in volume IV of *A History of the Crusades*, a new balance has been struck among current researchers in regard to all media, and with that a new, enhanced appreciation of the multicultural character of Crusader work is emerging [7]. In her recent book, Bianca Kühnel writes : « All the Crusader monuments around Jerusalem show a combination of Western Romanesque and Oriental-Byzantine-Muslim elements », and « When Christian rule was renewed and the arts flourished in the service of the new [Crusader] masters, the local Orthodox Christian artists were enrolled » [8]. Moreover, Denys Pringle, who published the first volume of his *corpus* of Crusader churches in 1993, introduces his text with the following quote from Jacques de Vitry (bishop of Acre, 1218-1228) :

> « From different parts of the earth, from each tribe and tongue, and from every nation that is under heaven, pilgrims and people of religion devoted to God flocked to the Holy Land, drawn by the odour of the saints and of the Holy Places. Old churches were repaired, new ones built. Monasteries of regulars were constructed in suitable places, through the largesse of princes and the alms of the faithful. Ministers of churches and the other things required for divine worship and service were adequately and properly established everywhere... » 9.

When completed, Pringle's comprehensive study will enable us to better understand what all the « pilgrims and people of religion » built, rebuilt and used as churches in the multicultural context of the Latin Kingdom between 1098 and 1291.

Crusader Art, A Multicultural Phenomenon :

Partly as a result of these studies, we today in 1995 can see Crusader art in a new light. Consider the following examples : of the four Crusader States, the most important was the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, which eventually covered the territory from Beirut to Akaba north-south, Ascalon to Kerak east-west. The three most holy sites were included : the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and

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7 J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1995, ch. 10.

8 B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1994, p. 165 and 167, respectively.

9 D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus*, 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 1, quoted from the *Historia Orientalis*, ch. II.

the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. It cannot be a surprise, in light of Urban's speech, that these holy places constituted a major focus for Crusader religious attention, and ecclesiastical and political policies, as well as artistic commissions in the XII[th] century.

It is perhaps surprising however, that aspects of the design and function of the architecture, and the form and content of the art associated with these Crusader holy sites were christian and multicultural. The art and architecture combined ideals of christianity East and West as well as the participation of eastern christians — Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, among others — with Latin Catholics as artists and to some extent as patrons. These patrons and artists generated work that was new and original, creative and unique within these most traditional settings, marking this art with exclusive and distinctive characteristics that proclaimed the singular importance of these holy places.

In architecture, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a prime example. The church which the Crusaders found in 1099 was, of course, the church which the Byzantines had rebuilt in the reign of Constantine XI Monomachus during the 1040s, following the destruction by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009. The rebuilt Crusader church was dedicated on 15 July 1149. To the byzantine rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, the Crusaders added a Romanesque pilgrimage road-type plan with a byzantine dome on pendentives over the crossing and special chapels for the Latins and the Syrian Orthodox for the relics of the True Cross, chapels explicitly mentioned by the pilgrim Theodorich ca. 1174 [10].

At Bethlehem we find a comparable example of multicultural patronage and execution in the program of redecoration for the Church of the Nativity. This program was co-sponsored by the Crusader king, Amaury I, the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I, and the Latin bishop of Bethlehem, Raoul, as we know from a bi-lingual inscription in Latin and Greek in the bema. We also have direct evidence of the participation of Greek, Latin and Syrian artists. In the dedication inscription, we find « Ephraim » named, a Greek mosaicist who appears to have overseen the work. In the south transept, an inscription now lost referred to « Zan », a Venetian named John, who may have done the mosaics there. And in the nave, at the feet of one of the angels on the north clerestory wall, we find — thanks to the work of Gustav Kühnel —

10. On the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see J. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, *op. cit.*, p. 175-245. For Theodorich, see now : R.B.C. Huygens (ed.), *Peregrinationes Tres*, Turnholt, Typographi Brepols, 1994 (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, CXXXIX), p. 153.

a bi-lingual inscription which, in Latin, identifies « Basilius » as the artist, and in Syriac, identifies « Basilius » also as a Syrian Orthodox deacon [11].

In Nazareth the decoration for the Church of the Nativity was largely focussed on figural sculpture unlike the programs commissioned in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. However here again, despite the strongly French Romanesque tradition of historiated capitals, the eastern context is expressed in the iconographic content of the polygonal capitals, in their distinctive formal configuration which is remarkably analogous to Islamic *muqarnas*, and in their employment to decorate a baldacchino over the holy place [12].

These important examples indicate how the Crusaders joined forces with the local christians and with certain aspects of the art and architecture of these eastern christians to realize significant renovations, rebuildings and redecorations for major holy sites where were at the heart of the Crusader artistic experience in the twelfth century.

Conclusions

The change in perceptions of the nature and development of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land can be seen vividly in the historiography of the field from 1860 to the present. Up to World War II, we find tremendous emphasis on the French origins for the training of the architects and sculptors. This is the first phase of study. From World War II to the 1960s the focus of research shifted to painting, and to the greatly enhanced understanding of the byzantine contribution to Crusader art. This is phase two. In the last twenty-five years we have seen a third phase of study emerge with a dramatic expansion in the appreciation of the multicultural nature of Crusader art and architecture. While none of these phases is completely exclusive in focus and there is obviously some overlap from one phase to the others, we can clearly see now a new emphasis on understanding Crusader art in terms of the cultural and artistic interaction that produced such distinctive results. We also have been discovering in Crusader art certain aspects which distinguish it from European developments, rather than those aspects which are similar.

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11. On the Church of the Nativity, see : J. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, *op. cit.*, p. 347-378, and the articles of L.-A. Hunt, « Art and Colonialism : The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of "Crusader" Art », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1991), p. 69-85, and G. Kühnel, « Neue Feldarbeiten zur musivischen und malerischen Ausstattung der Geburts-Basilica in Bethlehem », *Kunstchronik*, 37 (1984), p. 512.

12. For the Church of the Annunciation, see : J. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, *op. cit.*, p. 414-441.

We cannot say in 1995 what was said in 1977, that « any treatment of this subject [Crusader art] must largely be a recapitulation of his [Enlart's] conclusions » [13]. The future for studies of Crusader art looks to new and original interpretations and conclusions based on more comprehensive knowledge of Crusader history in the Levant, an expanded and more comprehensive corpus of works of art and architecture, greater comprehension of the richness and diversity to be found in every medium according to context and function, and fresh approaches to the study of this material from the many vantage points of « traditional » as well as the « new » art history.

Just as the notion of Urban's remarkable speech delivered in Clermont in 1095 changed after Jerusalem was conquered and the Crusaders settled in the holy land, years later when various chroniclers wrote about it, so, just as the understanding of Crusader art changed between 1860 and 1995, I also expect our views of Crusader art — what it is and how we interpret it — to change and develop substantially in the future, as we enter the twenty-first century, years from now.

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13. T.S R. Boase, « Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria : A. Architecture and Sculpture », in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Bianca KÜHNEL

CRUSADER ART QUOTED

This paper will try to evaluate Crusader art from an art-historically larger and a geographically narrower point of view than is customary. This evaluation will show that the Crusaders had a mediatory and thus key position in the long process of shaping the physical appearance of the Holy Land. The fifty years separating the first from the second Crusade were decisive not only for the formation of Crusader art, but also for the creation of patterns of artistic behavior for generations to come. On the one hand, the earliest Crusader art modified the architectural landscape of the Holy Land in a very distinct way ; on the other it established an attitude of fidelity to the artistic past, so insuring its full integration in the region. This dual aspect of Crusader art, novelty and originality versus continuity and conservatism, was responsible for its vitality and long lasting impact on the architectural and artistic history of the Holy Land. I will make my point clear with the aid of a few representative examples.

The Church of the Ascension near the top of the Mount of Olives offers an excellent illustration of the intermediary position hold by Crusader architecture in the Holy Land, on two levels : as a bridge between early and late medieval building, and between Muslim and Christian architecture.

The Ascension, one of the earliest churches built by the Crusaders in Jerusalem (probably already in the first decade of their history in Outremer, before 1107) [1], deliberately altered the plan of the previous Byzantine buil-

1. B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century ; A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion ?*, Berlin, Gebr.Mann, 1994, p. 30-33, with previous bibliography.

ding on the site from a circular to an octagonal shape, as became clear during the excavations carried out by Virgilio Corbo in 1959 [2]. The question is why this change was made ? The deterioration of the Byzantine church could not have been so advanced that the Crusaders could not recognize the original shape. In 985 Mukaddasi still spoke of a rotunda to commemorate Christ's Ascension to Heaven [3], and we lack any direct mention of destruction of the building between this date and 1099. On the contrary, there is strong architectural evidence to show that the choice of the octagonal plan was intentional, and motivated by the desire to vie with the Dome of the Rock.

The reconstructed plan by Vincent of the Crusader Ascension shows a striking resemblance to the plan of the Muslim structure [4]. Both buildings are octagonal, their inner space structured by concentric rows of columns revolving around the holy stone. Moreover, the external surfaces of any of the eight walls of the Ascension measure 15.80 m, which is almost exactly the length of any side of the inner octagon of the Dome of the Rock (15.70 m) [5]. However, the resemblance does not extend beyond the ground plan. The Crusader Ascension building obviously had different proportions, being narrower and taller [6], while the Dome of the Rock [7] maintains a more balanced relation between width and height, producing completely different effects of light. The main decoration of the Dome is painterly and colorful, consisting mainly of wall mosaics, marble intarsia, and wood relief carving covered in gold leaf. The re-used capitals are of a uniform acanthus type and are assimilated into the overall picturesque appearance of the interior. The Ascension, judging by the surviving edicule and fragments of the exterior wall, must have been a regular Romanesque church with pointed arches and sculptural decoration. The sixteen capitals decorated with various motifs, that are still attached today to the central edicule, are but a modest vestige of the original building's carved stone decoration.

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2. V. Corbo, *Ricerche archeologiche al Monte degli Ulivi*, Jerusalem, The Franciscan Press, 1965.

3. Mukaddasi, *Description of Syria, Including Palestine*, tr. by G. Le Strange, London, 1896 (Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, III,3), p. 50.

4. Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, *op. cit.*, figs. 11 and 13.

5. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture, with a Contribution on the Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem... by M. Gautier van Berchem*, part I, vol. 1, Oxford, Clarendon, 1969, p. 107.

6. Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, *op. cit.*, fig.14.

7. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, *op. cit.* See also : O. Grabar, « The Ummayad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem », *Ars Orientalis*, 3 (1959), p. 33-62 (also in *id.*, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1976, n° II) ; M. Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Haram Al-Sharif; An Iconographic Study*, Jerusalem, 1989 (Qedem, 28).

We may say that the octagonal plan borrowed by the Crusaders served as a conveyor of meaning from the Temple Mount to the Mount of Olives, designed to commemorate the stone bearing the imprint of Christ's foot by means of a structure of the same type as the Dome of the Rock. However, the copying was by no means a slavish one, for the style of the new building and of its carved decoration is not that of the Ummayad or early Byzantine type, but that of contemporary Western Europe [8].

The later history of the same type of building reinforces the implication of the Crusader use of the Dome of the Rock's octagonal plan.

In 1200, according to an Arabic inscription above the entrance, an octagonal edicule was set up to commemorate the place from which the Prophet Muhammad started on his night journey through the heavens [9]. The Arabic name Qubat al M'iraj means the Dome of the Ascension. In spite of its topographical and cultic proximity to the Dome of the Rock (the structure is a few meters to the West of the Dome), the Dome of Muhammad's Ascension is architecturally closer to the Mount of Olives' Church of Christ's Ascension. Moreover, the capitals attached to Qubat al M'iraj are re-used Crusader capitals, very similar in dimensions, motifs, and style to those of the Mount of Olives [10].

It seems as if the Crusaders translated the Ummayad octagon of the Dome of the Rock into a medieval Romanesque building, thus making it accessible for later use. A fourth building, in the north-eastern part of the Temple Mount, is affiliated to the same chain : not documented in written sources, the only indications of its original dedication or use are the several denominations of the building surviving in the oral Arabic tradition : Qubat Sakfeh Sakrah (the Dome of the Fragment of the Rock), the name which brings us closest to the previous three buildings discussed, is the first in the series. The other names still in use are all associated with the memory of a person : Qubat Suleiman, Qubat Ishaq, and Kursi Aisa, the last being preferred by Vincent and meaning the Throne of Christ [11]. The common denominator of all four possible identities is the indication of a memorial building, which keeps us in the same iconographical tradition as the Dome of the Rock, the Church of Christ's Ascension and the Dome of Muhammad's

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8. B. Kühnel, « Steinmetzen aus Fontevrault in Jerusalem ; eine Bauplastikwerkstatt der Kreuzfahrerzeit », *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 33 (1980), p. 83-97.

9. M. de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Paris, Noblet & Baudry, 1864, p. 104, fig. 45 ; H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Fasc. III, Paris, J. Gabalda, 1922, p. 604, note 2.

10. Kühnel, Steinmetzen, *passim* ; *id.*, *Crusader Art*, *op. cit.*, figs. 16,18.

11. Vincent, Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, *op. cit.*, Fasc. III, p. 604-608, figs. 249-251, pls. LXI-LXII.

Ascension. This would in fact be the common basis for the similarities in shape and detail between the three medieval octagonal edicules and their common source in the Ummayad Dome of the Rock. The capitals, this time in the interior of the building, are, as in the case of Qubat al M'iraj, re-used Crusader capitals [12]. There is indeed a possibility, as Vincent thought, that the building is of Crusader construction, although the similarity and proximity to Qubat al M'iraj speak rather for an Ayyubid identity.

Our next chain of examples brings us into later Muslim architecture and architectural decoration, during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent left his charitable mark on Jerusalem by constructing six public water fountains (sabils), all dated by precise inscriptions between June 1536 and February 1537 [13]. Unlike his other building activities in Jerusalem, which were mainly restorations of existing monuments (as the exterior of the Dome of the Rock, or the city's walls and gates), the six sabils represent an original contribution. They are outstanding monuments, as completely different from the previous Ayyubid and Mamluk sabils in Jerusalem, and from the fountains built by Suleiman elsewhere, Turkey included [14]. As a result of their originality and consistency, the six sabils of Suleiman the Magnificent carry an art historical message which cannot be ignored. More than one component of their structure points to Crusader architecture and architectural decoration. The sabils are in fact blind doorways, structured as Romanesque portals with a chain of arches gradually recessing, each being appropriately marked by simple molding or by more elaborate decoration. For comparison, we may look at the reconstructed portal of the Dormition Church in the Josaphat Valley [15], or at the portal of the Church of St. Anne, built by the Crusaders in the 1140's and turned into a madrassa by Saladin in 1192 [16].

Suleiman the Magnificent's architects clearly showed their liking for Crusader architecture, not only by imitating Crusader portals but also by making secondary use of Crusader carved decoration ; The sabil on Bab al-

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12. *Ibid.*, pl. LXII.

13. M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 2, *Syrie du Sud*, Cairo, L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1923, p 413-417 ; Vincent, Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Fasc. IV, Paris, J. Gabalda, 1926, p. 994-999 ; M. Rosen-Ayalon, « On Suleiman's *Sabils* in Jerusalem », dans *The Islamic World, from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princenton, N.J., The Darwin Press, 1989, p. 589-607.

14. Rosen-Ayalon, *art. cit.*, p. 589.

15. Reconstructed façade in Vincent, Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle, op. cit.*, Fasc. IV, pl. LXXXII.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 685-742, pls. LXX (ground plan)- LXXIV.

Wad Street, near the entrance to Suq al-Qattanin (Cotton Market), has re-used Crusader capitals supporting the arches [17]. The sabil facing the entrance to Bab al-Silsila (Gate of the Chain) leading into the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount) shows two triangular fragments of Crusader scroll decoration, probably taken from some broken frieze of the Holy Sepulchre, as a similar decoration still in situ there indicates [18]. A third sabil, not far from another entrance to the Haram, Bab al-Nazir, at the meeting of Bab al-Wad and Ala' al-Din streets, displays not only re-used Crusader plaited columns with capitals, but also archivolts decorated with scroll and rosette motifs in the typical South Italian style characteristic of the so-called Crusader workshop of the Temple Mount [19]. To the same workshop belongs the re-used rosette constituting the core of the tympanum decoration of the Bab al-Silsila sabil. Of course, Suleiman's architects also reused or imitated Mamluk carved decoration, as, for example, the typical zig-zag ribbon arch of the Bab al-Silsila sabil [20], or the stalactite niches of the sabil on Bab al-Wad street [21]. However, the Crusader ingredient was responsible for the basic structure of the sabil as a space-enclosing, Romanesque portal.

Crusader portal architecture and decoration had a still broader impact on the indigenous architecture. The billet molding of the Bab al-Silsila sabil [22] is also of Crusader origin, as a comparison with the St. Anne portal decoration shows. Billet molding was also adopted in Jerusalem by the Mameluks, as demonstrated on a large scale by the wall of Bab al-Hadid (Iron Gate) street, to the west of the Haram al-Sharif [23]. The uniformly traced triangular decoration, as on the outer arch of the St. Anne central portal was also developed by the Mameluks, as shown by one of the first floor windows of Ribat Kurd, probably a hostel for travellers and pilgrims, of the end of the XIII[th] century, on the same Mamluk street mentioned before [24].

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17. Rosen-Ayalon, *art. cit.*, p. 594, figs. 37.5 and 37.7.

18. *Ibid.*, 594f ; For the comparison with the Holy Sepulchre frieze see · B. Kühnel, « Der Rankenfries am Portal der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem und die romanische Skulptur in den Abruzzen », *Arte Medievale*, Serie 1, 2 (1987), figs. 6,7.

19. Rosen-Ayalon, *art cit.*, 598f, fig. 37.13 and p. 600, note 22.

20. The same zig-zag pattern also decorates the arches of two more sabils, on the road to Bethlehem and at the northern edge of the Temple area (Rosen-Ayalon, *art. cit.*, figs. 37 3 and 37.11).

21. Stalactites also shape the niches of the sabils on the Bethlehem road and at the northern edge of the Temple Mount, *cf. supra*.

22. *Ibid.*, fig. 37.9.

23. M. Burgoyne, « Tariq Bab al-Hadid - a Mamluk Street in the Old City of Jerusalem », *Levant*, 5 (1973), p. 12-35, pl. XB.

24 *Ibid.*, pl. XVA.

The last link in this chain is a window in the German church of Mariae Heimgang (Mary's Dormition) on Mount Sion [25]. The Benedictine monastery and its church dedicated to the Dormition were built between 1900-1910 by Heinrich Renard, an architect from the Rheinland, who expressly undertook to combine German with Oriental elements and was attracted by Jerusalem's light and the colors and textures of the local stone. Crusader and Mameluk stone carving contributed considerably to his interests and were amply quoted, along with quotations from Byzantine wall mosaic decoration in the interior. A good example of local continuity with Crusader origins is offered by a couple of apse windows of the Dormition church, whose exterior decoration is formed by exactly the same uniform triangular pattern as in St. Anne's central portal and in the first floor windows of Ribat Kurd [26].

Another German building from the same period provides us with the main motif of the German call on Crusader history and monumental architecture. The Augusta Victoria Protestant Hospice on the Mount of Olives was built by Baumeister Robert Leibnitz of Berlin between 1906 and 1910 [27]. The most obvious element shared by this Hospice and the Benedictine Monastery on Mount Sion is their foundation by the same Emperor, William II. Both were built on imperial land bought from the Sultan after a visit of William II and his wife Victoria in Jerusalem (in 1898) and following the Prussian policy of commitment to the Holy Land initiated some fifty years earlier by the King Frederic William IV. Being in the first place a hospice and a rest house, and not a monastery as the Dormition, Augusta Victoria was obviously more open to imperial devices. Two three-dimensional, larger than life, bronze sculptures of the imperial pair flank the entrance to the main building [28]. The Empress expressly asked that the church of the complex should be decorated with « Crusader Romanesque art » in order to enhance the « German roots » of the building. The interpretation of the term « Crusader art » by a German architect of the beginning of the XXth century is matter for debate. However, the Crusader presence in the Augusta Victoria church, dedicated to Christ's Ascension, is very direct and strong, achieved mainly through quotations from Crusader history and not only from Crusader art, as in the previous cases discussed.

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25. E. Meyer, « Die Dormition auf dem Berge Zion in Jerusalem, eine Denkmalskirche Kaiser Wilhelms II im Hl. Land », *Architectura*, 14 (1984), p. 149-170 ; D. Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture - Periods and Styles ; European-Christian Buildings outside the Old City Walls*, Jerusalem, 1991, p. 223-232 (Hebrew).

26. Kroyanker, *op. cit.*, fig. p. 232.

27. A. Carmel, *Palästina-Chronik, 1883 bis 1914*, Langenau-Ulm, Armin Vaas Verlag, 1983, p. 263-268 ; *Evangelische Himmelfahrtskirche auf dem Oelberg in Jerusalem*, Restaurierungskonzept der Restauratoren G. Maul und J. Beumling, Jerusalem, Koeln, 1988.

28. Kroyanker, *op. cit.*, p. 241-252, figs. p. 251.

The chapel is a centralized building in the shape of a Latin cross with an apse to the south (!) and galleries. The inner spatial division is achieved by wide, round arches resting on pillars, painted in the red and white bricklike motif usual in German Romanesque. One would expect a row of three domes to cover the three main bays ; what we find instead is a flat roof, square over the central bay, rectangular over the others. One would also expect the chapel to be entirely decorated with mosaics. Instead there is mosaic decoration in the apse and the inner arches of the galleries, and wall paintings imitating mosaics for the rest.

The apse mosaic depicts the Second Coming of Christ in a faithful Roman-Byzantine tradition. The floral candelabra separating the windows and the marble combinations of the lower portion of the same wall strongly recall the mosaic and marble decoration of the Dome of the Rock, which had obvious Crusader continuation in the Nativity basilica in Bethlehem, as documented by the floral candelabra still extant in the mosaics of the nave walls. The representation over the central bay in Augusta Victoria is meant to create the illusion of a dome : Two concentric circles in a square inscribed by a Greek cross create a composition perfectly fitting a dome on pendentifs. The real pendentifs are painted in gold to imitate mosaic. I shall not deal with the iconography or the style, which is a blend of Italo-Byzantine and Jugendstil, but go on to the rectangular ceiling paintings, which are our main concern here. To the south, nearest the apse, « Urbs sancta Jerusalem » is depicted as a heavenly apparition, with the Dome of the Rock, alias Templum Domini of the Crusaders, in its center. In the four corners, surrounding the Holy City, the first Crusader kings of Jerusalem are represented : Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin the First, Baldwin the Second, and Fulk. On the opposite, northern bay ceiling, the imperial pair William II and Augusta Victoria are represented, seated and holding the model of their building, flanked by the personifications of Sapientia and Misericordia, two Virtues often associated with secular power in Crusader iconography as well, as demonstrated by their presence on the royal ivories of Queen Melisende [29]. In the corners of this northern portion of the ceiling appear kings and emperors involved in the later Crusades, up to Frederic II who makes a pair with Frederic I Barbarossa. Konrad III Hohenstaufen in the opposite corner is added to enhance the lineage of German Emperors in the Holy Land. The program and its meaning are indeed obvious : Crusader history is incorporated in the iconographical program of the Augusta Victoria church in order to give the modern German presence in the Holy Land deep roots and sound legitimacy. The two historical panels on the south and north are separated by the central triple panel, which makes visible the heavenly and biblical sources of the earthly power : Christ enthroned in heaven, as

29. Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 67-88, fig. 71.

supreme emperor, flanked, on the higher, side arches by Solomon, Jeremiah and Daniel, and probably, as we can only guess, the decoration of the opposite arch having been destroyed, by David, Joshua, and Hezekiah.

To sum up : The several examples adduced to illustrate this article show that Crusader art adopted and adapted forms and meanings previously extant in the art and architecture of the Holy Land. The basis of this taking over was both political and religious and revolved around the holy places and their memoria. The early Byzantine and early Muslim ingredients were translated by the Crusaders into a medieval artistic language, further developed on local ground by the Ayyubids, Mameluks, Turks, and by the Neo-Romanesque and Neo-Gothic German (and also French, English, and Italian) architecture of the end of the XIXth and the beginning of our century. The continuation of the series into modern times has virtually the same basis that moved the Crusaders to incorporate earlier art into their own : search for roots and legitimacy and, not to be forgotten, competition on a common ground.

Gustav KÜHNEL

EIN CHRISTUS-BILD DES 12. JAHRHUNDERTS und das Bildprogramm der Golgotha-Kapelle *

Aus der einst sehr reich mit Mosaiken ausgeschmückten Grabeskirche der Kreuzfahrerzeit hat sich nur ein einziges Fragment bis in unsere Tage erhalten : die Figur Christi aus der Himmelfahrts-Komposition. Die schriftlichen Quellen, besonders die Pilgerbeschreibungen des Priesters Johannes von Würzburg und des Mönches Theoderich, beide aus dem dritten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts, sowie die spätere aber unentbehrliche Bestandsaufnahme des franziskaner Kustoden F. Quaresmius vermitteln uns zuverlässige und recht umfassende Kenntnisse über die Mosaikausstattung der Grabeskirche.

Der Anlaß dazu, daß wir uns erneut mit dieser Darstellung befassen, deren Existenz schon der älteren Forschung bekannt war, und die auch in der Gegenwart oft Erwähnung findet, sind die unlängst durchgeführten Feldarbeiten in der Calvarienberg-Kapelle. Es war das Ziel dieser Feldarbeiten, die von einem Team unter meiner Betreuung im Mai 1994 abgeschlossen wurden, mittels eines für diesen Fall eigens ausgearbeiteten Reinigungsverfahrens den Glanz und das ursprüngliche Aussehen der Kreuzfahrermosaik so weit wie möglich wiederzugewinnen und die losen Mosaikpartien durch Hinterspritzung eines Klebemittels zu festigen. Ferner wurden alte, störende Überkittungen der Restaurierungen der Jahre 1810 (nach dem Brand von 1808) und 1937 (als neue Mosaiken angebracht wur-

* . Der vorliegende Aufsatz ist die verkürzte Fassung des am 25. Juli 1995 in Clermont-Ferrand gelesenen Vortrags. Aus redaktionellen Gründen können hier sowohl der vollständige Text als auch das Bildmaterial nicht abgedruckt werden.

den) abgenommen und einzelne Fehlstellen neutral behandelt. Das Resultat ist sehr zufriedenstellend, denn zum ersten Mal seit 1860, als mit dem Erscheinen von Melchior de Vogüé's klassischem Werk *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte* die kritische Forschung einsetzte, ist die Voraussetzung geschaffen für eine von Störfaktoren freien Untersuchung des Christus-Bildes, das dem Originalzustand am meisten entspricht.

Zuerst einige Bemerkungen über die Architektur der Calvarienberg-Kapelle als Bildträger und den Platz unserer Darstellung in der ursprünglichen wie in der heutigen Mosaikdekoration. Die Calvarienberg-Kapelle bildete in der Kreuzfahrerzeit einen liturgisch einheitlichen Raum, der durch einen starken Mittelpfeiler und vier Bögen in zwei Schiffe mit je zwei Jochen unterteilt war. Diese Architektur hat sich bis heute erhalten, der räumliche Eindruck aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit jedoch nicht, denn im Spätmittelalter wurde der Raum anders eingeteilt : das nördliche Schiff wurde zur Kapelle der Kreuzerhöhung, das südliche zur Kreuzannagelungs-Kapelle umfunktioniert. Der Verlust der Einheitlichkeit wird heutzutage noch unterstrichen durch den Gegensatz zwischen der « lateinischen » Mosaikdekoration des südlichen Schiffes und der « griechischen » Malereiausstattung des nördlichen.

Die Christus-Darstellung befindet sich im südlichen Schiff der Kreuzfahrerkirche, in der heutigen Kreuzannagelungs-Kapelle. Sie ist von modernen Mosaiken umgeben und wirkt auf den Betrachter in dem spärlich beleuchteten Raum ikonenhaft und wie eine kostbare Kunstreliquie in einer fremdartigen Mosaik-Collage. Diese Collage entstand 1937. Damals wurde das Christus-Bild in die neue Ausstattung übernommen, ohne ins Bildprogramm integriert zu werden.

In der Kreuzfahrerzeit erstreckte sich die Mosaikdekoration auf Wände, Bögen und Gewölbe der Kapelle. Der Fußboden war « mit allerlei Marmor belegt », wie sich 1169 der Pilger Theoderich in seiner Beschreibung der Grabeskirche ausdrückt. Als zentrales Ereignis des locus sanctus nahm die Kreuzigung jene Wand ein, vor der die Stelle des aufrechtstehenden Kreuzes, an dem Christus den Tod erlitt, von der Tradition lokalisiert wurde. Hier wurde im Fußboden eine Tiefe, kopfbreite Öffnung gezeigt, wo das Kreuz im Golgotha-Felsen befestigt stand. Die Kreuzigungsdarstellung auf der Wand machte sichtbar, was sich hier ereignet hatte, indem sie die Tradition des Evangeliums erneut vergegenwärtigte. Auf der gleichen Ostwand wurde im südlichen Teil die Kreuzabnahme und nebenan, auf dem östlichen Teil der Südwand, die Grablegung verbildlicht. Zu diesem Dreierschema aufeinanderfolgender Szenen der Leidensgeschichte kamen als Prolog und Epilog das Abendmahl und die Himmelfahrt, erstere auf dem westlichen Teil der Südwand als Verkündigung von Passion und Opfertod, die Himmelfahrt im östlichen Gewölbe des Südschiffes als Erhöhung des

Menschensohnes nach der Auferstehung. Damit war diese neutestamentliche Bilderperikope abgeschlossen. Sie bildete den Kern des ganzen Bildprogramms. Dieser Kern wurde durch alttestamentliche Darstellungen, welche das Opfer Christi und seine Himmelfahrt als Garant für die Auferstehung typologisch versinnbildlichten, sowie durch einzelne Propheten und das Kaiserbild des Heraclius und der Helena ergänzt. Lateinische Spruchbänder und Tituli sowie einige Reste griechischer Umschriften, die aus der älteren Dekoration des 11. Jahrhunderts erhalten geblieben waren, erklärten zusätzlich die einzelnen Darstellungen und somit das gesamte Bildprogramm.

Auf dem östlichen Mittelbogen war die Szene der Opferung Isaaks so gegliedert, daß auf dem westlichen Teil des Bogens die beiden zurückgebliebenen Jungknechte und auf dem östlichen Isaak, auf dem Opferholz liegend, ferner der Engel, der die erhobene Hand Abrahams zurückhielt, und der im Baum verfangene Widder dargestellt waren. Die Kirchenväter haben im Opfer Isaaks die vorhernehmende Darstellung der Passion Jesu gesehen, also ein typologisches Gegenbild zur Kreuzigung. Die Szene ist jedoch auch ein Bild der Rettung und in unserem locus sanctus Kontext ein Bild der christlichen Auferstehungshoffnung. Hinzu kommt noch, daß die Lokaltradition die Geschichte der Rettung Isaaks seit dem 6. Jahrhundert (Theodosius, ca.530) auf oder neben dem Calvarienberg ansetzt.

Auf dem südlichen Mittelbogen waren zwei Elias-Szenen dargestellt. Im nördlichen Teil des Bogens Elias Himmelfahrt und gegenüber auf dem südlichen Teil Elias von den Raben gespeist. Elias Himmelfahrt stellt einen Hinweis auf die Himmelfahrt Christi dar (Irenäus, Cyrillos v. Jerusalem, Johannes Chrysostomus u.a.), was die Aufnahme dieser Darstellung ins Bildprogramm erklärt. Somit stand der alttestamentliche Prototyp in unmittelbarer räumlicher Beziehung zur neutestamentlichen Ascensio, der Erhöhung Christi. Die Aufnahme der anderen Szene, Elias Speisung durch den Raben, ins Bildprogramm, wird am besten durch die Liturgie der Auferstehung erklärt, wie sie im Typikon der Grabeskirche erscheint (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, St. Petersburg, 1894, 183). Die Perikope des Elias taucht im Kontext der 10. Lektion, die die Opferung Isaaks zum Inhalt hat, zusammen mit anderen Errettungsszenen auf, wobei Prophetenstellen den Anfang der Erlösungszeit schildern. Wie im Text des Typikons die Elias-Perikope an die Lektion der Opferung Isaaks angeschlossen ist, so steht sie in der Mosaikausstattung in unmittelbarem räumlichen Zusammenhang neben der Opferung Isaaks.

Eine besondere Erscheinung im Bildprogramm sind die Darstellungen der Hl. Helena und des Kaisers Heraklius. Sie waren auf dem westlichen Bogen des Nordschiffes wiedergegeben. Ihre Anordnung im Raum entsprach derjenigen der Prophetenpaare auf den Bogenleibungen. Sie fanden Platz in

einer Zone, wo die Propheten die Heilsgeschichte verkündigten, wobei sie als Heilige der historischen Vergangenheit auftraten. Dank eines Aquarells des Franziskaners Horn aus dem Jahre 1727 sind die Kaiserfiguren überliefert. Ihnen gegenüber befanden sich auf dem nördlichen Mittelbogen die königlichen Propheten Salomon und David. Über diesem Bogen, der hier höher ist als auf seiner Ostseite und somit zusätzlichen Platz bietet, war die Deesis in Form von Halbfiguren dargestellt. Die historischen Retter des Kreuzes, Helena und Heraklius, flankierten, obwohl nicht unmittelbar, die Fürbitt-Szene. Der Blick führte von den Kaiserfiguren zum Golgotha-Felsen dorthin, wo das Kreuz gestanden hatte. Damit war auch die Anwesenheit der beiden Kaisergestalten bei der Inventio- und Exaltatio crucis angedeutet. Dieser Gedanke wird von der Liturgie, bzw. vom Festkalender untermauert. Seit dem 8. Jahrhundert wurde im lateinischen Ritus das Fest der Kreuzauffindung gefeiert (später auch im Kreuzfahrer-Kalender der Grabeskirche aufgezeichnet), das an Helena anknüpft, und zwar am 3. Mai, dem Tag der Wiedergewinnung des Kreuzes durch Heraklius. Auch die Kreuzerhöhung wurde im Abendland im Zusammenhang mit der Wiedergewinnung des Kreuzes durch Heraklius liturgisch gewürdigt, allerdings am 14. September. Bildprogramm und Liturgie lassen also keinen Zweifel zu, daß Kaiser Heraklius ein Vorbild für die Ideologie der Kreuzfahrer darstellte.

Kommen wir nun auf die Himmelfahrt und das erhaltene Fragment des Christus-Bildes zurück. Zu Quaresmius Zeit (1639) war die Mosaik anscheinend noch ganz erhalten : « Unter dem Gewölbe ist die Himmelfahrt des Herrn : Christus gen Himmel auffahrend, mit dem Gesicht nach Westen gewendet, von vier Engeln begleitet ; und darunter im östlichen Teil die Apostel, erstaunt nach ihrem Heiland schauend, der gen Himmel auffährt, mit der folgenden einreihigen Inschrift, die das Gewölbe der Kapelle von Norden nach Süden durchquert : « Galiläische Männer, was steht ihr und schaut in den Himmel ? Dieser Jesus, der von euch weg in den Himmel aufgenommen worden ist, wird so kommen, wie ihr ihn in den Himmel habt gehen sehen ». Diese Inschrift aus Acta I,11 ist der Text einer Antiphone, die zu Ostern und am Fest der Himmelfahrt bei den Stundengebeten gesungen wurde. Dieser Text spricht nicht nur von der passiven Aufnahme Christi in den Himmel, sondern ist auch eine Voraussage der Parusie. Die Formulierung einer passiven Aufnahme Christi in den Himmel hat entscheidenden Einfluß auf die visuelle Darstellung der Himmelfahrts-Szene in der byzantinischen Kunst ausgeübt. Damit ist auch gesagt, daß die in der Grabeskirche dargestellte Himmelfahrt nicht den abendländischen, sogenannten aktiven Typus wiedergab. Es deutet auf eine weitgehende Orientalisierung der Kreuzfahrerherren, daß sie nicht nur auf eine Bildformel verzichteten, sondern auch auf den ihr eigenen abendländischen theologischen Inhalt. Diese Ikonographie wurde im Namen der Kreuzfahrer-Patrone für die Grabeskirche von einheimischen Künstlern im Sinne der

Bildüberlieferung der loca sancta geschaffen. Die Himmelfahrt stellt keine Ausnahme dar, denn alle Schlüsseldarstellungen waren byzantinisch, wie die Anastasis in der Hauptapsis der neu errichteten romanischen Kirche.

Das erhaltene Fragment mit der lateinischen « Ascensio »-Beischrift und die Beschreibung des Quaresmius lassen unzweideutig erkennen, daß in der Golgothakapelle der sogenannte « kanonische » Typus der Himmelfahrt dargestellt war, so wie er schon seit vorikonoklastischer Zeit allgemein im Raume der Ostkirche verbindlich wurde. Der zweizonige Aufbau der Szene, charakteristisch für diesen Typus, ergibt sich deutlich aus Quaresmius Worten. In diesem Sinne stellt die Rekonstruktion der Szene kein Problem dar. Dem heutigen Betrachter jedoch, der vor Ort das auf der Gewölbefläche Fehlende zu ergänzen versucht, wird plötzlich klar, daß das erhaltene Christusbild nicht den Scheitelpunkt des Gewölbejochs einnahm, wie irrtümlich in der Forschung behauptet wird, sondern, vorgerückt, auf dem Vorfeld des eigentlichen Joches Platz fand.Damit wird klar, was Quaresmius meint, wenn er sagt, daß die Apostel im östlichen Teil dargestellt waren. Unter Quaresmius Wort « darunter » verstehen wir ferner die dadurch erzielte perspektivische Illusion der hohen himmlischen, im Gegensatz zur unteren irdischen Zone. Somit wurde hier die zweizonige vertikale Komposition, die ideal für Kuppeln geeignet ist, den niedrigen und schmalen Proportionen des Calvariengewölbes angepasst. Die Leserichtung der Szene war, wie unser Fragment in situ zeigt und wie Quaresmius angibt, von Westen nach Osten, wobei die loca sancta-Altäre an der Ostwand standen.

Die vier Engel, welche in der Beschreibung als Begleiter erwähnt werden, sind gesichert. Glücklicherweise konnten die Reinigungsarbeiten die Finger von drei Händen am südlichen Rand der ovalen Gloriole freilegen. Somit ist auch sicher, daß die heutige rot-goldene Bildeinfassung dem ursprünglichen ovalen Rahmen der Gloriole entspricht, bzw. ihn zudeckt. Je zwei Engel auf jeder Seite hielten am Rande die Gloriole. Nach der Reinigung erkennt man deutlich die fünffach farbig abgestufte Substanz der Gloriole von dunkelblau bis hin zu den lichthellen Tönen im Hintergrund der Christus-Gestalt.

Was in der Beschreibung des Quaresmius besonders auffällt, ist die Tatsache, daß Maria in der unteren Zone der erstaunten Apostelfiguren nicht erwähnt wird. Zweierlei ist diesbezüglich möglich : Entweder wird Maria nich genannt, weil ihre Gestalt schon zur Zeit der Bestandsaufnahme nicht mehr existierte, oder sie ist nicht erwähnt, weil die Himmelfahrt ganz ohne Maria dargestellt war. Diese Variante von Ascensio-Darstellungen kommt nicht oft vor, ist jedoch im 11. Jahrhundert bezeugt. In der noch erhaltenen Himmelfahrt-Darstellungen des 12. Jahrhunderts aus dem Heiligen Land, in den Malereien des Theoktistos-Klosters, oder in der Mosaik der

Geburtskirche in Bethlehem, sowie in der Miniaturmalerei taucht diese Variante nicht auf.

Die Figur Christi ist thronend auf einem doppelstreifigen farbneutralen Regenbogen dargestellt. Mit der Linken faßt er am oberen Rand das geschlossene, auf den Oberschenkel gelehnte, mit Edelsteinen besetzte Buch. Die Art des Fassens, mit den gespreitzten, von innerer Spannung verzerrten Fingern, hat eine vorbildhafte Parallele in dem eindrucksvollen Demiurgos von Daphni, einem klassischen Beispiel mittelbyzantinischer Kunst. Obwohl diese Ausdrucksformel in unserer Darstellung die hohe Artikulationskraft der Daphni-Mosaik nicht erreicht, ist es wichtig, daß das Jerusalemer Bild der Kreuzfahrerzeit sich nicht nur durch Typus und Komposition, sondern auch durch Detailmotive, wie das hier besprochene, als byzantinisch ausweist.

Die rechte Hand ist im üblichen Lehrgestus seitlich erhoben und nur teilweise erhalten, so daß die Art des Segnens, ob lateinisch oder griechisch oder aber ein Zwischentyp beider nicht mehr auszumachen ist. In der Himmelfahrts-Darstellung des Melisendis-Psalters, der im Skriptorium der Grabeskirche etwas früher (1131-1143) als unsere Mosaik gemalt wurde, segnet Christus nach byzantinischer Art mit dem ganz ausgestreckten kleinen Finger. Damit gewinnen wir ein weiteres Indiz, daß die Kreuzfahrer auch in dieser Hinsicht byzantinische Elemente übernommen haben.

In der Darstellung des Christus-Gewandes und seiner Faltengebung lassen sich provinzielle Züge nachweisen. Christus ist von einer dunkelroten Tunika und einem graublauen Mantel eher umhüllt, als daß er sie trägt. Schwere, dicke Parallelfalten des Mantels, durch Goldtesserae hervorgehoben, fallen in einer umschlingenden Bewegung üppig von den Schultern über die Brust, den linken Arm entlang und ihn ganz verdeckend, bis zu den Knien, wo sie in einem schweifenden Klammer-Ornament hängenbleiben. Dieser Drang, die Draperie aus dem organischen Zusammenhang zu lösen und ihr in so hohem Masse dekoratives Eigenleben zu gewähren, ist der metropolitanischen Malerei fremd. Die Proportionen der Figur und das Sitzmotiv führen uns bei näherer Betrachtung zum gleichen Schluß : Der Oberkörper erscheint im Verhältnis zum Rest des Körpers überlang, und der Sitzwinkel und damit auch jede Illusion von Tiefenwirkung ist unter der Hülldraperie weitgehend verschwunden. Die Figur erweckt den Anschein, als ob sie stehe und nicht sitze. Der Apostel Jakobus aus der Verklärungs-Szene des Melisendis Psalters ist ein gutes Parallelbeispiel für ähnliche Proportionen sitzender Figuren. Wir können daher annehmen, daß auch Sitzmotive und Körperproportionen dieser Art von lokalen Vorbildern übernommen, oder von lokalen Künstlern geschaffen wurden.

Der nimbierte Kopf und besonders das gut erhaltene, fein gearbeitete Gesicht erhärten die Indizien, daß die Künstler nicht aus Konstantinopel stammten und auch keine Abendländer waren, sondern Einheimische, die der lokalen Mosaiktradition des Heiligen Landes verpflichtet waren. Die Affinität zu den Mosaiken in Bethlehem, welche dokumentieren, daß hier lokale Künstler, wie der syrische Diakon Basilius, am Werke waren, läßt dies klar erkennen. Thomas Boase sah eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Gesichtsausdruck des Christus-Bildes und den Pantokrator-Darstellungen in Cefalu und Daphni, die in einer « geheimnisvollen Ernsthaftigkeit » (mysterious gravity) bestehe. Frau Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele war beim Betrachten der Christusfigur in der Grabeskirche an den Pantokrator normannischer Kirchen erinnert. Bellarmino Bagatti sprach von einer engen Verwandschaft zwischen den Golgotha-Mosaiken und den Mosaiken in Bethlehem. Die Filiation komme nach seiner Meinung in der weichen Faltengebung des Christus-Mosaiks und den Figuren von Heraklius und Helena sowie in der konzentrischen Setzung der Tesserae in den Nimben einiger Figuren sowohl in der Grabeskirche wie in der Geburtskirche zum Ausdruck. Damit datierte Bagatti die Mosaikaustattung der Golgotha-Kapelle später als 1149, nämlich in die sechziger Jahre, und glaubte, in ihnen das Atelier des in Bethlehem inschriftlich bezeugten Mosaizisten Ephrem entdeckt zu haben, im Gegensatz zu der anderen Stilrichtung, des Malers Basil, den er als den « Sizilianer » bezeichnete !

In der Tat typisiert das Christusgesicht der Grabeskirche weder den Ausdruck der Ehrfurcht gebietenden Kraft des Pantokrators, wie in Daphni, noch die glaubhafte Sanftheit der Christus-Figur der Cappella Palatina. Es wird hier eher ein duales Christus-Konzept verbildlicht : einerseits der von trüben Ahnungen bedrückte, traurige Gott, was besonders in den unteren Gesichtspartie zum Ausdruck kommt, andererseits der fest entschlossene, von unbeugsamer Energie gespannte Erlöser.

Unter den Porträts der Vorfahren Christi, die auf der Südwand der Geburtsbasilika dargestellt sind, liefert das Bildnis des Mattan eine gute Parallele zu enserem Christusbild. Die Physiognomien der beiden sind ähnlich, der Stil, die Farbpalette und die Technik jedoch unterschiedlich. Die Linienführung, die Konturen und die Farbschattierung des Christusgesichtes sind ruhiger, was ein anderes Stilempfinden wiederspiegelt. Demgegenüber enthüllt Mattans Porträt jene Erregbarkeit in Linie und Farbe, die dem « dynamischen » Stil der späten sechziger Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts entspricht, als die Mosaiken in Bethlehem entstanden. Das Christusgesicht der Golgotha-Kapelle gehört nicht in diese Stilphase. Eine Datierung unmittelbar vor das Jahr 1149, in dem die Grabeskirche eingeweiht wurde, ist deswegen nicht nur aus historischen Gründen, sondern auch hinsichtlich des Stils gut vertretbar. Die Chronologie der beiden Porträts erlaubt die Annahme, daß die Mosaiken der Grabeskirche ein reiches Repertoire an

Ikonographie und Typen anboten, das in der Mosaikkunst der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts Widerhall fand. Der physiognomische Typus Christi stellt ein konkretes Beispiel dafür dar, wie dieses Repertoire übernommen und dem neuen Stilempfinden angepaßt wurde.

Avital HEYMAN

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN AUVERGNAT ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE : A Reflection of Crusader Patrons ? *

Representations of the Holy Sepulchre in the form of a two-storied centralized monument comprising arches, a timber roof and a two-arched dome appeared in Auvergnat Romanesque sculpture from the end of the XIth century up to the first half of the XIIth century. Such a representation forms an outstanding component of the scene of the Visit of the Holy Women to Christ's Tomb on Easter Morning (figs. 1-3). This depiction of the Holy Sepulchre, which appears systematically and consistently in Auvergne, would appear to reflect the link between Auvergnat lay and ecclesiastic patrons and the growing awareness of crusading ideas in the region. Depictions of this theme in other areas of France, Italy and Spain are provided to support this hypothesis. The emergence of this representation in Auvergnat monumental sculpture is also discussed, together with a consideration of earlier pictorial traditions.

An early Auvergnat representation of the Holy Sepulchre is carved on a capital in St. Pierre of Mozac III (fig. 1), generally dated to the last decade

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* This paper forms a part of my dissertation, *The Visual Representations of Patrons and Patronage in Auvergnat Sculpture of the XIth and XIIth Centuries*, Tel Aviv University, submission 1995-1996. I wish to thank Professor N. Kenaan-Kedar for her invaluable advice and guidance

of the XI[th] century and the beginning of the XII[th] [1]. The Mozac abbey came under the aegis of Cluny during the journey of Pope Urban II to France [2].

Bearing in mind the propagandist nature of Urban's so-called « voyage clunisien » [3], with its declared intentions of promoting the crusade, as well as the primacy ascribed to the first atelier of Mozac [4], the Mozac capital may well have served as a model for other, later Auvergnat capitals of the same subject, all might be imbued with crusading overtones.

This same theme of the Visit of the Holy Women to Christ's Tomb is depicted on the capitals in the Auvergnat churches at Brioude (fig. 2), St. Nectaire (fig. 3), Blesle, Marsat, and Issoire, as well as on the portal of St. Ignat, where it forms a part of the Christological cycle of the Adoration of the Magi and the Descent from the Cross [5].

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1. The capital of the Visit to the Tomb and three other choir capitals survived the XVI[th] century earthquake at Mozac. See : Abbé Luzuy, « Mozac », *Congrès archéologique (Moulins et Nevers)*, 80 (1913), p. 124- 143 ; B. Craplet, *Auvergne romane*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, Zodiaque, 1972 (1955) (La nuit des temps), p. 121-129 ; Z. Świechowski, *Sculpture romane d'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, G. de Bussac, 1973 (Collection Le bibliophile en Auvergne, 16), p. 35-37.

2. A. Bernard, A. Bruel (eds.), *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1876-1894 (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France), vol. 5, p. 45-46, n° 3697 ; *Gallia Christiana*, Paris, Typis & Sumptibus J.B. Coignard, 1715-1865, vol. 2, p. 352 ; H. Gomot, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Mozac*, Paris, Aubry, 1872, p. 36 ; R. Crozet, « Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France (1095-1096) », *Revue historique*, 179 (1937), p. 271- 310, esp. p. 290-291, & n. 1 ; *Id.*, « Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095-1096) et son importance au point de vue archéologique », *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), p. 42-69.

3. Crozet, « Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations... », *op. cit.*, p. 308-310.

4. Świechowski, *Sculpture, op. cit.*, p. 35-37, 332-348. Craplet, *Auvergne, op. cit.*, p. 127-128 questions the existence of two ateliers in Mozac, but accepts the dating to after 1095 and the first quarter of the XII[th] century.

5. In all cases the Tomb is portrayed as a centralized edifice, except for the Issoire capital in which the structure appears as a rectangular chapel. The capitals of the Visit of the Holy Women to the Tomb in Auvergne are usually located at the entrance of the choir or the church itself. In Brioude this is the only figurative capital in the choir. In St. Nectaire it is the first capital to the right of the choir. In Marsat the capital is located to the left of the south door on the exterior. The heavily damaged St. Ignat portal, originally above the south door is now inside the church on the south wall For these representations, see : Świechowski, *Sculpture, op. cit.*, p. 36-37, figs. 22-30, 57-58, 61-62, 129. For the history and art of Brioude, see : Craplet, *Auvergne, op. cit.*, p. 229, 265-280. For St. Nectaire, see : *ibid.*, p. 105-112 ; Świechowski, *Sculpture, op. cit.*, p. 75-110 ; H. du Ranquet, « L'église de Saint-Nectaire », *Congrès archéologique (Clermont-Ferrand)*, 62 (1895), p. 238- 271 ; J. Rochias, *Les chapiteaux de l'église de Saint-Nectaire : Etude iconographique*, Caen, Henri Delesques, 1910, esp. p. 10-12 ; M. Deshoulières, « Saint-Nectaire », *Congrès archéologique (Clermont-Ferrand)*, 87 (1924), p. 265-286 ; H. McBee, *The Sculptural Program of the Hemicycle Capitals in the Church of St. Nectaire*, Ph.D., Ann Arbor, 1981, esp. p. 21-42 (see n. 14 *infra*). For

Contemporaneous depictions of the Holy Sepulchre in other regions, however, take the form of a sarcophagus. One such example is a relief in the ambulatory of St. Paul in Dax [6] : two angels are depicted raising the triangular lid of the coffer-type sarcophagus, blessed from above by two hands, while another hand holds a cross. In other portrayals of Christ's Tomb, such as that on the right portal of the western façade of St.-Gilles- du-Gard [7], the sarcophagal approach has also been chosen. Preference for this form of tomb can also be discerned outside Romanesque France : in Italy, on a capital formerly in the Modena Cathedral and now in the Museo Civico [8] ; and in Spain, on a capital from the cloister of Pamplona and now in the Museo de Navarra [9].

What differential meanings do the two distinct forms of the Holy Sepulchre in Auvergne and the other regions convey ?

Emile Mâle in his *Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* drew attention to the innovative character of the sarcophagal form of Christ's Tomb, which made its first appearance in the XIIth century [10]. Mâle suggested that this innovation originated in liturgical Easter drama, in which the Holy Cross was

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Blesle, see : Craplet, *Auvergne, op cit.*, p. 285-290. For Marsat, see : *ibid.*, p. 175. For Issoire, see : *ibid.*, p. 95-100 ; Świechowski, *Sculpture, op. cit.*, p. 38-74 ; C. Terrasse, « Eglise d'Issoire », *Congrès archéologique (Clermont-Ferrand)*, 87 (1924), p. 80-100.

6. The Dax sculpture is dated to c. 1140. E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France. The XIIth Century : A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, ed. H. Bober, tr. M. Mathews, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978 (1953) (Bollingen Series, 90), p. 133, & fig. 117.

7. The façade of St.-Gilles-du-Gard is dated to c. 1140-1150. On the addition of the dramatic interlude of the Holy Women buying spices, see : *ibid.*, p. 137-138, & fig. 122. On the St. Gilles style, see : W.S. Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard : Its Influence on French Sculpture*, Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1973. On crusading ideas in St. Gilles, see : C. Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard*, New York & London, Garland, 1977, esp. p. 138-142, assigning pharmaceutical interests of the Knights Hospitallers to the motif of the Marys buying spices.

8. Mâle, *XIIth Century, op. cit.*, p. 138-140, & figs. 124-125.

9. The Pamplona cloister capitals are dated to c. 1145. See : P. de Palol, M. Hirmer, *L'art en Espagne du royaume wisigoth à la fin de l'époque romane*, Paris, Flammarion, 1967, pl. 142 bottom, & p. 164-165 ; *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200* (Exhib. Cat.), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1993, p. 216-218, & extensive bibliography ; M.L. Melero Moneo, « La sculpture du cloître de la cathédrale de Pampelune et sa répercussion sur l'art roman navarrais », *CCM*, 35 (1992), p. 241-246 For another celebrated example of the sarcophagus type of Christ's Tomb, see the capital from the cloister of La Daurade (c. 1120) : K. Horste, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse : The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992, pl. 106. Horste, p. 167 indicates the Gallo-Roman type of this sarcophagus. She assigns contemporary preoccupation in the programme of the second series of capitals in La Daurade with the triumphs of the first crusade and dynastic ideals of the ruling family of Toulouse (*ibid.*, p. 159-168).

10. Mâle, *XIIth Century, op. cit.*, p. 130-137.

entombed in the coffer or reliquary that was sometimes placed under a canopy in the church. Mâle argued that the sarcophagus replaced the older tradition, which had depicted the tomb in the form of an ancient funerary monument, as in early Christian and Carolingian art. According to him, this substitution was influenced by the Easter ritual in which the cross was buried in Christ's Tomb, which was depicted as a sarcophagus. This practice symbolized Christ's death on the cross, while the following phase, that of removing the cross from its tomb, epitomized His Resurrection [11].

The architectonic tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre in the form of a centralized edifice (and not necessarily as an antique funerary monument) has been studied by numerous scholars, the most prominent among them being Richard Krautheimer [12].

In his « Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture" » Krautheimer argued for a selective procedure of imitating the exalted model of the Holy Sepulchre, either in actual buildings or in architectonic representations in sculpture and painting. Portrayals of the Tomb reflect the choice of various prominent features of the original model, such as its circular shape [13].

In the Auvergne, where fervent devotion to the Holy Sepulchre during the period prior to the crusades is evident, this universal tradition took on a characteristic form : in Vic-le-Comte a rounded building topped by an octagonal turret was dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre ; in Aigueperse a chapel composed of an octagonal dome was similarly dedicated ; and in Jaligny in 1037 an Auvergnat noble called Hector fulfilled a vow made during his pil-

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11. *Ibid.* For an early Christian depiction, see for example the ivory panel of the Visit to the Tomb from Milan (Castello Sforzesco) : J. Cassou (éd.), *Les arts paléochrétien, copte, byzantin, médieval, roman*, Paris, Alpha Editions, 1980 (Histoire de l'art, 3), p. 54. For a Carolingian one, see the ivory panel depicting the Crucifixion and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre which was later set in the cover of a Book of Pericopes executed for King Henry II prior to 1014 ; Reims, about 870 (Cod. Lat. 4452) : A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII-XI Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Deutschen Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1914, vol. 1, n° 40-43 ; J. Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1986 (1969) (World of Art), p. 48, & fig. 38.

12. R. Krautheimer, « Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture" », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), p. 1-33 ; N.C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*, Urbana, University of Illinois, 1921 (Studies in Language and Literature, 7/2) ; R. Fagé, « L'église de Saint Leonard et la chapelle du Sépulcre », *Bulletin monumental*, 77 (1913), p. 41-72. See n. 16 *infra*.

13. Krautheimer, « Introduction... », *op. cit.*, esp. p. 6-15.

grimage to Jerusalem and ordered the construction of a Holy Sepulchre chapel [14].

Although these particular buildings have not survived, the dedication they shared with the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the evidence for their either circular or octagonal shape, would appear to attest to their patrons' devotion to this holy site. An Auvergnat Romanesque centralized monument still exists in the cemetery of Chambon-sur-Lac, which might bear some connection to this established tradition ; it obviously refers to the Church of the Resurrection of the Lord, and clearly reflects expectation for the eventual resurrection of the faithful themselves [15]. The Chambon-sur-Lac building could also be compared to Neuvy-St.-Sépulcre in Berry, known to have been built after a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the period predating the crusades [16].

Thus any discussion of representations of the Holy Sepulchre in Auvergnat Romanesque sculpture must encounter a major problem of interpretation. Do they continue a long established universal pictorial tradition, or do they reflect a conscious revival of a traditional image [17] as a result of the newly launched crusade ?

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14. For Vic-le-Comte and Aigueperse, see : J.B. Bouillet, « Statistique monumentale du département du Puy-de-Dôme », in *Tablettes historiques de l'Auvergne*, Clermont-Ferrand, Perol, 1845, vol. 6, p. 555-556. For Jaligny, see : M. Cohendy, « Inventaire de toutes les chartes antérieures au XIIIe siècle, qui se trouvent dans les différents fonds d'Archives du Dépôt de la Préfecture du Puy-de-Dôme », *Annales scientifiques, littéraires et industrielles*, 27 (1854), p. 387-388 (Cath. Arm. 7, sac A, cote III). McBee, *St.-Nectaire*, *op. cit.*, p. 34-42, & n 65, considered this Auvergnat architectonic tradition to have been influenced by the mosaic of the edicula of the Holy Sepulchre as described by the pilgrim Theodorich (c. 1172). The mosaic included the Entombment and the Visit of the Holy Women to the Tomb (*ibid.*, p. 35 & n. 68), which, according to McBee, was the origin of the Auvergnat sculpted series. McBee's assumption is unconvincing, as it does not explain the choice of depicting the edicula's mosaic only partially, i.e. the Visit to the Tomb (except for the St. Ignat portal : Świechowski, *Sculpture*, *op. cit.*, fig. 129), nor does it relate to the architectonic prominence of the sculpted Tomb in the discussed capitals. For Theodoric's account (Libellus de Locis Sanctis, I, 1), see : H. Vincent, F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Paris, J. Gabalda, 1922, p 287-288 ; M.L. Bulst-Thiele, « Die Mosaiken der "Auferstehungskirche" in Jerusalem und die Bauten der "Franken" im 12. Jahrhundert », *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 11 (1979), p. 442-471, esp. p. 457-458, & ns. 62-63.

15. Krautheimer, « Introduction... », *op. cit.*, p. 17 points out the phenomenon of such cemetery buildings.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 7, & n. 3 ; R. Michel-Dansac, « Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre », *Congrès archéologique (Bourges)*, 94 (1931), p. 523-555 ; J. Favière, *Berry roman*, La Pierre-qui-Vire, Zodiaque, 1976 (1970) (La nuit de temps), p. 117-142. The building was founded in 1042 or 1045. For a different though unconvincing dating, see : J. Hubert, « Le Saint-Sépulcre de Neuvy », *Bulletin monumental*, 90 (1931), p 91 ff.

17. Most scholars tended to ascribe either early Christian or Carolingian models to the sculpted Sepulchre in Auvergne : Craplet, *Auvergne*, *op. cit.*, p. 125-126 ; Świechowski,

Linda Seidel has argued that crusading ideas were incorporated into the sculptural programmes of the churches of western France. Their iconography might have reflected the chivalrous ethic as exemplified in the battle between the Virtues and Vices [18].

In the Auvergne, however, crusading ideas were incorporated into yet another specific artistic formula, which might have been related to the declared goal of the first crusade : the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre [19]. I would like to argue here that the Auvergnat representations of the Holy Sepulchre made use of a traditional image based upon the appearance of the Holy Sepulchre itself [20], while choosing the centralized form as its typical characteristic.

The various representations might have served to satisfy two different types of audience, that is the Princes of the Church and the temporal lords in Auvergne.

Auvergnat donation charters from the crusader era refer to the circumstances that motivated the donors ; i.e. taking up the Cross on the road to Jerusalem. Thus for example the Lord of Broc made several donations to the

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Sculpture, op. cit., p. 36-37 ; McBee, *St.-Nectaire, op. cit.*, p. 23 ; Mâle, XIIth Century, *op. cit.*, p. 131. For various antique motifs in Auvergnat Romanesque sculpture, see : Świechowski, *Sculpture, op. cit.*, p. 257-328 ; L. Bréhier, « Les traits originaux de l'iconographie dans la sculpture romane de l'Auvergne », in W. Koehler (ed.), *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley-Porter*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939 (Harvard-Radcliffe Fine Arts Series), vol. 2, p. 389-403 ; P. Baumann, *Regional Iconography in Auvergne : Pre-Christian and Gallo-Roman Vocabulary in Romanesque Sculpture*, Ph.D., Boston University, 1992.

18. L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory : The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine*, Chicago & London, The Unviersity of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 48-55, 71-80.

19. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, London, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962, p. 1 ; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC, Hist. occ.*, 3, p. 728 ; Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, *ibid.*, 4, p. 12-15 ; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *ibid.*, 4, p. 137-138 ; Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *ibid.*, 4, p. 274 ; *Historia Peregrinorum*, *ibid.*, 3, p. 173 ; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Aecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969-1979, vol. 5, p. 15-19. See : J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London, The Athlone Press, 1986, p. 108, 137, 145-147 ; D.C. Munro, « The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095 », *American Historical Review*, 11 (1906), p. 231-242 ; H.E.J. Cowdrey, « Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade », *History*, 55 (1970), p. 177-188 ; P.J. Cole, « Urban II and the Sermon at Clermont », in *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge, Mass., Medieval Academy of America, 1991, p. 1-36.

20. As claimed by Świechowski, *Sculpture, op. cit.*, p. 37, the sculpted monument may have resembled the Tomb itself as it appeared following extensive rebuilding during the time of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1048). See : Vincent, Abel, *Jérusalem*, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 248-259 ; R. Ousterhout, « Rebuilding the Temple : Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre », *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 48 (1989), p. 66-78.

abbey of Sauxillanges before setting out[21]. Likewise the Lords of Mézenc, while begging the pardon of Adémar de Monteil for their sins, restored to the abbey of St. Chaffre the property and revenues they had usurped[22].

This is not to say that the patrons of the churches where the Holy Sepulchre images appear were all necessarily crusaders. It is also likely that for those who did not participate in the crusade itself these representations symbolized the alleged aim of the first crusade.

The sarcophagal form of the Holy Sepulchre was often to be found outside of Auvergne and outside of France itself, whereas the centralized sepulchral monument is to be found only in Auvergne. Yet another particular depiction appeared outside of Auvergne, characterised by a combination of the two modes of representation : i.e. the sarcophagus type of Christ's Tomb and the centralized building rendered as a ciborium. Such is the case on the Condrieu portal in the Rhône valley not far from Vienne[23].

Arthur Kingsley Porter believed that the tomb behind the three Marys in Condrieu related to the crusader Jerusalem building, as did the architectonic background of the Bearing of the Cross, consisting of the Holy Sepulchre's bell tower, the Anastasis rotunda, and the Flagellation column. Hence Porter's dating of the Condrieu portal to after the dedication of the crusader church in Jerusalem in 1149, seems reasonable[24].

Returning to the Auvergne, the affinity felt by ecclesiastics and laymen alike to the Holy Sepulchre, especially following the launching of the first crusade in Clermont, the capital of Auvergne, might have influenced the creation of this type of representation on numerous capitals, reflecting the crusading attitudes and intentions of the local patrons. The particular way in which the Holy Sepulchre was depicted in Auvergne may reflect the wish of the local patrons to visualize Christ's Tomb in a permanent concrete form, using a revived tradition.

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21. H. Doniol (éd.), *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1864 (Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand, 3), p. 471, 960. See also the donation of Roger of St. Germain : *ibid.*, p. 697.

22. C.U.J. Chevalier (éd.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St. Chaffre du Monastier*, Paris, A. Picard,, 1884-1891 (Coll. de cartulaires dauphinois, 8), p. 139-141 ; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, *op. cit.*, p. 38, & n. 34.

23. A. Kingsley Porter, « Condrieu, Jerusalem and St. Gilles », *Art in America*, 13 (1925), p. 117-129 ; Stoddard, *The Façade*, *op. cit.*, p. 150-151, & fig. 191.

24. Kingsley Porter, « Condrieu... », *op. cit.*, p. 117-129.

Jean RICHARD

CONCLUSION

Avec cinquante-trois communications présentées en cinq demi-journées, auxquelles s'ajoutent six exposés qui ont pris place dans le cadre du colloque *L'Auvergne et la Croisade*, notre Société a célébré le quinzième anniversaire de sa fondation tout en commémorant le 900e anniversaire de la Première Croisade d'une façon plus que satisfaisante. Elle a démontré sa vitalité et elle a comblé tous les espoirs qu'avaient formés ceux qui avaient cru à la nécessité de réunir ceux qui travaillaient à l'histoire des Croisades et de l'Orient latin, au-delà même de leurs espérances. Et elle a ainsi récompensé les efforts de ceux qui ont oeuvré pour la réussite de cette réunion : les membres du bureau ; Michel Balard, qui s'est tant dépensé pour organiser cette conférence ; Pierre Charbonnier, sans lequel rien n'aurait été possible.

Merci à eux ; merci aussi à nos membres qui ont alimenté notre bulletin de leurs informations, qui ont fait l'effort de tenir fidèlement l'horaire un peu strict que nous leur imposions et qui ont fourni des résumés sans lesquels, je dois le dire, il aurait été difficile d'établir un plan de séances cohérent. A ceux aussi qui ont accepté des présidences, avec les contraintes que cela représente.

Au terme d'une rencontre, les participants sont en droit de se demander ce qu'elle leur a apporté. Puisque l'histoire de l'Orient latin et des Croisades attire autant de monde, c'est bien la preuve que nous sommes conscients que cette histoire appelle des renouvellements et des enrichissements qui font d'elle à l'heure actuelle un des champs privilégiés de la recherche. Permettez-moi donc d'évoquer rapidement les principaux acquis de ces journées.

Les sources, d'abord. Robert Huygens a plaidé la cause de Guibert de Nogent de façon si convaincante que la presse locale de Clermont-Ferrand a fait écho au voeu d'une relecture approfondie des *Gesta Dei per Francos*. James Powell s'est posé la question de la nature de l'information qui est parvenue aux chrétiens d'Occident, du fait de l'importance des éléments apocryphes qui avaient trouvé place dans cette information. Christopher Grocok nous a montré comment on passe de l'histoire à l'épopée à propos de Gilon de Paris dont le récit, traité sous l'angle théologique, devient chez son continuateur un poème épique exaltant la vaillance du chevalier chrétien ; et Robert Grillo a retrouvé un traitement analogue de l'oeuvre de Baudri de Bourgueil, reprise par une composition versifiée qui procède peut-être d'un intermédiaire provençal. Tout ceci rentre dans une même perspective qui contribue à nous faire comprendre comment s'est formée l'image de la croisade.

Passons au concile de 1095. John France s'est interrogé sur la conception que pouvait avoir l'Occident avant la croisade de sa propre cohésion, et sur l'évolution de cette conception. Sylvia Schein, de son côté, se posait la même question à propos de l'image de Jérusalem, avant 1095 et après 1099, dans ce même monde occidental. George Beech a versé un nouveau témoignage au dossier du voyage d'Urbain II, en retrouvant son passage à Saumur, et il a retrouvé un croisé oublié : le vicomte de Thouars. Et Rudolf Hiestand a enlevé une grosse épine du pied des historiens du concile et de la croisade en démontrant que le fameux canon qui aurait prévu à l'avance l'organisation ecclésiastique de l'Orient latin avait en fait une portée plus générale et ne visait pas le cas des églises à relever par les croisés.

L'aspect militaire des opérations a aussi bénéficié de nos travaux. Claude Mutafian a souligné le rôle stratégique essentiel de la Cilicie et montré comment avait finalement échoué le dessein des princes d'Antioche d'en faire une marche de leur principauté. Thomas Asbridge a examiné une autre des zones-frontières de celle-ci, le pays d'Atharib et de Zerdana, qui couvrait Antioche du côté d'Alep en menaçant cette ville et qui disparut dans la défaite de l'*Ager Sanguinis*. Martin Hoch a repris l'étude de la campagne de 1148 contre Damas sous l'angle de la politique de *containment* définie par J. Prawer, en montrant que l'attaque des croisés pouvait s'expliquer par le fait que la principauté damasquine était redevenue un danger. En matière de tactique, Charles Bowlus nous a invité à ne pas surestimer l'efficacité de l'utilisation des archers montés de la steppe face à des cavaliers bien protégés et disciplinés. Suzan Egdington nous a appris que les croisés n'ont pas mis longtemps à être capables de se servir de pigeons pour porter les messages. Sophie Menache s'est elle aussi intéressée à ces problèmes de transmissions, à propos de la mise en place d'un système d'acheminement des nouvelles d'Orient en Occident. Dernier aspect de la guerre, et non le moindre : celui de la captivité qui guette tant de guerriers. Yvonne Friedmann a cherché à

définir ce qu'étaient le droit et l'usage en matière de rançons, et constaté que nos informations sont rares pour la période la plus ancienne.

Les ordres militaires ont fait l'objet en ces dernières années de très nombreux travaux qui en ont en grande partie renouvelé l'histoire. Simonetta Cerrini, en se penchant sur la tradition manuscrite de la *Règle du Temple* et des *Retrais*, nous laisse entrevoir une étude et une édition de ces textes. Anthony Luttrell a montré combien jusqu'en 1120 au moins les Hospitaliers, les chanoines du Saint-Sépulcre et les Templiers sont étroitement associés. Dominic Selwood a rendu à Hugues de Payns, à bon droit je crois, l'initiative de l'intervention de saint Bernard pour conforter ses chevaliers dans leur vocation. Et Karl Borchardt, étudiant les implantations des ordres militaires dans l'Europe de l'Est, montre qu'ils ont cherché d'abord à alimenter leurs établissements de Terre sainte avant de participer à la défense des pays où ils avaient reçu ces dotations.

A Jochen Burgtorf, nous devons l'étude du droit de dépouille dont prétendent jouir les dignitaires de l'Hôpital sur les biens meubles de leurs frères défunts, droit qui fut controversé. Jürgen Sarnowsky a montré comment fonctionnaient à Rhodes les chapitres généraux après 1421. Une monographie de la commanderie de Sainte-Catherine d'Utrecht par Johanna-Maria van Winter, nous révèle l'intérêt de telles études particulières : il semble qu'ici ce soit les chapelains qui détiennent l'autorité.

Pour définir les Orientaux qu'ils découvraient, les croisés usaient d'une terminologie dont Svetlana Loutchiskaja montre qu'elle venait d'une tradition littéraire qui n'a cédé que lentement la place à un vocabulaire plus approprié. Mitko Delev s'est attaché à la perception que les Byzantins ont eue des Francs et réciproquement, en montrant qu'il a fallu longtemps pour que les uns et les autres reconnussent qu'ils étaient en présence d'« autres chrétiens ». Kay Jankrift a défini la situation des Syriens occidentaux, dits Jacobites, dans les Etats francs où ils ont acquis le statut d'une « nation » reconnue par les Francs. Et Donald Queller a fait le point sur les travaux parus depuis 1977 sur les relations entre Grecs et Latins.

Des chrétiens orientaux, passons aux musulmans. Benjamin Kedar a cherché à définir dans quelle mesure ceux-ci ont compris la spécificité de la croisade, ce qui n'est réalisé qu'au temps des Ayyûbides. Les croisés n'ont pas davantage eu la notion d'une « guerre sainte » chez leurs adversaires — mais Peter Partner nous invite à ne pas confondre la *ghazzwa* pratiquée par les Turcs avec le *Jihad* qui ne se définit guère avant Nur-al-Dîn. Et Mahmud Omran a mis en évidence le rôle capital des trêves qui, depuis 1171 au moins, rythment les rapports entre chrétiens et musulmans. Margaret Jubb a comparé de façon très convaincante les appréciations portées sur Saladin par Guillaume de Tyr et chez son traducteur : l'idéalisation du sultan ayyûbide

commence. Et Mohammed Aziz constate que Frédéric II a bénéficié de jugements plus favorables de la part des musulmans que de ses coreligionnaires.

En histoire ecclésiastique, retenons la contribution d'Aryeh Graboïs à l'histoire du *Templum Domini*, communauté bénéficiant d'une fondation royale et occupant un site prestigieux, dont on disait en 1229 qu'elle desservait le lieu où avait été la plus ancienne cathédrale de Jérusalem. A l'origine de l'ordre des Carmes, on a fait figurer un évêque hongrois dont Andrew Jotinsky démontre qu'il avait en réalité été martyrisé en Hongrie au temps de la réaction païenne qui suivit la mort de saint Etienne. Johannes Pahlitzsch s'est attaché à la figure du patriarche grec Athanase II, que la tradition donne comme mis à mort par les « barbares » en 1236 et qui fut peut-être en réalité victime des Kharezmiens de 1244. Enfin Nicholas Coureas a traité du monastère grec du Mont-Sinaï, très vénéré par les Latins qui lui ont même donné place dans le tableau de leur organisation ecclésiastique.

L'histoire des croisades a un volet occidental que nous avons laissé en grande partie aux soins du colloque voisin, où l'on a parlé non seulement de l'Auvergne, mais de la Lotharingie et de l'Italie ; mais Christopher Gardner s'est attaché pour nous au cas du Berry, où le départ du vicomte de Bourges a ouvert la voie à la domination capétienne. Jonathan Philipps a posé la question du recrutement de la croisade de 1147 en Flandre, un pays qui avait donné beaucoup de croisés en 1096. Et c'est aussi en s'attachant au cas flamand que Thérèse de Hemptinne a abordé une question fondamentale, celle de la place qui revient aux femmes dans ce grand mouvement : c'est elles qui autorisent le départ de leur époux, qui prennent en charge leurs devoirs de fief, comme leurs obligations familiales. Un regard sur l'Espagne s'imposait : José Manuel Rodríguez García l'a posé en étudiant sous l'angle de la croisade le règne d'Alphonse X de Castille.

Au point de départ des croisés se situe le sermon de croisade : Christoph T. Maier, à propos d'un modèle laissé par un prédicateur franciscain, a examiné la question du passage du sermon à l'usage des lettrés à la prédication populaire, et Jeannine Horowitz a montré la place que tient l'*exemplum* dans cette prédication. Celle-ci est restée de caractère essentiellement religieux ; mais Christopher Libertini note son décalage par rapport à la réalisation même des croisades, où l'étroite association du pèlerinage à la campagne militaire qui caractérise l'entreprise de 1095 a cédé de plus en plus devant la conception purement militaire des suivantes, un retour à cette association caractérisant l'expédition de 1218-1221, tandis que les Enfants et les Pastoureaux mettent l'accent sur l'aspect religieux.

La date de 1291 ne nous a pas arrêtés : Jacques Paviot a envisagé le cas du duc Philippe le Bon, non comme croisé, mais comme dévôt du Saint-Sé-

pulcre et soutien des établissements religieux d'outre-mer. Et Eugene Green a présenté Margaret Kemp, dont le récit de pèlerinage est une des oeuvres mystiques majeures du XVe siècle, comme un véritable soldat menant un combat spirituel pour gagner à Dieu les peuples que son voyage lui fait coudoyer...

Les archéologues ont ces derniers temps multiplié leurs chantiers et l'histoire en tire déjà grand profit. Brigitte Porëe a tracé un tableau de tout ce travail en cours. Ronnie Ellenblum a constaté qu'entre 1168 et 1187 le royaume latin a répondu à la montée des périls par une grande campagne de construction et de renouvellement de ses forteresses. Israel Roll nous a révélé le site d'Arsur. Ruthi Gertwagen a étudié le port d'Acre sous l'angle des conditions naturelles et des travaux d'aménagement, en le définissant comme une oeuvre des Tulunides aménagée par les croisés. Et Adrian Boas a fait revivre un village qu'il considère comme caractéristique de ce qu'étaient les villes-neuves franques essaimées dans la proche région de Jérusalem : Ramot.

Nous devons à Jaroslav Folda tout un tableau d'ensemble de l'histoire de l'art dans les Etats des croisés, d'où ressort cette perception qui nous devient plus familière de la coopération artistique des Grecs, des Francs et des Syriens. Bianca Kühnel nous a demandé de prendre en compte les permanences et les continuités en replaçant les réalisations artistiques de la période franque dans un cheminement qui va de l'art paléo-chrétien à notre temps. Gustave Kühnel nous a mis en présence des mosaïques exécutées au milieu du XIIe siècle pour le Saint-Sépulcre à la faveur de la redécouverte et de la restauration d'un de leurs éléments.

Un tel tour d'horizon atteste toute la richesse du domaine qui est le nôtre et la variété des angles de recherche qui le concernent. Il n'est toutefois qu'un très rapide survol, et cette richesse ne sera vraiment accessible que lorsque nous pourrons lire les actes de ces journées — et je n'oublie pas que ceux du colloque qui s'est tenu parallèlement à notre conférence apporteront eux aussi une moisson dont nous tirerons profit. Et, puisque j'évoque cette phase ultime de nos travaux, permettez-moi d'exprimer à nouveau notre gratitude à Michel Balard qui veut bien affronter l'aventure de cette publication.

Et pour clore ces propos, je me plais à constater que notre désir de donner aux spécialistes de l'histoire des croisades l'organe de communication qui leur manquait s'est pleinement réalisé. Il nous permet aujourd'hui, quinze ans après, de réunir un beau faisceau de contributions embrassant les voies si variées qui furent celles des hommes de la croisade — ces hommes que le 900e anniversaire de l'appel de Clermont nous invitait à évoquer, allant édifier outre-mer de nouvelles sociétés, de nouvelles constructions politiques, institutionnelles, artistiques, religieuses. En les appelant à se lancer sur les routes

de l'Orient, le pape Urbain II ouvrait une ère nouvelle dans l'histoire des civilisations. C'était à nous qu'il appartenait de prendre conscience et de faire prendre conscience de la richesse de celle-ci. Mais ceci ne pouvait se faire qu'en unissant nos efforts dans une coopération qui, nous le constatons aujourd'hui, a débouché sur le développement de liens d'amitié.



Fig. 2. The southern Roman breakwater and medieval quay before the construction of the modern Fisher-wharf above it. The look is from west to east.



Fig. 4 : House with an undercroft



Fig. 5 : Wine press at el-Kurum



Fig. 6 : Bench in a house at el-Kurum



Fig. 7 : Chimney in the northern wall of one of the houses

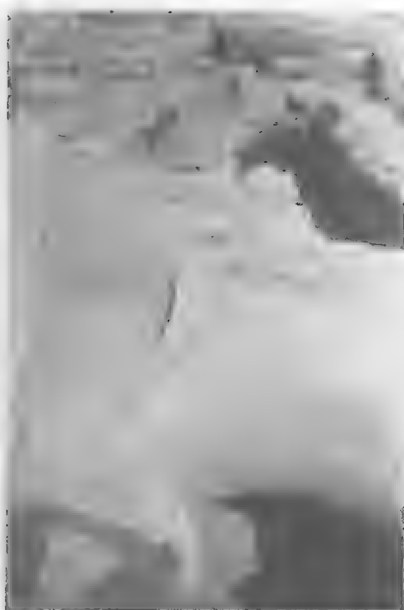


Fig. 8 : Plastered cistern and settling tank



Fig. 1. Apollonia-Arsuf : Plan of the site and excavated areas



Fig. 2. Apollonia-Arsuf : Reconstructed view of the Market-Street in the Early Muslim period (by Anna Iamim)



Fig. 3. Apollonia-Arsuf : Reconstructed view of the Crusader Castle, looking to North-West (by Anna Iamim

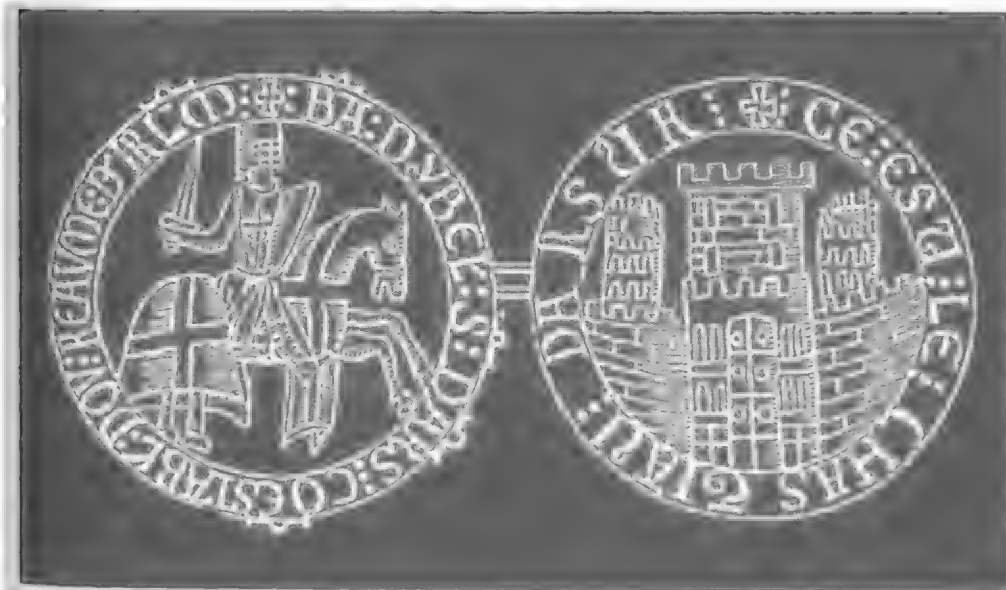


Fig. 4. Apollonia-Arsuf : Seal of Balian d'Ibelin, seigneur d'Arsur



Fig. 5. Apollonia-Arsuf : Reconstructed view of the Crusader city and castle, looking to East (by Anna Iamim)

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